

*Edmund Ludlow Esq*

# MEMOIRS

OF

# EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL of HORSE,

Commander in Chief of the Forces in Ireland, one of the Council of State, and a Member of the Parliament which began on November 3. 1640.

WITH A

# COLLECTION

OF

# ORIGINAL PAPERS,

SERVING TO

Confirm and illustrate many important Passages contained in the MEMOIRS.

To which is now added,

The CASE of King CHARLES the First.

With a copious INDEX.

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MDCCLL

To their EXCELLENCIES

# The LORDS of the COUNCIL

FOR THE

# CANTON of BERN.

YOUR Excellencies having been the protectors of the author of theſe MEMOIRS, during the many years of his exile, are juſtly intitled to whatever acknowledgment can be made for thoſe noble favours, which you extended ſo ſeaſonably and ſo conſtantly to him and his fellow-ſufferers.

'Tis well known to your Lordſhips, that the Lieutenant-General would have accounted himſelf happy to lay down that life for your ſervice, which you had preſerved by your generoſity. But ſince he lived not to have ſo glorious an occaſion of expreſſing his gratitude, (no prince, how powerful ſoever, being hardy enough to attack that liberty which is ſo well ſecured by the bravery and good diſcipline of your own people) nothing now remains to be a monument of his duty, and your bounty, but theſe papers; and therefore as a juſt debt, they are moſt humbly preſented to your Excellencies.

THE

# THE PREFACE.

NO hiſtory can furniſh us with the example of a man whoſe life and actions have been univerſally applauded: malice, or a different intereſt, being always ready to wound the nobleſt integrity. The virtues of Scipio and Cato, the beſt and greateſt of the Romans, could not preſerve them from the aſſaults of envy and calumny; of which, the groundleſs accuſations of the former to the people, and the volumes of aſperſions publiſhed againſt the latter by the uſurper Julius, are a ſufficient teſtimony. 'Tis therefore no wonder that men who endeavour to imitate thoſe great examples, and make the ſervice of their country the principal care of their lives, ſhould meet with the ſame hard uſage. What the author of theſe papers did and ſuffered on that account, the enſuing relation will in part witneſs; wherein it will appear, that he contended not againſt perſons, but things: that he was an enemy to all arbitrary government, tho' gilded over with the moſt ſpecious pretences; and that he not only diſapproved the uſurpation of Cromwel, but would have oppoſed him with as much vigour as he had done the king, if all occaſions of that nature had not been cut off by the extraordinary jealouſy and vigilance of the uſurper.

Concerning his extraction, if that be any thing, it may be juſtly ſaid, he was deſcended of an antient and worthy family, originally known in Shropſhire, and from thence tranſplanted into the county of Wilts, where his anceſtors poſſeſſed ſuch an eſtate as placed them in the firſt rank of

gentlemen; and their perſonal merits uſually concurring with their fortune, gave them juſt pretences to ſtand candidates to repreſent the county in parliament as knights of the ſhire, which honour they ſeldom failed to attain. His father Sir Henry Ludlow being choſen by his country to ſerve in that parliament which began on the 3d of November, 1640, was one of thoſe who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the rights and liberties of the people againſt the invaſions made upon them by the pretended prerogatives of the crown. The example of his father, together with a particular encouragement from him, joined to a full perſuaſion of the neceſſity of arming in defence of his country, mounted our author, then very young, on horſeback. His firſt eſſay was at the battle of Edgehill, where he fought as voluntier in the life-guard of the earl of Eſſex. His father dying ſome time after the eruption of our troubles, he went down to Wiltſhire, and was unanimouſly choſen by that county to be one of their knights of the ſhire to repreſent them in parliament; where his integrity and firmneſs to the true intereſt of his country ſoon became ſo remarkable, that he was thought worthy to be intruſted with the command of an independent regiment of horſe, to defend the county for which he ſerved from the incurſions of the enemy's army. And how great a progreſs he made afterwards in the ſcience of war, the military honours he received in a time when rewards were not blindly beſtowed, may ſufficiently manifeſt.

After the death of king Charles the firſt, he was ſent into Ireland by the parliament in the quality of lieutenant-general of the horſe. This employment he diſcharged with diligence and ſucceſs till the death of the lord deputy Ireton, and then acted for ſome time as general, tho' without that title; the growing power of Oliver Cromwel, who knew him to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, always finding out ſome pretext to hinder the conferring that character upon him. The finiſhing part was only wanting to the compleat ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion, and the laſt ſtroke had been given by this gentleman, if the uſurpation of Cromwel had not prevented him. Under that power he never acted: and tho' the uſurper employed all his arts to gain him, he remained immoveable, and would not be

per-

perſuaded to give the leaſt colour or countenance to his ambition. After the death of Cromwel ſome endeavours were made to cauſe the public affairs to revert to their former channel, in which attempts our author was not an idle ſpectator. But Oliver had ſo choaked the ſprings, that the torrent took another courſe; and all the efforts that were made to reſtore the commonwealth proving vain and fruitleſs, Charles the ſecond was permitted to act his part. Thereupon this gentleman, who had gone through innumerable hazards for the liberties of England, was ſtripped of his eſtate, and, under the odious name of traitor, forced to abandon his native country. That he eſcaped the ſearches made after him in England, and ſafely arrived in Switzerland, was almoſt a miracle. The preſervation of his life, which was in the utmoſt hazard, by reaſon of the prejudices then reigning, obliged him to confine himſelf to the deepeſt privacy, and for a ſhort time kept him unknown, till his exemplary life made him not only to be obſerved, but admired. This ſtranger for more than thirty years was the care of that country; and it may be juſtly ſaid, that by their vigilance rather than his own, the frequent deſigns that were formed againſt his life, were defeated, and ſome of them exemplarily puniſhed on the heads of their authors.

During his exile he wrote the following memoirs, conjecturing, and I think he was not miſtaken, that ſome of the family of Charles the martyr might act ſuch things as would make his country reliſh the relation, and regret the uſage he had found. But it can never be expected that all men ſhould be of the ſame mind. And therefore, when the whole kingdom of Ireland, Londonderry only excepted, was unhappily fallen into the hands of the Iriſh papiſts, and the lieutenant-general, I hope I may ſay it without offence, was ſent for, as a fit perſon to be employed to recover it from them: when the Britiſh refugees were glad to hear him named for that ſervice; and he in an extaſy to ſerve his country any where, was arrived in England; the reception he found there was ſuch, as ought rather to be forgotten, than tranſmitted to poſterity, with any remarks upon that conjuncture. Thus being denied the honour of dying for his country, he returned to the more hoſpitable place from whence

whence he came. But England had not one good wiſh the leſs from him on the account of her laſt unkindneſs. For at the very article of death ſome of his laſt words were wiſhes for the proſperity, peace and glory of his country; and that religion and liberty might be eſtabliſhed there on ſo ſure and ſolid a foundation, that the deſigns of ill men might never bring them into danger for the time to come.

# THE PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

THE author of these memoirs was a man of such excellent spirit, such generous principles, and performed such great services to his country, that his name and memory will ever be dear and precious to all the lovers of liberty. He descended from a family of considerable rank, and had a learned education; for his father sent him to Oxford, where he went through the course of studies usual at that time: but his genius led him rather to action than contemplation; and the state of publick affairs soon gave him an opportunity for the exercise of it. King Charles I. having set up prerogative against law, and our author's father appearing very early against that king, his son also joined the same party, and vigorously opposed the court-measures. In the course of the civil wars, he distinguished himself with so much zeal for the parliament, and shewed such a bold and intrepid spirit, that when the royal party was defeated, and the king brought to a trial, he was appointed one of his judges; which he mentions in this history in such terms, as plainly shew he was far from being ashamed of the part he acted.

Our author appears to have been a man of serious thought and consideration, who weighed things well before he engaged, but was afterwards inflexible. His enemies have allowed, that he was sincerely in the interest of the commonwealth, without any private views or sinister designs: and the disorders which followed on the death of the king, cannot justly be charged on those who honestly engaged in the defence of publick liberty. When Cromwel, who first fought for the parliament, afterwards set up for himself, our author oppos'd his usurpation, refusing to act by commission from him; and was indefatigable in his endeavours to restore the public cause, and to establish a free government. But all

means to this purpoſe being ineffectual, and the royal family at length reſtored, the ſafety of his perſon obliged him to leave his native country. He went into Switzerland, where, after ſome time, he made choice of Vevay for the place of his reſidence. The difficulties he ſuffered, the dangers he was expoſed to from aſſaſſins, and the generous protection he received from the magiſtrates of that country, are all largely related in the courſe of theſe memoirs.

The acceſſion of king James to the throne, is ſaid to have thrown him into a deep melancholy, as he thought the proteſtant religion and the liberties of theſe nations were then at an end: but he lived to ſee the ruin of that tyranny, by the glorious revolution under the prince of Orange. When the crown of theſe kingdoms was ſettled upon that prince, our author came over into England, in order to be employed in Ireland againſt king James II. but he no ſooner appeared publickly in London, than a motion was made in the houſe of commons by Sir Edward Seymour, to addreſs king William, to order a proclamation for apprehending general Ludlow. This prevented his generous intention of ſerving his country, and forced him to return into Switzerland, where he ſpent the reſt of his days in peace; thoroughly ſatisfied in his own mind of the juſtice of his principles, and the integrity of his conduct; and rejoicing in the liberty and happineſs of his native country, tho' he was not permitted to partake of it.

We are not capable of giving the reader a farther account of this excellent man, than from a paſſage in Mr. Addiſon's travels. That author, mentioning the place where general Ludlow reſided, tells us*, That the houſe he lived in has this inſcription over the door;

Omne ſolum forti patria
quia patris.

And that he was buried in the beſt of the churches, with the following epitaph;

Siſte gradum & reſpice.

Hic jacet Edmond Ludlow, Anglus natione, provinciæ Wiltoninenſis, filius Henrici equeſtris ordinis, ſenatoriſque parliamenti, cujus quoque fuit ipſe membrum; patrum ſtemmate clarus & nobilis, virtute propriâ nobilior; religione proteſtans & inſigni pietate coruſcus; ætatis anno 23 tribunus militum, paulo poſt exercitus prætor primarius: Tunc Hiberno-rum domitor, in pugna intrepidus & vitæ prodigus, in victoria clemens & mantietus, patriæ libertatis defenſor, & poteſtatis arbitrariæ propugnator acerrimus; cujus cauſa ab eadem patria 32 annis extorris, meliorique fortunæ dignus apud Helvetios ſe recepit, ibique ætatis anno 73 moriens ſui deſiderium relinquens ſedes æternas lætus advolavit.

* Mr. Addiſon's remarks on ſeveral parts of Italy, &c. Edit. 1745. page 264.

Hence

Hocce monumentum, in perpetuam veræ & ſinceræ pietatis erga maritum defunctum memoriam, dicat & vovet domina Elizabeth de Thomas, ejus ſtrenua & mœſtiſſima, tam in infortuniis quam in matrimonio conſors dilectiſſima, quæ animi magnitudine & vi amoris conjugalis mota, eum in exilium ad obitum uſque conſtanter ſecuta eſt. Anno Domini 1693.

In Engliſh thus:

Here lies Edmund Ludlow, by birth an Engliſhman, of the county of Wilts; ſon of Sir Henry Ludlow; a member of parliament, as his father had likewiſe been; more diſtinguiſhed by his virtue than his family, though an antient and good one; by religion a proteſtant, and remarkable for his eminent piety. In the twenty-third year of his age he had the command of a regiment, and, ſoon after, the poſt of lieutenant-general: in which quality he ſubdued the Iriſh, being intrepid in fight, and expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers; but in victory merciful and humane: a defender of the liberty of his country, and a ſtrenuous oppoſer of arbitrary power: upon which account being baniſhed thirty-two years from his native country, and worthy of a better fortune, he retired into Switzerland, where he died, univerſally regretted, in the ſeventy-third year of his age.

This monument was erected, in perpetual memory of her true and ſincere affection towards her deceaſed huſband, by dame Elizabeth Thomas, his beloved wife, and afflicted, but conſtant partner, as well in misfortunes as in wedlock, who, excited by her own greatneſs of mind, and the force of conjugal love, followed him into baniſhment, and conſtantly bore him company to his death. A. D. 1693.

Mr. Addiſon tells us, that our author was a conſtant frequenter of ſermons and prayers, but would never communicate with them either of Geneva or Vevay: the reaſon for his declining which we are not acquainted with.

There are no where, that we know of, any particulars relating to this author, but what the reader will find in his own memoirs, which are now firſt publiſhed in this neat and beautiful manner; the original edition being very mean, of a bad letter, and worſe paper. And the editor aſſures the publick, that he has taken great care of this impreſſion, and that it is much more correct than books of this ſize uſually are. He knows of no errors but the three following, which he deſires the reader to correct. At the bottom of the 21ſt page, for life-guard, read *like-guard*. Page 381, at the beginning of the firſt line, dele in, and read *in*, at the beginning of the 3d line. Page 383, for 1666, read 1662. This error aroſe from the firſt impreſſion, in which the two laſt figures were left out.

The tract in the appendix is now firſt added to theſe memoirs. The author was an intimate friend of general Ludlow's, and is mentioned by him

him with great reſpect. From this the reader may ſee on what principles thoſe men acted, who paſſed ſentence on king Charles I. it being then publiſhed as a juſtification of their conduct in that particular *.

The editor concludes with wiſhing, that men of all ranks and orders would endeavour to underſtand the principles of true liberty, and the juſt rights of mankind; this being the beſt, and indeed the only means to diſſolve all parties, to heal all diviſions, and to unite us all in one common cauſe; viz. in the promoting the proſperity and happineſs of Great Britain, and tranſmitting down to future ages the bleſſings we now enjoy.

* For farther ſatisfaction on this ſubject, the reader is referred to a curious book, intitled, "An enquiry into the ſhare which king Charles I. had in the earl of Glamorgan's tranſactions, printed in 1747. Octavo; in which is proved, beyond contradiction, king Charles's privity to the Iriſh maſſacre.

THE

# MEMOIRS

## OF

# EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

HAVING seen our cause betrayed, and the most solemn promises that could be made to the asserters of it, openly violated, I departed from my native country. And hoping that my retirement may protect me from the rage and malice of my enemies, I cannot think it a mispending of some part of my leisure, to employ it in setting down the most remarkable counsels and actions of the parties engaged in the late civil war, which spread it self through the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; wherein I shall not strictly confine myself to a relation of such things only in which I was personally concerned, but also give the best account I can of such other memorable occurrences of those times as I have learn'd from persons well inform'd, and of unsuspected fidelity.

THOSE who make any enquiry into the history of K. James's reign, will find, that tho' his inclinations were strongly bent to render himself absolute, yet he chose rather to carry on that design by fraud than violence. But K. Charles having taken a nearer view of despotick government in his journey to France and Spain, tempted with the glittering shew and imaginary pleasures of that empty pageantry, immediately after his ascent to the throne pulled of the mask, and openly discovered his intentions to make the crown absolute and independent.

IN the beginning of his reign he married a daughter of France, who was not wanting on her part to press him, upon all occasions, to pursue the design of enlarging his power, not omitting to sollicit him also to mould the church of England to a nearer compliance with the see of Rome: wherein she was but too well seconded by corrupt ministers of state, of whom some were professed papists; and an ambitious clergy, whose influence upon the king was always greater than could well consist with the peace and happiness of England. 'Tis true, he called some parliaments in the first years of his reign; but the people soon became sensible he did it rather to empty their purses than to redress their grievances. The Petition of Right, as it was called, passed in one of them; yet by the manner of passing it, and more by the way of keeping, or rather breaking it in almost every particular, they clearly saw what they were to expect from him. And tho' by the votes passed in the house of commons, (after a message from the king to require their attendance in order to a dissolution, thereby

to prevent their enquiry into his father's death) complaining of the grievances of the nation, and asserting the liberties thereof, declaring it treason for any to pay custom or other taxes without the authority of parliament, locking the door of the house of commons, and compelling the speaker to continue in the chair till it pass'd, he might have observed the pulse of the nation beating high towards liberty; yet, contrary to his promise to preserve the privileges of parliament, he caused the studies of their members to be searched, their papers to be seiz'd, and their persons to be imprisoned in the tower, where Sir John Elliot, who was one of them, lost his life. Divers others suffered in their health and estates, being prosecuted with all severity at the common law, for discharging their duty in parliament. After the dissolution of which, a proclamation was published, whereby it was made criminal in the people to speak any more of parliaments.

THE king having assumed this extraordinary power, resolved to make war against France, not upon the account of those of the reformed religion, as was pretended, but grounded upon personal discontents, and to gratify the revenge and lust of his favourite.

THE Rochellers, who once before, upon encouragement from England, had endeavoured to defend their just rights against the encroachments of the French king, till being deserted by the king of England, they were necessitated to accept terms from their king very disadvantageous to their affairs, were again, by frequent importunities and fair promises, prevailed with (tho' very unwillingly) to assist the English with provisions, and such other things as they wanted, in their expedition against the isle of Rhee: From whence our forces being repulsed, the French king sent his army against the protestants of Rochelle, whose provisions being before exhausted by the English, they applied to the king of England for succours, according to his promise: who, as if he intended to assist them effectually, caused a certain number of ships to be fitted out, under the conduct of Sir John Pennington. But private differences being soon after composed, Sir John received a letter from the king, signed Charles Rex, which was afterwards found by the parliament amongst his papers, requiring him to dispose of those ships as he should be directed by the French king; and if any should refuse to obey those orders, to sink or fire them. The king's command was put in execution accordingly, and by the help of those ships the French became masters of the sea, and thereby enabled to raise a work composed of earth, stones and piles, with which they entirely shut up the mouth of the harbour, and so prevented them from any relief that way. Being thus straitned on all sides, they were forced to yield to the pleasure of their king; and that strong town of Rochelle, wherein the security of the protestants of France chiefly consisted, by this horrible treachery was delivered up to the papists, and those of the reform'd religion in all parts of that kingdom exposed to the rage of their bloody and cruel enemies.

ABOUT this time the most profitable preferments in the English church were given to those of the clergy who were most forward to promote the imposition of new ceremonies and superstitions: An oath was enjoined by them with an &c. several new holy-days introduced, and required to be observed by the people with all possible solemnity, at the same time that they were encouraged to profane the Lord's day, by a book commonly called, the Book of Sports, printed and published by the king's special command.

BUT this was not the only work of which the clergy were judged capable, and therefore divers of them entered the lists as champions of the prerogative, asserting that the possessions and estates of the subject did of right belong to the king, and that he might dispose of them at his pleasure; thereby vacating and annulling, as much as in them lay, all the laws of England that secure a propriety to the people. Arbitrary courts were erected, and the power of others enlarged; such were the high commission court, the star-chamber, the court of honour, the court of wards, the court of requests, &c. Patents and monopolies of almost every thing were granted to private men, to the great damage of the public. Knight-hood, coat and conduct-money, and many other illegal methods, were revived and put in execution, to rob the people, in order to support the profusion of the court. And that our liberties might be extirpated at once, and we become tenants at will to the king, that rare invention of ship-money was found out by Finch, whose solicitation and importunities prevailed with the major part of the judges of Westminster-hall to declare for law, that "for the supply of shipping to defend the nation, the king might impose a tax upon the people: that he was to be judge of the necessity of such supply, and of the quantity to be imposed for it; and that he might imprison as well as destrain in case of refusal." Some there were who out of a hearty affection to the service of their country, and a true English spirit, opposed these illegal proceedings: amongst whom Mr. John Hampden of Buckingham-shire, judge Croke, and judge Hutton, were of the most eminent.

PREROGATIVE being wound up to this height in England, and the affairs of the church tending to a conjunction with the see of Rome; before any farther progress should be made therein here, it was thought expedient, that the pulse of Scotland should be felt, and they perswaded or compelled to the like conformity. To this end a form of public prayer was sent to Scotland, more nearly approaching the Roman office than that used in England. The reading of this new service-book at Edinburgh was first interrupted by a poor woman; but the people were so generally discontented with the book it self, as well as the manner of imposing it, that she was soon seconded by the generality of them; those who officiated hardly escaping with their lives. This produced divers meetings of many of the nobility, clergy and gentry, who entred into an agreement or covenant to root out episcopacy, heresy, and superstition.

THOSE of the clergy of England, who had been the chief advisers and promoters of this violence, prevailed with the king to cause all such as should persist in their opposition after a certain time, to be proclaimed traitors. But the Scots not at all affrighted with these menaces, resolved to make good their former undertaking. Which the king perceiving, and that this violent way took not effect, began to incline to more moderate counsels; and by commission empowered the marquis of Hamilton to treat them into a submission, consenting to the suppression of the liturgy, high commission court, and articles of Perth. But the Scots insisting upon the abolition of episcopacy, and the king refusing his consent to it, they did it themselves in an assembly held at Glasgow: and being informed that the king was preparing an army to compel them to obedience, agreed upon the raising of some forces to defend themselves.

The clergy in England were not wanting to promote the new levies against the Scots, contributing largely thereunto; which was but reasonable, it being manifest to all that they were the principal authors and

fomenters of theſe troubles. The nobility and gentry were likewiſe required to further this expedition; in which, tho' divers of them did appear, yet was it rather out of compliment than affection to the deſign, being ſenſible of the oppreſſions they themſelves lay under, and how dangerous to the people of England a thorough ſucceſs againſt the Scots might prove.

THE king perceiving an univerſal diſlike to this war, as well in the people as in the officers and ſoldiers of his army, concluded an agreement with the Scots at Berwick, the 17th of June, 1639. But upon his return to London, under colour that many falſe copies of the ſaid articles were publiſhed and diſperſed by the Scots, to the great diſhonour of the king, the ſaid agreement was diſowned, and order'd to be burnt by the hands of the hangman.

THEREUPON hoping that a parliament would eſpouſe his quarrel, and furniſh him with money for the carrying on of his deſign, he ſummoned one to meet at Weſtminſter on the 3d of April, 1640. which, ſitting but a little time, thereby obtained the name of "the ſhort parliament." The king by his agents earneſtly preſſed them to grant him preſent ſupplies for the uſe of his army; but they, ſenſible of former uſage, after they had gratified him in that particular, and of the inſupportable burdens and oppreſſions they lay under, refuſed to grant any ſubſidies till their grievances ſhould be redreſſed: whereupon the king put a period to their ſitting the fifth of May following; the earl of Strafford, and others of his council, adviſing him ſo to do, and to make uſe of other means for his ſupply; as appeared to the enſuing parliament, by the minutes of the ſecretary of ſtate, taken at that cabal, and produced at the trial of the ſaid earl: The ſum of whoſe advice was to this effect. "Sir, you have now tried your people, and are denied by them, therefore you are clear before God and man, if you make uſe of other means for your ſupply: You have an army in Ireland, &c." This counſel was proſecuted, and new preparations made for the carrying on of the war againſt the Scots; all imaginable ways uſed to raiſe ſupplies, privy ſeals ſent throughout the nation for the loan of money; ſhip-money, coat and conduct-money preſſed to the height; commodities taken up on credit, and ſold for ready money; warrants alſo were delivered out to preſs men to ſerve in the army; braſs-money was propounded, and ſome prepared, but that project took no effect. The clergy being permitted and encouraged by the king to ſit in convocation after the diſſolution of the parliament, took upon them not only to frame canons and oaths, but alſo to impoſe four ſhillings in the pound upon eccleſiaſtical benefices throughout the kingdom. The king, to give life to the advance of his army, marched with them in perſon; the earl of Northumberland, as moſt popular, wearing the name of general, whilſt Strafford with the title of lieutenant general had the principal management of all.

THE city of London had refuſed to pay ſome of the illegal taxes before-mentioned; whereupon divers of their chief officers were impriſoned, and an order iſſued forth to take away the ſword from the lord mayor. Whereupon the people riſe, and beſet the houſe of the arch-biſhop of Canterbury, who, in conjunction with the earl of Strafford, was ſuppoſed to put the king upon theſe violent and unwarrantable courſes; but he made his eſcape by water for that time; and one of the moſt active of the people was ſeized and executed, which ſerved only to exaſperate the reſt.

UPON the near approach of the Engliſh and Scots army, a conſiderable party of each ſide encountred; and the Engliſh, contrary to their

wonted

wonted custom, retired in disorder, not without shame and some loss. Of such force and consequence is a belief and full perswasion of the justice of an undertaking, tho' managed by an enemy, in other respects inconsiderable.

The king, startled at the unsuccessfulness of his first attempt, upon the petition of a considerable number of the well-affected nobility, requesting him, that to avoid the effusion of more blood, he would call an assembly of the nobility, consented thereunto. This council accordingly met at York, and advised the king to a cessation of arms, and the calling of a parliament to compose differences; which, to the great trouble of the clergy and other incendiaries, he promised to do; assuring the Scots of the payment of twenty thousand pounds a month to maintain their army, till the pleasure of the parliament should be known. In order to which, writs were issued out for the meeting of a parliament on the third of November, 1640.

The time prefix'd for their assembling being come, they met accordingly: and as they were very sensible that nothing but an absolute necessity permitted their coming together, so they resolved to improve this happy opportunity to free the people from their burdens, and to punish the authors of the late disorders. To this end they declared against Monopolies, and expelled the authors of them out of the house. The opinions of the judges concerning ship-money they voted unjust and illegal, fining and imprisoning those that had warranted the lawfulness thereof. And that the offenders against the publick might not escape, they ordered the sea-ports to be diligently guarded, and all passengers to be strictly examined.

This being done, they impeached the lord keeper Finch, the earl of Strafford, and the arch-bishop of Canterbury, of high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the laws, and to erect an arbitrary and tyrannical power. They declared, that they would pay the English and Scots armies to the end of May, 1641. and assist the prince Palatine with men and money to recover his country. And now having the charge of two armies to pay, and all men suspecting they might be abruptly dissolved, as had often happened before, and therefore refusing to credit them with such sums as were necessary, unless an act might pass to secure their sitting till they should think fit to dissolve themselves by act of parliament; the king gave his assent to one drawn up and passed to that purpose. Another act likewise passed to assert, that according to the antient fundamental laws of England, a parliament ought to be held every year, and directing, that in case one was not called in three years, the lord chancellor or keeper of the great seal should issue out writs, as is therein expressed; and if he fail in his duty, he is declared guilty of high treason, and a certain number of lords impowered to summon the said parliament: and if they should neglect so to do, the sheriffs and constables are vested with the same authority. But if it should happen that all the forementioned powers should be wanting in their duty, the people of England are thereby authorized to put the said act in execution, by meeting and electing members to serve in parliament, tho' not summoned by any officers appointed to that end.

The parliament then proceeded to correct the abuses that had been introduced in the preceding years: whereupon the star-chamber, the high-commission-court, the court of honour, with some others, were taken away by act of parliament; and the power of the council-table restrained. The commissioners of the custom-house, who had collected customs con-

trary to law, were fined; and ſuch as had been impriſoned by any of the above-mentioned arbitrary courts, were ſet at liberty.

A proteſtation was alſo agreed upon by the lords and commons, which they took, and preſented to others to take; whereby all thoſe that took it, obliged themſelves to defend and maintain the power and privileges of parliament, the rights and liberties of the people, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to bring to condign puniſhment all thoſe who ſhould by force or otherwiſe, do any thing to the contrary, and to ſtand by and juſtify all ſuch as ſhould do any thing in proſecution of the ſaid proteſtation.

The day prefix'd for the earl of Strafford's Trial being come, he was brought before the houſe of peers; where the charge againſt him was managed by members of the houſe of commons appointed to that end: The chief heads of the accuſation were; That he had governed the kingdom of Ireland in an arbitrary manner: That he had retained the revenues of the crown without rendering a due account of them: That he had encouraged and promoted the Romiſh religion: That he had endeavoured to create feuds and quarrels between England and Scotland: That he had laboured to render the parliament ſuſpected and odious to the king: That he was the author of that advice, "That ſince the parliament had denied to grant the king ſuch ſupplies as he demanded, he was at liberty to raiſe them by ſuch means as he thought fit; and that he had an Iriſh army that would aſſiſt him to that end." It being the cuſtom that a lord high ſteward ſhould be made to preſide at the trial of a peer, that honour was conferred upon the earl of Arundel. The king, the queen, the houſe of commons, the deputies of Scotland and Ireland, with many other perſons of quality of both ſexes, were there preſent. I remember the earl of Strafford in his defence objected againſt the evidence of the earl of Cork, denying him to be a competent witneſs, becauſe his enemy. To which George lord Digby, who was appointed one of the managers of the charge againſt him, replied; That if that objection ſhould be of any weight with the court, the earl of Strafford had found out a certain way to ſecure himſelf from any farther proſecution. Yet this man who then ſpoke with ſo much vigour, ſoon after altered his language, and made a ſpeech to the houſe in his favour, which he cauſed to be printed; and alſo ſurreptitiouſly withdrew a paper from the committee, containing the principal evidence againſt the ſaid earl. The parliament reſenting this prevarication, ordered his ſpeech to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

The houſe of commons having paſſed a bill for the condemnation of the earl, it was carried to the lords for their concurrence, which they gave. The king, not ſatisfied therewith, conſulted with the privy council, ſome judges, and four biſhops. And all of them, except one, adviſe the throwing of Jonas over-board for the appeaſing of the ſtorm. Upon which the earl of Arundel, the lord privy ſeal, and two more, were commiſſionated by the king to ſign the warrant for his execution: which they did upon the twelfth of May following; and the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, the earl of Strafford was beheaded accordingly.

At this time a treacherous deſign was ſet on foot, not without the participation of the king, as appeared under his own hand, to bring up the Engliſh army, and by force to diſſolve the parliament; the plunder of London being promiſed to the officers and ſoldiers as a reward for that ſervice: this was confeſſed by the lord Goring, Mr. Piercy, and others. The Scots army was alſo tried, and the four northern counties offered to be given to them, in caſe they will undertake the ſame deſign. And tho'

neither

neither of theſe attempts did ſucceed, yet the king pleaſed himſelf with hopes, that a ſeaſonable time for diſſolving the parliament would come; and then all power reverting into his own hands, he would deal with their new-enacted laws as he had done before with the Petition of Right; and with their members as he had done with thoſe of the former parliaments. And that he might not long languiſh in this expectation, he ſent to the houſe, deſiring that at once they would make their full demands, and prepare bills accordingly for his aſſent, aſſuring them of his readineſs to comply with their deſires. But they perceiving the deſign, returned for anſwer: That they could not ſuddenly reſolve on ſo weighty a work, but would do it with all poſſible ſpeed. In the mean time, to improve the preſent opportunity, they prevail with the king to paſs an act for the excluſion of the biſhops out of the houſe of lords; for tho' he was unwilling to grant the parliament any thing, yet the ſtate of his affairs was ſuch, that he durſt deny them no reaſonable thing. And now having paid to the Scots and Engliſh armies what was due to them, they diſmiſſed them to their reſpective homes.

THE king having laid his deſigns in Ireland, as will afterwards appear, was, not without great difficulty, prevailed with by the parliament, to conſent to the disbanding of thoſe eight thouſand Iriſh papiſts that had been raiſed there by the earl of Strafford. Soon after which he reſolved upon a journey to Scotland; and tho' the parliament endeavoured to diſſwade him from it, or at leaſt to defer it to a fitter opportunity, he refuſed to hearken unto them, under pretence that the affairs of that kingdom neceſſarily required his preſence: but in truth his great buſineſs was, to leave no means unattempted to take off that nation from their adherence to the parliament of England. Before his departure he ſigned a commiſſion to certain perſons, impowering them to paſs the bills that ſhould be tendered in his abſence.

WHILST he was about this work in Scotland, the news of the Iriſh rebellion was brought to him; that the papiſts throughout that kingdom were in arms; that their deſign to ſurprize and ſeize the caſtle of Dublin had not ſucceeded, being diſcovered by one O Connelly, a ſervant of Sir John Clotworthy's; and that the lord Macquire and Mac-mahon, who were appointed to that end, were taken, and ſent into England, where they were ſoon after executed for the ſame. The news of this rebellion (as I have heard from perſons of undoubted credit) was not diſpleaſing to the king, tho' it was attended with the maſſacre of many thouſands of the proteſtants there.

HAVING made what progreſs he could in Scotland, confirming by act o parliament not only what he had formerly granted them, but alſo what they had done in their aſſembly at Glaſgow, and in effect whatſoever they deſired of him, he returned to London; where being received with acclamations, and treated at the expence of the city, he became elevated to that degree, that in his firſt ſpeech to the commons he ſharply reproved them, for that inſtead of thanking him for what he had done, they continued to multiply their demands and diſſatisfactions: whereupon the parliament were confirmed in their ſuſpicions, that he deſigned to break what he had already granted, ſo ſoon as he had opportunity and power in his hands, to plead that he was under a force, as ſome of his predeceſſors had done, and ſo reverſe what had been enacted for the good of the people; revenge himſelf on thoſe who had been inſtruments in compelling him thereto, and fortify himſelf againſt the like for the future. Theſe apprehenſions

prehenſions made them earneſtly inſiſt upon ſettling the militia of the nation in ſuch hands as both houſes of parliament ſhould recommend to him, particularly repreſenting the great diſſatisfaction of the city of London, that Sir William Balfour, for refuſing to permit the earl of Strafford to eſcape, was diſmiſſed from his charge of lieutenant of the tower, and the government of it put into the hands of one Lunsford, a ſoldier of fortune, of a profligate converſation, and fit for any wicked deſign. With much difficulty this Lunsford was removed, and Sir John Conyers put into his place: but the parliament and city not ſatisfied with this choice, and having diſcovered that Sir John Suckling, under pretence of raiſing a regiment for Portugal, was bringing together a number of men to ſeize the tower for the king, it was at laſt entruſted to the cuſtody of the lord mayor of London.

About this time great numbers of Engliſh proteſtants flying from the bloody hands of the Iriſh rebels, arrived in England, filling all places with ſad complaints of their cruelties to the proteſtants of that kingdom. Whereupon the parliament earneſtly preſſed the king to proclaim them rebels, but could not obtain it to be done till after many weeks; and then but forty of thoſe proclamations were printed, and not above half of them publiſhed: which was the more obſerved and reſented, by reaſon of the different treatment that the Scots had met with, who no ſooner appeared in a much better cauſe, but they were forthwith declared rebels in every pariſh-church within the kingdom of England. The rebels in Ireland pretended a commiſſion from the king for what they did, which ſo alarmed the people of England, that the king thought himſelf neceſſitated to do ſomething therein; and therefore, to carry on his deſign, he acquainted the parliament, that when an army was raiſed, he would go in perſon to reduce them: but they apprehending this pretended reſolution to be only in order to put himſelf at the head of an army, that he might reduce the parliament to his will, refuſed to conſent; and procured an act to paſs, for the leaving of that war to the management of the two houſes; the king obliging himſelf not to give terms to any of the rebels, or to make peace with them without the parliament's conſent. In this act proviſion was made for the ſatisfying of ſuch as ſhould advance money for the reduction of Ireland, out of the rebels lands, in ſeveral provinces, according to the rates therein mentioned: upon which conſiderable ſums of money were ſoon brought in. The parliament neglecting no opportunity to carry on this neceſſary work, procured ſome forces to be ſent from Scotland into the north of Ireland, and put into their hands the town and caſtle of Carrickfergus: they alſo diſpatched ſeveral regiments of Engliſh thither, who were bleſſed with wonderful ſucceſs againſt the rebels, particularly about Dublin, where the earl of Ormond commanded. Thoſe of the Engliſh pale by fair pretences procured arms to be delivered to them, yet baſely cut off a party of five or ſix hundred men ſent to relieve Sir Richard Titchburn, then beſieged at Drogheda, who finding no hopes of relief, made his retreat to Dublin by ſea. The lord Forbes, a Scots-man, was ſent with a party into Munſter, where he greatly annoyed the enemy; and being furniſhed with ſome ſhips, ſailed up the Shannon, and ſecured ſeveral places upon that river, particularly Bonratte, the reſidence of the earl of Thomond, where he found about threeſcore horſe fit for ſervice. Major Adams was made governor of that houſe: but the enemy frequently reſorting to a place called Six-Mile-Bridge, about two or three miles from thence, the Engliſh preſſed the earl to aſſiſt

them

them to fall upon the Irish; who unwilling to oppose the English interest, and no less to make the rebels his enemies, endeavoured to excuse himself; yet upon second thoughts resolved to comply, if some care might be taken to spare his kindred: whereupon some of the English officers proposing to him that his relations should distinguish themselves by some mark, and he concluding it to be in order to secure them to the English interest, chose rather to withdraw himself into England, and to leave his house to the soldiers, where (tho' he pretended he had no money to lend them to supply their wants) they found two thousand pounds buried in the walls, which they made use of for the payment of their forces.

The king finding that nothing less would satisfy the parliament than a thorow correction of what was amiss, and full security of their rights from any violation for the future, considered how to put a stop to their proceedings; and to that end encouraged a great number of loose debauch'd fellows about the town to repair to Whitehall, where a constant table was provided for their entertainment. Many gentlemen of the inns of court were tampered with to assist him in his design, and things brought to that pass, that one of them said publickly in my hearing; "What! shall we suffer these fellows at Westminster to domineer thus? Let us go into the country, and bring up our tenants to pull them out." Which words not being able to bear, I questioned him for them; and he either out of fear of the publick justice, or of my resentment, came to me the next morning, and asked pardon for the same; which by reason of his youth, and want of experience, I passed by. By these actions of the king the suspicions of the parliament were justly increased, and therefore they desired leave to provide a guard to secure themselves from violence; which the king refused to grant, unless it might be of his own appointment, alledging that their fears were groundless: but they thought otherwise, being convinced that neither what had been already done was sufficiently secured, unless the militia might be placed in such hands as they could trust; nor themselves safe, unless attended by a guard of their own nomination.

The king's violent ways not succeeding, he fell upon other measures in appearance more moderate, yet continued his resolution to subdue the parliament: and to colour his proceedings with a form of law, he sent Sir Edward Herbert his attorney-general, and a member of the house of commons, to accuse of high-treason, in the name of his majesty, Mr. William Stroud, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Mr. Denzil Hollis, members of that house; and the lord Kimbolton of the house of lords: acquainting them, that he intended to proceed against them according to law, upon the following articles:

1. That they intended to change the government of the state, and to dispossess the king of his sovereign and lawful power, and to attribute to subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.

2. That by false reports and calumnies sown against his majesty, they had endeavoured to alienate from him the affections of his people.

3. That they had done their utmost to debauch the troops of his majesty, and to engage them in their perfidious designs.

4. That they had traiterously sought to overthrow the rights and true form of parliaments.

5. That they had used force and terror to constrain the parliament to engage in their pernicious designs; and to that end had stirred up tumults against the king and parliament.

6. THAT they had by a great treaſon reſolved to raiſe arms, and had actually raiſed arms againſt the king.

7. THAT they had endeavoured to procure a foreign power to invade England.

UPON this the houſe made anſwer to the attorney-general, that they were the proper judges of their own members: that upon his producing the articles that he had to accuſe their members with, and the conſideration of them, if they found cauſe, they would leave them to be proceeded againſt according to law; but commanded him at his peril not to proceed any farther againſt them, or any other member, without their conſent. After which they publiſhed a declaration, forbidding the ſeizing of any of their members without their order; authorizing them to ſtand upon their guard; and requiring all juſtices of the peace, conſtables, and other officers and people, to be aſſiſting to them; and ſent the attorney-general to priſon, for his proceedings in this matter.

THE king finding his inſtruments thus diſcouraged, and being reſolved to remove all obſtructions in his way, went in perſon to the houſe of commons, attended not only with his ordinary guard of penſioners, but alſo with thoſe deſperadoes that for ſome time he had entertained at Whitehall, to the number of three or four hundred, armed with partizans, ſword and piſtol. At the door of the houſe he left his guard commanded by the lord Roxberry, entering, accompanied only by the prince Palatine; where taking poſſeſſion of the ſpeaker's chair, and not ſeeing thoſe that he looked for, he ſaid, "The birds are flown." For, upon notice given by a lady of the court of the king's intention, they were retired into the city. The king then demanded of the ſpeaker where ſuch and ſuch were, naming the five members: to which he anſwered in theſe words; "I have neither eyes to ſee, ears to hear, nor tongue to ſpeak in this place, ſave what this houſe gives me." The king replied, "I think you are in the right:" and then addreſſing himſelf to the houſe, ſaid; "That he was ſorry he had been neceſſitated to come thither: That no king of England had been more careful to preſerve the privileges of parliament than he deſired to be; but that thoſe five members being dangerous perſons, he had been obliged to purſue them, not by force, but by the ordinary forms of juſtice: That he hoped the parliament would ſend them to him, to juſtify themſelves, if they could; if not, he knew how to find them:" which ſaid, he retired. The parliament ſenſible of this violation of their privileges, and fearing they might be further intrenched upon, ordered a committee of the houſe to ſit in the city of London, whither their five members were gone before for protection. The king followed them thither with a ſlender, or rather no guard, (ſo far was he from fearing either parliament or city) deſigning to engage the citizens to deliver up the five members to him, and to ſtand by him in this horrid enterprize; but they would not be perſwaded to comply with his deſires in that matter. This violent attempt proving unſucceſsful, the parliament, to aſſert their juſt rights, voted it to be a breach of their privileges; and that the like might be prevented for the future, after the committee had ſat a few days in the city, they returned to Weſtminſter, accompanied with guards from the city both by land and water. Which the king being informed of, and finding that the deſign which he had laid had highly provoked the parliament and people, he retired to Hampton-court, whither thoſe that he had formerly entertained at Whitehall by a repriev'd; and let himſelf upon [illegible] appeared in a military poſture, with the lord Digby and [illegible]

and

nel Lunsford at the head of them. The two houses having notice thereof, desired the king to disperse the said troops, and to return to the parliament. The lord Digby was also required to attend his duty in the house: but he being conscious of his own guilt, and knowing that the king's affairs were not yet in a posture to bid open defiance to the parliament, chose rather to betake himself to flight; as the queen did soon after, upon notice that the two houses were about to accuse her of high-treason: both of them designing not only to withdraw themselves from the prosecution of the parliament, but also to make what preparations they could for the raising of an army against them: in order to which the queen carried with her the jewels of the crown, and pawned them in Holland for arms and money. The parliament having discovered that the lord Digby had by a letter advised the king to retire to some place of strength, and there to declare against them, they caused him to be proclaimed a traitor: notwithstanding which, the king, instead of returning to London at the earnest desire of both houses, in prosecution of the lord Digby's council, went farther from them. During his absence many papers passed between him and the parliament. The chief aim of those of the latter was to perswade the king to return to London, and to settle the militia in such hands as the parliament should advise; that so all jealousies between him and his people might be removed. Those from the king were to let them know, that he could not part with the militia, esteeming it to be the best jewel of his crown; nor return to London with safety to his person. The declarations on both sides proving ineffectual, and the king's designs both at home and abroad being grown ripe, he expressed his dissatisfactions more openly, and withdrew to York, where several lords and others affected to his interest, resorted to him with plate, money, men, horses and arms: amongst whom were many papists; who, tho' to cover the king's designs from the people, they were forbidden to come into the court, were yet privately encouraged, and daily listed and armed. And as the distance of York from the parliament was one reason why the king went thither, so its nearness to Hull was another. This town he endeavoured to possess himself of, being a place of strength, where great quantities of arms and ammunition had been laid up, upon disbanding the army which was lately on foot in those parts, and very convenient for the landing of men from Holland. But the parliament suspecting the design, had sent Sir John Hotham thither to keep and defend it for their use. Notwithstanding which the king persisted in his resolution, and endeavoured, by sending divers persons of quality into the town, to surprize it; but that way not taking effect, he appeared in person before it, demanding entrance of Sir John Hotham, which he absolutely refused to permit; alledging, that he was entrusted with the place by the parliament for the service of his majesty and the nation, and that he could not surrender it without their order. The king finding that he could not prevail either by promises or threatnings, caused Sir John Hotham to be proclaimed a traitor, and returned to York; from whence he complained to the parliament of the affront he had received at Hull; who, to manifest their approbation of Sir John Hotham's conduct, declared that he had done his duty in denying the king admittance into the town, asserting that the command of the militia was entrusted with the king to be employed for the good of the nation; of which the two houses of parliament sitting are the proper judges.

THE parliament began now to provide for the ſecurity of all places, and ſent a committee of four of their members to invite the king to return to Weſtminſter, and to endeavour to promote their intereſt in the northern parts: and being informed that there was laid up in the town of Leiceſter a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition provided for the county; and that Mr. Haſtings, then ſheriff, under pretence of bringing with him a guard to attend the judges at the aſſizes, reſolved to ſecure the ſaid magazine for the king's uſe; they made choice of officers for three companies of foot, impowering them to raiſe the ſaid companies for the defence of the ſaid magazine. The captains nominated to this employment were one major Grey, Dr. Baſtwick, and one of my brothers, who having been for ſome time in the ſervice of the ſtates of Holland, was newly returned to England. Theſe three having received their commiſſions from the parliament, went to Leiceſter, in order to raiſe their companies; which they had not fully effected, when the king with all his cavalry, conſiſting of about two thouſand horſe, arrived at Leiceſter; againſt whom three companies being no way ſufficient to defend the town, they reſolved only to ſecure that place where the magazine lay: but that not being large enough to receive more than one company, the three captains caſt lots whoſe part it ſhould be to defend it; which falling upon major Grey, the other two diſperſed their men, and ſet forward for London, but had not rode many miles when they were ſeized by a party of horſe, which the king commanded the ſheriff to ſend after them, who brought them back to Leiceſter, from whence they were removed to York, where they were kept in the common goal, and very cruelly treated. Theſe were the firſt priſoners taken on either ſide. The magazine by capitulation was diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the county, as properly belonging to them.

THE parliament, that they might leave no means unattempted to perſwade the king to return to them, ſent down propoſitions, directing their commiſſioners at York to deliver them to him: and becauſe much of the intentions of the parliament appear in the ſaid propoſals, and for that they were in effect the principal foundation of the enſuing war, I conceive it will not be amiſs to recite them in this place, as they were agreed on by both houſes the ſecond of June, 1642. with the title of, "Their humble petition and advice in nineteen propoſitions ſent to the king."

## The moſt humble and moſt faithful ſubjects of your majeſty, the lords and commons aſſembled in parliament,

"HAVING nothing in their thoughts and deſires more precious, "and of higher eſteem, after the honour and immediate ſervice "of God, than the juſt and faithful diſcharge of their duty towards "your majeſty and this kingdom; and being moſt ſenſible of the de- "ſtruction and diſorders, and of the imminent dangers and miſeries "which threaten your majeſty and ſubject, the which have proceeded "from the ſubtle inſinuations, malicious practice, and wicked counſels "of perſons ill-affected to the true religion of God, to the peace and "honour of your majeſty, and to the good of the commonwealth; "after a ſerious conſideration of the cauſes of theſe miſeries, in all hu- "mility and thankfulness they preſent to your majeſty this petition and advice, "as full of duty; to the end that your royal preſence, for the effecting of

" of your honour and safety, and by a tender sense of the good and safety " of your subjects, and your estates, you may please to consent and agree " unto these humble desires and propositions, as the most necessary and most " effectual means, by the blessing of the Lord, to remove the jealousies and " differences that are unhappily begot between you and your people, and " to procure to you and them a constant current of honour, peace and " happiness.

Proposition 1. " That the lords and all others of your majesty's privy " council, and such other chief officers of state, as well within the king- " dom as on the other side of the sea, be put out of all offices and employ- " ments, except such as the two houses of parliament shall approve; and " that those who shall be put into their places shall be approved by parlia- " ment; and that those of the council shall take an oath for the due " execution of their charge in such form as the parliament shall agree.

" 2. That the great affairs of the kingdom shall not be concluded " nor passed by the advice of private persons, nor by any counsellors un- " known, or that shall not have taken oath; but that such matters as " concern the public, and are proper for the high court of parliament, " that is your majesty's great and supreme council, shall be debated, " resolved, and passed in parliament, and there only; and those who " shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be subject to the " censure and judgment of the parliament: And other matters of state that " are proper for the privy council of your majesty, shall be debated and " concluded by the nobles, and others who shall be chosen for that end, " from time to time, by the two houses of parliament; and that every " public act that concerns the affairs of the kingdom, and shall be agreed " by the council, shall be esteemed of no force, and as not proceeding " from the royal authority, if at least the greatest part of your council " have not consented thereunto, and signed the same; and that your coun- " cil shall be brought to a certain number that shall not exceed twenty " five, nor be under fifteen; and if it happen that any counsellor's place " becomes void during the intervals of parliament, it shall be supplied by " the plurality of voices of those of your council, which shall be either " confirmed or voided at the first sessions of parliament.

" 3. That the lord high steward of England, the great constable, the " chancellor, the keepers of the seals, the great treasurer, the keeper " of the privy seal, the earl marshal, the admiral, the governour of " the cinque-ports, the lieutenant of Ireland, the chancellor of the " exchequer, the master of the court of wards, the secretaries of state, " the two chief justices, and the chief baron, shall be chosen with the " approbation of the two houses of parliament, and in the intervals of par- " liament by the major part of the privy council, with the condition " above mentioned in the choice of the counsellors of state.

" 4. That the governour of the children of the king shall be chosen " with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals of parliament in " the manner before-mentioned; and of the servants that are already about " them, the parliament shall change such as they think fit.

" 5. That the children of the king shall not marry without the ad- " vice of the parliament; and those who shall be employed therein " without their knowledge, shall be punished by the parliament.

" 6. That the laws against popish recusants shall be put in effectual exe- " cution, and that those of them who are prisoners, shall not be set at " liberty without giving good security.

" 7. THAT papiſts ſhall have no vote in councils, and that their children " ſhall be brought up in the proteſtant religion.

" 8. THAT the parliament ſhall reform the liturgy and the govern- " ment of the church, as they ſhall think fit, with the advice of divines: " That your majeſty ſhall aſſiſt to put a ſtop to innovations, to expel ſuſ- " picious and ſcandalous miniſters, and for the countenancing of a godly " and preaching miniſtry throughout the nation.

" 9. THAT it will pleaſe your majeſty to content yourſelf with the " order that the parliament hath eſtabliſhed in the militia, until an act be " agreed on for that purpoſe; and that your majeſty will recal the " declarations and proclamations againſt the orders given therein by the " parliament.

" 10. THAT every member of parliament that hath been put out " of his employment or office, ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, or ſatisfaction given " him.

" 11. THAT the privy counſellors and judges ſhall take ſuch oath as " ſhall be agreed on by parliament, for the doing of juſtice, and obſerv- " ing the ſtatutes that ſhall be agreed on by this parliament; and that report be " made every ſeſſion of parliament, of the evil adminiſtration of juſtice.

" 12. That all officers ſhall enjoy their places ſo long, and no longer " than they behave themſelves well therein.

" 13. THAT all perſons ſhall be ſubject to the juſtice of the parliament, " even although they remove themſelves beyond the ſeas.

" 14. THAT the amneſty accorded by your majeſty ſhall have ſuch " exceptions therein as the parliament ſhall think fit.

" 15. THAT the fortreſſes of the kingdom ſhall have governours of the " choice of your majeſty, yet of the approbation of the parliament, and in " the intervals of parliament as is aforeſaid.

" 16. THAT the extraordinary guard that your majeſty hath at preſent " about you, may be diſcharged, and that for the time to come you will " raiſe no ſuch extraordinary guards, but according to law, in caſe of " actual rebellion or invaſion.

" 17. THAT it will pleaſe your majeſty to confirm your leagues with " the united provinces, and other princes of the proteſtant religion, that " you may be the more capable to defend it againſt popiſh attempts; " which will bring much reputation to your majeſty, and encourage " your ſubjects to endeavour in a parliamentary way to re-eſtabliſh " your ſiſter and her children, and other princes, oppreſſed for the ſame " cauſe.

" 18. THAT it will pleaſe your majeſty to clear, by an act of parlia- " ment, the lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the houſe of com- " mons, ſo that future parliaments may be ſecured againſt the conſequence " of ſuch ill examples.

" 19. THAT it will pleaſe your majeſty of your grace to paſs an act, " that the peers created hereafter ſhall have no place nor voice in parlia- " ment, at leaſt unleſs they are admitted thereunto by the parlia- " ment.

" THESE humble requeſts being granted unto us by your majeſty, " we ſhall endeavour, as we ought, to regulate the revenue of your " majeſty, and to increaſe it more and more, in ſuch ſort, that it ſhall " ſupport the dignity royal with honour and abundance, beyond whatever " the ſubjects of this kingdom have allowed to their kings your majeſty's pre- " deceſſors. We will put alſo the town of Hull into ſuch hands as your

" majeſty

" majeſty ſhall pleaſe, with the approbation of the parliament, and will " give a good account of the munitions of war, and of the magazine. " And to conclude, we ſhall chearfully do our endeavours to give unto " your majeſty teſtimony of our affection, duty and faithfulneſs, to pre- " ſerve and maintain your royal honour, the greatneſs and ſafety of your " majeſty, and of your poſterity."

THESE propoſitions were delivered to the king by the commiſſioners of the parliament, but without ſucceſs, he being reſolved to ſteer another courſe; preſuming he might obtain as good terms as theſe, if reduced to the laſt extremity; and that if his arms ſucceeded according to his hopes, his will might paſs for a law, purſuant to the opinion of thoſe who thought no way ſo likely to render his authority abſolute, as the making of a war upon his people. And now the fire began to break out in the weſt; Sir John Stawell and others drawing a party together in Somerſetſhire for the king, where captain Preſton and others oppoſed them; and about Martials Elm on Polden-Hill, ſome of thoſe who declared for the parliament were killed. Whereupon the parliament ordered ſome horſe to be raiſed, which they ſent down under the command of the earl of Bedford, to protect their friends in thoſe parts. By which means the enemy being forced to quit the field, betook themſelves to the caſtle of Sherburn in Dorſetſhire, which after a ſhort ſiege was ſurrendred to the parliament. Portſmouth was alſo ſecured for the parliament by the young lord Goring, then governour thereof; but he afterwards declaring for the king, it was beſieged and reduced by their forces, and the government of it entruſted to Sir William Lewis.

THE king having ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham the 24th of Auguſt, 1642. the parliament thought themſelves obliged to make ſome preparations to defend themſelves, having diſcovered that he had ſent abroad to procure what aſſiſtance he could againſt his people, particularly applying himſelf to the king of Denmark, acquainting him, that the two houſes, to make their work ſure againſt him, were endeavouring to prove queen Anne a whore, and thereby illegitimate all her iſſue; earneſtly preſſing him in vindication of his injured ſiſter, as well as in conſideration of his own relation to him, to ſend him ſuccours. This letter was intercepted and brought to the parliament, who by a declaration proteſted that no ſuch thing had ever entred into their thoughts. The king alſo endeavoured, under pretence of law, to take away the lives of Dr. Baſtwick and captain Robert Ludlow, for acting in obedience to the commands of the parliament; and had proceeded to their execution, had not the parliament by a meſſage ſent to judge Heath, and delivered unto him on the bench, threatned a retaliation, by executing two for one in caſe they went on, which put a ſtop to that deſign.

THE parliament having paſſed the following votes,

1. THAT the king, ſeduced by evil counſel, intends to levy war againſt the parliament;
2. THAT when the king doth levy war againſt the parliament, he breaks his truſt, and doth that which tends to the diſſolution of the parliament;
3. THAT whoſoever ſhall aſſiſt him in ſuch a war, are traitors, and ſhall be proceeded againſt accordingly;

prepared

prepared for the raiſing of an army, and publiſhed ſeveral declarations, inviting the good people of England to aſſiſt them with their prayers, perſons, and purſes to carry on this war, which they were neceſſitated to enter into for the defence of the religion, laws, liberties, and parliament of England. The proteſtation taken by both houſes, and by them propoſed to the people, to ſtand by each other in their juſt and neceſſary undertaking, was readily and chearfully taken by many in London and elſewhere; and divers hundreds on horſeback from the counties of Buckingham, Hartford, and Eſſex, came up with their ſeveral petitions, acknowledging the care and faithfulneſs of the parliament in the diſcharge of their truſt, and promiſing to ſtand by them in the carrying on of what they had declared for.

DECLARATIONS were alſo ſet forth by the two houſes, encouraging the people to provide horſes and arms, and to bring in plate and money for their neceſſary defence, engaging the credit of the public for the reimburſement of what ſhould be ſo advanced. Which contributions ariſing to the value of a great ſum, they declared their intentions of raiſing a certain number of horſe and foot, with a proportionable train of artillery, and voted the earl of Eſſex to be their general; whom the king (to take him off from the public intereſt) had lately made chamberlain of his houſhold. Upon the ſame account he had alſo preferred the lord Say to be maſter of the court of wards, and Mr. Oliver St. Johns to be his ſolicitor general. But this could not corrupt the earl of Eſſex, nor hinder him from diſcharging vigorouſly that truſt which the parliament had repoſed in him. Divers of the lords and commons engaged their lives with him, and under him: of the lords, the earl of Bedford, who was general of the horſe, the lord Peterborough, the lord Willoughby of Parham, the lord Denbigh, the lord St. John, the lord Rochford; and of the commons, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Hollis, who raiſed regiments; Sir Philip Stapylton, who commanded the earl of Eſſex's guard, and Mr. Oliver Cromwell, who commanded a troop of horſe, and divers others. The earl of Northumberland, who was high admiral, ſtaid with the parliament. The earl of Warwick, whom they made vice-admiral, kept the greateſt part of the fleet in obedience to them.

THINGS being brought to this extremity, the nation was driven to a neceſſity of arming in defence of the laws, openly and frequently violated by the king; who had made it the chief buſineſs of his reign to invade the rights and privileges of the people, raiſing taxes by various arts without their conſent in parliament; encouraging and preferring a formal and ſuperſtitious clergy, diſcouraging the ſober and virtuous amongſt them; impoſing upon all the inventions of men in the room of the inſtitutions of God: and knowing that parliaments were the moſt likely means to rectify what was amiſs, to give a check to his ambition, and to puniſh the principal inſtruments of that illegal power which he had aſſumed, had endeavoured either to prevent their meeting, or to render them fruitleſs to the people, and only ſerviceable to his corrupt ends, by granting him money to carry on his pernicious deſigns: a parliament being now called, and an act paſſed, authorizing them to ſit till they ſhould think fit to diſſolve themſelves: and it being manifeſt to them, and to all thoſe who had any concern for the happineſs of the nation, that the king would do nothing effectually to relief the preſent, or to ſecure the people from future miſchief; chuſing rather to contend with them by arms, than for their laſt ſecurity to entruſt the militia in faithful hands; reſolving to impoſe

pose that by the force of his arms which he could not do by the strength of his arguments: I thought it my duty, upon consideration of my age and vigorous constitution, as an English-man, and an invitation to that purpose from my father, to enter into the service of my country, in the army commanded by the earl of Essex under the authority of the parliament. I thought the justice of that cause I had engaged in to be so evident, that I could not imagine it to be attended with much difficulty. For tho' I supposed that many of the clergy, who had been the principal authors of our miseries, together with some of the courtiers, and such as absolutely depended upon the king for their subsistence, as also some foreigners, would adhere to him; yet I could not think that many of the people, who had been long oppressed with heavy burdens, and now with great difficulty had obtained a parliament, composed of such persons as were willing to run all hazards to procure a lasting settlement for the nation, would be either such enemies to themselves, or so ungrateful to those they had trusted, as not to stand by them to the utmost of their power: at least (tho' some might not have so much resolution and courage as to venture all with them, yet) that they would not be so treacherous and unworthy, as to strengthen the hands of the enemy against those who had the laws of God, nature and reason, as well as those of the land on their side. Soon after my engagement in this cause, I met with Mr. Richard Fynes, son to the lord Say, and Mr. Charles Fleetwood, son to Sir Miles Fleetwood, then a member of the house of commons; with whom consulting, it was resolved by us to assemble as many young gentlemen of the inns of court, of which we then were, and others, as should be found disposed to this service, in order to be instructed together in the use of arms, to render ourselves fit and capable of acting in case there should be occasion to make use of us. To this end we procured a person experienced in military affairs, to instruct us in the use of arms; and for some time we frequently met to exercise at the Artillery-ground in London. And being informed that the parliament had resolved to raise a life-guard for the earl of Essex, to consist of a hundred gentlemen, under the command of Sir Philip Stapylton, a member of parliament, most of our company entered themselves therein, and made up the greatest part of the said guard; amongst whom were Mr. Richard Fynes, Mr. Charles Fleetwood, afterwards lieutenant-general, major-general Harrison, colonel Nathanael Rich, colonel Thomlinson, colonel Twisleton, colonel Bosewell, major Whitby, and myself, with divers others. It was not long before the army under the command of the earl of Essex was raised, and ready to march; so chearfully did the people, hoping that the time of their deliverance was come, offer their persons and all that was necessary for the carrying on of that work. The appearance for the king was not very considerable whilst he continued at York; but when he removed to Shrewsbery, great numbers out of Wales and the adjacent parts resorted to him. The earl of Essex having notice that the king directed his march that way, advanced with his army towards Worcester; and upon his approach to that town received advice, that a detachment commanded by prince Rupert had possessed themselves of it for the king; and that a party of ours, impatient of delay, had engaged the enemy before our general could come up, with great disadvantage, as I afterwards observed upon view of the place. Ours consisted of about a thousand horse and dragoons, the enemy being more in number, and drawn up in a body, within musket-shot of a bridge between Parshot

and Worceſter, over which our men reſolved to march and attack them; but before half their number was got over, not being able to advance above eight or ten a-breaſt, by reaſon of a narrow lane through which they were to paſs, till they came within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy, they were engaged, and forced to retreat in diſorder, tho' they did as much as could be expected from them upon ſo diſadvantageous a ground. Some were killed upon the place; among whom was major Gunter, a very gallant man, who, as I have heard, had endeavoured to diſſwade them from that attempt; others were drowned, and divers taken priſoners; of the laſt was colonel Sands, who commanded the party, and was carried to Worceſter, where, being mortally wounded, he ſoon died, with all poſſible expreſſions of his hearty affection to the publick cauſe. The body of our routed party returned in great diſorder to Parſhot, at which place our life-guard was appointed to quarter that night; where, as we were marching into the town, we diſcovered horſe-men riding very hard towards us with drawn ſwords, and many of them without hats, from whom we underſtood the particulars of our loſs, not without improvement, by reaſon of the fear with which they were poſſeſſed, telling us, that the enemy was hard by in purſuit of them: whereas it afterwards appeared, they came not within four miles of that place. Our life-guard being for the moſt part ſtrangers to things of this nature, were much alarmed with this report; yet ſome of us, unwilling to give credit to it till we were better informed, offered ourſelves to go out upon a further diſcovery of the matter. But our captain Sir Philip Stapylton not being then with us, his lieutenant one Bainham, an old ſoldier (a generation of men much cried up at that time) drawing us into a field, where he pretended we might more advantageouſly charge if there ſhould be occaſion, commanded us to wheel about; but our gentlemen not yet well underſtanding the difference between "wheeling about," and "ſhifting for themſelves," their backs being now towards the enemy, whom they thought to be cloſe in the rear, retired to the army in a very diſhonourable manner, and the next morning rallied at the head-quarters, where we received but cold welcome from the general, as we well deſerved. The night following the enemy left Worceſter, and retreated to Shrewsbery, where the king was; upon which the earl of Eſſex advanced to Worceſter, where he continued with the army for ſome time, expecting an anſwer to a meſſage ſent by him to the king from the parliament, inviting him to return to London. This time the king improved to compleat and arm his men; which when he had effected, he began his march, the earl of Eſſex attending him to obſerve his motions: and after a day or two, on Sunday morning, the 23d of October, 1642. our ſcouts brought advice that the enemy appeared, and about nine o' clock ſome of their troops were diſcovered upon Edge hill in Warwickſhire. Upon this our forces who had been ordered that morning to their quarters to refreſh themſelves, having had but little reſt for eight and forty hours, were immediately countermanded. The enemy drew down the hill, and we into the field near Keinton. The beſt of our field-pieces were planted upon our right wing, guarded by two regiments of foot and ſome horſe. Our general having commanded to fire upon the enemy, it was done twice upon that part of the army, wherein, as it was reported, the king was. The great ſhot were exchanged on both ſides for the ſpace of an hour or thereabouts. By this time the foot began to engage, and a party of the enemy being ſent to line ſome hedges on our right wing, thereby to beat us from our ground,

were

were repulsed by our dragoons without any loss on our side. The enemy's body of foot, wherein the king's standard was, came on within musket-shot of us; upon which we observing no horse to encounter withal, charged them with some loss from their pikes, tho' very little from their shot; but not being able to break them, we retreated to our former station, whither we were no sooner come, but we perceived that those who were appointed to guard the artillery were marched off: and Sir Philip Stapylton our captain wishing for a regiment of foot to secure the cannon, we promised to stand by him in defence of them, causing one of our servants to load and level one of them, which he had scarce done, when a body of horse appeared advancing towards us from that side where the enemy was. We fired at them with case-shot, but did no other mischief save only wounding one man through the hand, our gun being over-loaded, and planted on high ground; which fell out very happily, this body of horse being of our own army, and commanded by Sir William Balfour, who with great resolution had charged into the enemy's quarters, where he had nailed several pieces of their cannon, and was then retreating to his own party, of which the man who was shot in the hand was giving us notice by holding it up; but we did not discern it. The earl of Essex ordered two regiments of foot to attack that body which we had charged before, where the king's standard was, which they did, but could not break them, till Sir William Balfour at the head of a party of horse charging them in the rear, and we marching down to take them in flank, they broke and ran away towards the hill. Many of them were killed upon the place, amongst whom was Sir Edward Varney the king's standard-bearer, who, as I have heard from a person of honour, engaged on that side, not out of any good opinion of the cause, but from the sense of a duty which he thought lay upon him, in respect of his relation to the king. Mr. Herbert of Glamorganshire, lieutenant-colonel to Sir Edward Stradling's regiment, was also killed, with many others that fell in the pursuit. Many colours were taken, and I saw lieutenant-colonel Middleton, then a reformade in our army, displaying the king's standard which he had taken: but a party of horse coming upon us, we were obliged to retire with our standard; and having brought it to the earl of Essex, he delivered it to the custody of one Mr. Chambers his secretary, from whom it was taken by one captain Smith, who, with two more, disguising themselves with orange-colour'd scarfs, (the earl of Essex's colour) and pretending it unfit that a penman should have the honour to carry the standard, took it from him, and rode with it to the king, for which action he was knighted. Retreating towards our army, I fell in with a body of the king's foot, as I soon perceived; but having passed by them undiscovered, I met with Sir William Balfour's troop, some of whom who knew me not would have fired upon me, supposing me to be an enemy, had they not been prevented, and assured of the contrary by Mr. Francis Russel, who with ten men well mounted and armed, which he maintained, rode in the life-guard, and in the heat of the pursuit had lost sight of them, as I myself had also done.

I NOW perceived no other engagement on either side, only a few great guns continued to fire upon us from the enemy: but towards the close of the day we discovered a body of horse marching from our rear on the left of us under the hedges, which the life-guard (whom I had then found) having discovered to be the enemy, and resolving to charge them, sent to some of our troops that stood within musket-shot of us, to second them; which

which tho' they refuſed to do, and we had no way to come at them but through a gap in the hedge, we advanced towards them, and falling upon their rear, killed divers of them, and brought off ſome arms. In which attempt being diſmounted, I could not without great difficulty recover on horſe-back again, being loaded with cuiraſſiers arms, as the reſt of the guard alſo were. This was the right wing of the king's horſe commanded by prince Rupert, who taking advantage of the diſorder that our own horſe had put our foot into, who had opened their ranks to ſecure them in their retreat, preſſed upon them with ſuch fury, that he put them to flight. And if the time which he ſpent in purſuing them too far, and in plundering the waggons, had been employed in taking ſuch advantages as offered themſelves in the place where the fight was, it might have proved more ſerviceable to the carrying on of the enemy's deſigns. The night after the battle our army quartered upon the ſame ground that the enemy fought on the day before. No man nor horſe got any meat that night, and I had touched none ſince the Saturday before, neither could I find my ſervant who had my cloak, ſo that having nothing to keep me warm but a ſuit of iron, I was obliged to walk about all night, which proved very cold by reaſon of a ſharp froſt.

TOWARDS morning our army, having received a reinforcement of colonel Hampden's and ſeveral other regiments, to the number of about four thouſand men, who had not been able to join us ſooner, was drawn up; and about day-light we ſaw the enemy upon the top of the hill: ſo that we had time to bury our dead, and theirs too if we thought fit. That day was ſpent in ſending trumpeters to enquire whether ſuch as were miſſing on both ſides, were killed or priſoners. Thoſe of ours taken by the enemy were lord St. Johns, who was mortally wounded, and declared at his death a full ſatisfaction and chearfulneſs to lay down his life in ſo good a cauſe; colonel Walton a member of parliament, and captain Auſtin an eminent merchant in London; of whom the laſt died through the hard uſage he received in the goal at Oxford, to which he was committed. It was obſerved that the greateſt ſlaughter on our ſide was of ſuch as ran away, and on the enemy's ſide of thoſe that ſtood; of whom I ſaw about threeſcore lie within the compaſs of threeſcore yards upon the ground, whereon that brigade fought in which the king's ſtandard was. We took priſoners the earl of Lindſey, general of the king's army, who died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, and colonel Lunsford, who were ſent to Warwick-caſtle. That night the country brought in ſome proviſions; but when I got meat I could ſcarce eat it, my jaws for want of uſe having almoſt loſt their natural faculty.

OUR army was now refreſhed, and maſters of the field; and having received ſuch a conſiderable addition of ſtrength as I mentioned before, we hoped that we ſhould have purſued the enemy, who were marching off as faſt as they could, leaving only ſome troops to face us upon the top of the hill: but inſtead of that, for what reaſon I know not, we marched to Warwick; of which the enemy having notice, ſent out a party of horſe under prince Rupert, who on Tueſday night fell into the town of Kenton, where our ſick and wounded ſoldiers lay, and after they had cruelly murdered many of them, returned to their army. The king, as if maſter of the field, marched to Banbury, and ſummoned it; and tho' about a thouſand of our men were in the town, yet pretending it not to be ſufficiently provided for a ſiege, they ſurrendered it to him. From thence the king went to Oxford, and our army after ſome refreſhment at

Warwick returned to London, not like men that had obtained a victory, but as if they had been beaten. The parliament ordered them to be recruited; and about the ſame time ſent to the king, who was advanced with part of his army to Maidenhead, or thereabouts, to aſſure him of their earneſt deſire to prevent the effuſion of more blood, and to procure a right underſtanding between his majeſty and them. The king in his anſwer, which was brought by Sir Peter Killegrew, profeſſed to deſire nothing more, and that he would leave no means unattempted for the effecting thereof. Upon which anſwer the parliament thought themſelves ſecure, at leaſt againſt any ſudden attempt: but the very next day the king taking the advantage of a very thick miſt, marched his army within half a mile of Brentford before he was diſcovered, deſigning to ſurprize our train of artillery, (which was then at Hammerſmith) the parliament and city; which he had certainly done, if two regiments of foot and a ſmall party of horſe, that lay at Brentford, had not with unſpeakable courage oppoſed his paſſage, and ſtopt the march of his army moſt part of the afternoon: during which time the army, that lay quartered in and about London, drew together; which ſome of them, and particularly the life-guard, had opportunity the ſooner to do, being at that very time drawn into Chelſey-fields to muſter, where they heard the vollies of ſhot that paſſed between the enemy and our little party. The diſpute continued for ſome hours, till our men were encompaſſed quite round with horſe and foot; and then being overpowered with numbers on every ſide, many brave and gallant men having loſt their lives upon the place, the reſt chuſing rather to commit themſelves to the mercy of the water, than to thoſe who were engaged in ſo treacherous a deſign, leaped into the river, where many officers and private ſoldiers were drowned, and ſome taken priſoners. However, the enemy's deſign was by this means defeated, and they diſcouraged from any farther attempt that night. The parliament alſo were alarmed in ſuch a manner with the danger and treachery of this enterprize, that they uſed all poſſible diligence to bring their forces together, ſo that by eight of the clock the next morning we had a body of twenty thouſand horſe and foot drawn up upon Turnham-green, a mile on this ſide Brentford: thoſe of ours alſo that lay at Kingſton were marching to us by the way of London. The enemy drew out a party of theirs towards the hill at Acton, which we attacked, and forced to retire in diſorder to their main body. And here again, in the opinion of many judicious perſons, we loſt, as at Edge-hill before, a favourable opportunity of engaging the enemy with great advantage, our numbers exceeding theirs, and their reputation being utterly loſt in the laſt attempt. But the earl of Holland and others, pretending to encourage our army by their preſence, made uſe of their time to diſſwade the earl of Eſſex from fighting till the reſt of our forces arrived; magnifying the power of the enemy to him, and thereby giving them an opportunity to draw off their forces and artillery towards Kingſton, which they did as faſt as they could, leaving only a body of horſe to face us between the two Brentfords, the reſt having ſecured themſelves by a timely retreat: upon this party ſome of our great guns, guarded by a regiment of foot, were, towards the evening, ordered to be fired. The life-guard was drawn up in the high-ways, to ſecure our foot from any attempt of horſe that might be made upon them; which ſome great men, who pretended a reſolution to fight in that troop, blamed, charging the adviſers thereof with raſhneſs, in hazarding them

in ſuch a pound, where they muſt inevitably be cut off, if the enemy ſhould advance upon them. But I fear this great care was only counterfeit, and that thoſe perſons well knew the enemy to be in a flying, and not in a charging condition, as it quickly appeared; for our cannon no ſooner began to play upon them, but they retired to the main body of their army, the rear of which had by that time recovered Hounſlow-heath. The enemy took up their head-quarters at Kingſton, where, by the advantage of the bridge over the Thames, they hoped to be able, tho' inferior in number, to defend themſelves againſt a more numerous army, if they ſhould be attacked, and to put in execution any deſign they might have upon the city or places adjacent. To prevent which our general cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the river between Putney and Batterſey, which was no ſooner finiſhed but the enemy retired to Oxford by the way of Reading, which place they fortified, and placed a gariſon therein, a party of ours having quitted it upon their approach. Gariſons were alſo placed by them in the towns of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Cheſter, Worceſter, and ſeveral others, as they had done before in York and Shrewsbery. Some of ours likewiſe had poſſeſſed themſelves of Gloceſter, Briſtol, Exeter, Southampton, Dover, and divers other places. The enemy being retired, our army advanced to Windſor, and made it our head-quarters for the moſt part of that winter: and ſo deſirous was the parliament to prevent any further effuſion of blood, that notwithſtanding the treacherous deſign of the late expedition, they again ſent propoſitions of peace to the king at Oxford, being the ſame in effect with thoſe delivered to him before at York; but they found no better reception than the others had done. I do not remember any thing remarkable performed by either party this winter, ſave only an attempt of the enemy upon one of our quarters at Henly, where two regiments of foot, one of which was major-general Skippon's, then were, who being tired with a long march, and diſperſed to their reſpective quarters, were fallen upon by a great body of the enemy that had advanced to the town's end undiſcovered; but a ſmall party of our men getting together, one of our gunners haſtened to the artillery which was planted upon the avenue, fired once or twice upon them, and made ſo great a ſlaughter, eſpecially of thoſe officers who were at the head of their party, that they retreated in great diſorder without any farther attempt.

Our general having notice that the enemy had a deſign upon Briſtol, ſent a party commanded by colonel Nathanael Fines to reinforce that gariſon; by which means it was prevented, and ſome of their correſpondents in the town thereupon executed.

About this time Sir Edward Hungerford having obtained the command of the forces in the county of Wilts for the parliament, invited me to raiſe a troop of horſe in his regiment: in order to which I attended him at the Devizes, and from thence went with him to Salisbury, where he ſeized ſome quantity of horſe and arms from perſons diſaffected, and with them mounted and armed part of his men. And I having done what was convenient at that time for the raiſing of my troop, returned to the head-quarters at Windſor, where I gave them an account of the good condition of colonel Fines and Sir Edward Hungerford, at which they were not a little ſurprized, having been made to believe that they and their troops were routed and cut in pieces by the enemy. Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Bevil Grenvil, and others, were very active in raiſing forces for the king, in Cornwall, and the remote parts of Devonſhire, and had poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed themſelves of Pendennis, Dartmouth, and Barnſtaple, as colonel Aſhburnham and others had done of Weymouth in Dorſetſhire. And the parliament had ordered gariſons to be put into Plymouth, Lyme, and Pool. In the ſpring our army was maſter of the field, the king making it his buſineſs to be only upon the defenſive till the queen ſhould arrive in England with an army to his aſſiſtance, hoping to exhauſt the treaſure of the city of London by delays, and thereby to cauſe them to abate their zeal for the publick, omitting no opportunity by his emiſſaries to create and foment differences amongſt them, endeavouring by all means to procure an inſurrection for him, to compel the parliament to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he pleaſed to impoſe. The earl of Eſſex marched with the army to beſiege Reading, a frontier town of the king's, which he had ſtrongly fortify'd and gariſon'd. The general himſelf ſat down on the North-weſt ſide, and the lord Grey of Wark on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the town: the great ſhot did ſome damage to the houſes; from one of which a tile falling upon the head of Sir Arthur Aſhton, a papiſt, and governour thereof, diſabled him from executing that charge during the reſt of the ſiege, and colonel Fielding was made governour in his room. The king thinking this place to be of great importance to him, brought together all the forces he could; and marching on Cauſam-ſide in order to relieve it, was oppoſed by a ſmall party of ours, who taking the advantage of ſome ditches and pales to ſhelter themſelves, repulſed his men, and forced him to retreat to Oxford. Upon this the town was ſurrendred upon articles to the earl of Eſſex, colonel Fielding the governour retiring to Oxford, where he was trieda nd condemned to die, but not executed.

AT my coming into Wiltſhire with three more of the life-guard, two whereof were to be officers in my troop, and the third in another troop of the ſame regiment, I found Sir Edward Hungerford with the forces of Wilts, and colonel Stroud with part of thoſe of Somerſetſhire, beſieging Warder-caſtle, before which they had been about a week, battering it with two ſmall pieces, whereby they had done little other hurt ſave only to a chimney-piece, by a ſhot entring at a window: but there being a vault on each ſide of the caſtle, for the conveying away of filth, two or three barrels of powder were put into one of them, and being fired, blew up ſome part of it; which with the grazing of a bullet upon the face of one of the ſervants, and the threatning of the beſiegers to ſpring the other mine, and then to ſtorm it, if it was not ſurrendred before an hour-glaſs, which they had turned up, was run out, ſo terrified the ladies therein, whereof there was a great number, that they agreed to ſurrender it. The government of this caſtle was entruſted to my care by Sir Edward Hungerford, who left with me a company of foot commanded by captain Bean and my own troop, to defend it. The earl of Marlborough with ſome horſe poſſeſſed himſelf of a houſe in our neighbourhood called Fount Hill, with a deſign to block us up; but Sir Edward ſent a party of horſe who fell upon him there, and obliged him to quit it. I levelled the works that had been raiſed during the ſiege, ſunk a well, broke down the vaults about the caſtle, and furniſhed it with proviſions, expecting to be beſieged, as I was ſoon after. For within a fortnight after I was poſſeſſed of it, the lord Arundel, to whom it belonged, and whoſe father died ſoon after he had received news that it was taken, ſuppoſing to find me unprovided, came with a party of horſe, and ſummoned me to deliver the place for his majeſty's uſe. Some who were with me adviſed me ſo to do; yet I returned the enemy anſwer, "that I was entruſted to keep the caſtle for

"the

" the ſervice of the parliament, and could not ſurrender it without their " command." The enemy not being at that time ready to make any attempt upon us, retreated to their main body; of which tho' the marquiſs of Hertford carried the name of general, that thereby the country might be encouraged to come in, yet prince Maurice, as he had then the principal influence over them, ſo he was ſoon after placed in the head of them, as more likely to promote that arbitrary and boundleſs prerogative which the king endeavoured to ſet up over the people.

HAVING notice that ſome of the king's forces were at Saliſbury, I went out with ſix of my troop to procure intelligence, and to do what ſervice I could upon the enemies ſtraglers. When I came to Sutton, I was informed that ſix of them were gone up the town juſt before. Whereupon we made after them, and by their horſes which we ſaw tied in a yard, ſuppoſed them to be in the houſe to which it belonged: upon which I went in, and was no ſooner within the door but two of them ſhut it upon me; but my party ruſhing in, they ran out at another, and eſcaped; a third mounted one of my mens horſes, and rid away; the other three who were in a room of the houſe, upon promiſe of quarter for life, ſurrendred themſelves, with whom and ſix horſes we returned to the caſtle.

OUR army, after they had poſſeſſed themſelves of Reading, did nothing remarkable that ſummer, only there happened ſome ſkirmiſhes, in one of which that moſt eminent patriot colonel Hampden loſt his life by a ſhot in the ſhoulder. Sir William Waller commanded a party in the weſt, with which he did conſiderable ſervice, tho' it was ſo ſmall that he marched for the moſt part in the night to conceal his weakneſs. He reduced Higham-houſe, a place of ſtrength, gariſoned by the enemy, and protected the gentlemen of the country whilſt they were raiſing forces for the parliament. And being joined by Sir Arthur Haſlerig's regiment of horſe, and the forces of Wilts, Somerſet and Dorſet, with as many as could be ſpared from Briſtol, he was become ſo conſiderable, as to put a ſtop to the march of the king's weſtern army; which coming to the town where my father's houſe was, wholly ruined it, and deſtroyed his park. But upon their removal from thence, conceiving I might take ſome ſtraglers, or ſome way or other annoy the enemy, I went thither the night after with about forty horſe, where tho' I could hear of no men, yet I found much proviſion, which a gentlewoman had obliged the people of the town to bring together, and which ſhe was preparing to ſend to the king's army, with horſes and carts ready to carry it; amongſt which there was half a dozen paſties of my father's veniſon ready baked, which, with as much of the other proviſions as we could, we carried away with us. The two armies before-mentioned engaged about Lanſdown, where the ſucceſs was doubtful a good while, but at laſt ours obtained the victory. The corniſh-men commanded by Sir Bevil Grenvil ſtood their ground till they came to puſh of pike, but were then routed, and Sir Bevil killed. The enemy retreated to the Devizes, and our purſued them. The news of this action being brought to us, I marched out with my horſe toward Warmiſter; and in the way ſearching the houſes of ſome perſons diſaffected to the public, we found two of our moſt active enemies, whom we carried away priſoners. But the great hopes we had conceived of enjoying ſome quiet in the weſt by means of this victory were ſoon blaſted; for a body of horſe ſent from Oxford not to be intercepted by any from our army, (tho' as I have heard commanded for that) engaged

our horse on Roundway-hill, where the over-forwardness of some of our party to charge the enemy upon disadvantageous ground was the principal cause of their defeat. The horse being routed, our foot also quitted their ground, and shifted for themselves; many of whom were taken, and many killed, the rest retreated to Bristol, where they made the best preparation they could to defend themselves; expecting suddenly to be besieged, as it fell out. Sir William Waller with what horse he had left marched to London, where no means were omitted to recruit them. Exeter was surrendred to the enemy upon terms, and Bristol besieged, which being stormed on one side, and ours not doing their duty, part of the enemy being entred, the governour desired to capitulate, and delivered up the town upon articles, which were not well kept, in retaliation, as they pretended, for the like breach by ours at the taking of Reading. The governour of Bristol was hereupon tried and condemned by a court martial, how justly I know not: but the parliament ordered the execution of the sentence to be suspended. About this time a gentleman of the country, related to the lord Cottington, desired a conference with me, wherein he endeavoured to persuade me to surrender the castle of Warder, promising me any terms I would desire, and assuring me that several of the western gentlemen finding our affairs desperate, had made their peace with the king, and that the Kentish men who were risen for him would be sufficient to accomplish his work, tho' he had no other army. Also colonel Robert Philips, my friend and kinsman, coming before the castle some time after with a party of horse, and desiring to speak with me, was earnest with me to the same effect: my answers to both were, that I had resolved to run all hazards in the discharge of that trust which I had undertaken.

The two houses of parliament, notwithstanding the many difficulties they met with at home, having sent over forces to subdue the rebels in Ireland, thought it also their duty to send recruits thither, and at the same time presented the earl of Ormond with a jewel, as a testimony of their acceptance of his service at the battle of Rosse, where there was above forty of his own name and kindred killed upon the place, and the enemy totally routed, tho' for a long time they had much the better of the day.

The earl of Leicester having been voted lieutenant of Ireland by the parliament, and approved by the king, wanted nothing but his commission to begin his journey for that kingdom, which after several delays he received from the king; but being at Chester in order to take shipping, the carriages and draught horses which lay there for that service, as also the clothes and other provisions designed by the parliament for the soldiers in Ireland, were seized by the king's order, and made use of for his service here; whilst his agents there endeavoured to persuade the English soldiers in that country, that they were neglected by the parliament: upon which false suggestion he prevailed with them to serve him in England against the parliament; and, contrary to his engagement to both houses not to treat with the rebels without their concurrence, made a cessation with them, and brought over many of them to serve in his army against the parliament: who being encompassed with difficulties on all hands, and understanding that the queen was landing with a considerable strength at Bridlington-bay in the county of York, sent commissioners to treat with their friends in Scotland to march into England to their assistance.

In the mean time the king's army beſieged the city of Gloceſter, the king being there in perſon to countenance the ſiege. The beſieged made a vigorous defence for about a month, during which the parliament took care to recruit their army in order to relieve them. Their rendezvous was appointed on Hounſlow-heath, whither ſome members of parliament (of whom my father was one) were ſent, to inſpect their condition, that their wants being known, might be the better ſupplied; who found them a very ſhattered and broken body: but the city being then very affectionate to the publick, ſoon recruited them, and drew forth ſo many of their trained bands and auxiliary regiments, as made them up a gallant army. In their march towards Gloceſter ſome of ours fell upon a party of the enemy at Cirenceſter, of whom they took many priſoners, and ſeized a great quantity of proviſions which they found prepared for the enemy, who upon our approach raiſed the ſiege. The earl of Eſſex having relieved the town, was marching back again, when he perceived the enemy endeavouring to get between him and London; and to that end falling upon his rear with a ſtrong party of horſe, they ſo diſordered his men, and retarded the march of his army, that he found himſelf obliged to engage them at Newbury. The diſpute was very hot on both ſides, and the enemy had the better at the firſt; but our men reſolving to carry their point, and the city-regiments behaving themſelves with great bravery, gave them before night ſo little cauſe to boaſt, that the next morning they were willing to permit the earl of Eſſex to march to London without interruption. Few priſoners were taken on either ſide: the enemy had ſeveral perſons of quality killed; the principal of whom were the earl of Carnarvan, the earl of Sunderland, the lord Falkland, and a French marquiſs. We loſt a colonel of one of the city-regiments, together with ſome inferior officers.

Some of the lords and commons, contrary to their duty, withdrew themſelves from the parliament at Weſtminſter, and went to the king at Oxford, where they met together, but never did any thing conſiderable for the king's ſervice, and ſhewed themſelves ſo little willing to aſſume the name of a parliament, that the king in a letter to the queen (a copy whereof was afterwards found amongſt his papers) called them his "mongrel parliament."

In the mean time the earl of Mancheſter received a commiſſion from the parliament, to raiſe forces in the aſſociated counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Eſſex, Cambridge, Huntington, &c. which was very neceſſary: for the king was maſter of all places of ſtrength from Berwick to Boſton, except Hull and two ſmall caſtles in Lincolnſhire; and Ferdinando lord Fairfax not able to keep the field againſt the earl of Newcaſtle, was retired with his horſe and foot to Hull: the enemy's ſtrength in the north no way inferior to what it was in the weſt, and none conſiderable enough to oppoſe their march into the ſouth.

The earl of Newcaſtle, upon advice that the lord Willoughby of Parham had poſſeſſed himſelf of the town of Gainsborough for the parliament, ſent his brother colonel Cavendiſh, lieutenant-general of his army, with a great party of horſe and dragoons to ſummon it, himſelf marching after with the foot. Col. Oliver Cromwell having notice thereof, and underſtanding by freſh experience that victory is not always obtained by the greater number, having lately defeated near Grantham twenty four troops of the enemy's horſe and dragoons, with ſeven troops only

only which he had with him, resolved to endeavour the relief of Gainsborough; and with twelve troops of horse and dragoons marched thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them but through a gate, and up-hill; notwithstanding which disadvantages he adventured to fall upon them, and after some dispute totally routed them, killing many of their officers, and amongst them lieutenant-general Cavendish. Thus was Gainsborough relieved; but the conquerors had little time to rejoice, for within two or three hours the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of Newcastle's army, marched against them: upon which they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loss, facing the enemy with three troops at a time as they drew off the rest. Lincoln not being defensible, colonel Cromwell marched the next day to Boston, that he might join the earl of Manchester, who with his new-rais'd forces had very seasonably reduced Lynn, a town in Norfolk not far from the sea, naturally strong, and might have proved impregnable, if time had favoured art and industry to have fortified and furnished it with provisions. But Sir Hammond Lestrange, who had before surprized it for the king, was soon surprized himself; and being suddenly summoned by the earl of Manchester, and threatned with a storm, after he had fired a few great shot against the besiegers, thought fit to surrender it upon articles. From thence the earl of Manchester marched to Boston, where being joined by colonel Cromwell, appointed by the parliament to command under him, and a party of horse brought by Sir Thomas Fairfax by sea from Hull, he mustered about six thousand foot, and thirty seven troops of horse and dragoons. To prevent any further addition to his forces, the earl of Newcastle advanced with his army, and sent a strong detachment of horse and dragoons towards Boston, appearing by their standards to be eighty seven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderson an old soldier, who hearing that colonel Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horse and dragoons, made haste to engage him before the earl of Manchester with the foot could march up, as accordingly it fell out at a place called Winsby-field near Horn-castle. In the first shock colonel Cromwell had his horse killed under him; yet the encounter was but short, tho' very sharp, for there being field room enough, the fight lasted but a quarter of an hour before the earl of Newcastle's forces were totally routed, and many of them killed: amongst them the lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other persons of quality. The enemy had no time to rally, being pursued by ours almost as far as Lincoln, which was fourteen miles off; in which pursuit divers of them were killed and made prisoners, and many horse and arms taken. Neither were they suffered to rest at Lincoln, the earl of Manchester marching thither the day following, where the enemy's broken troops had endeavoured to fortify the higher part of the city called "the Close," but had not quite finished their works when the earl arrived, and summoned them to surrender; which they refusing, our foot and horse fell on and took it by storm, with little loss on our side.

About this time a considerable party in Kent rose and declared for the king, which was dispersed by some forces sent from London, under the command of colonel Brown; whereby the committee of Kent were encouraged and enabled to raise a good body of horse and foot for the service of the parliament.

My

My father apprehending that I was not likely to be relieved in three or four months, in caſe I were beſieged; and knowing that the enemies were maſters of the field in thoſe parts, and that I was about twenty miles from any of our gariſons, procured an order from the parliament, impowering me to ſlight the caſtle of Warder, and to draw off the gariſon, if I ſaw cauſe: which care of theirs quickened my zeal to their ſervice, and put me upon endeavouring, as well as I could, to prepare for the worſt. To that end, being in want of ammunition, I went to Southampton, where I bought what they could ſpare, and returned to the caſtle; where being in great want of money, having always paid the country people for whatſoever I had from them, I made a ſeaſonable diſcovery of money, plate and jewels, to the value of about twelve hundred pounds, walled up by the enemy: part of this ſum I expended upon the gariſon, and gave an account thereof to the parliament. The enemy was now beginning to draw about us, yet would not actually beſiege us before they had endeavoured to reduce us by treachery. To this end one captain White a papiſt, of Dorſetſhire, having found a boy at Shaftsbury fit for the purpoſe, gave him ſuch inſtructions as he thought fit: he was not above twelve years of age, and yet, as I was afterwards informed, had already attempted to poiſon his grandfather. This boy he ſent to the caſtle to deſire of me to be admitted to turn the ſpit, or perform any other ſervile employment; to which I conſented, his youth freeing him, as I thought, from any ſuſpicion. About three or four days after a party of the enemy's horſe appeared before the caſtle, and making a great ſhout, the cattle belonging to the gariſon, conſiſting of about forty cows and one bull, which they all followed, ran away at the noiſe: ſome of us endeavouring to turn them, the enemy fired ſo thick upon us, that one of my ſoldiers and myſelf were forced to betake ourſelves to a tree for ſhelter; where my ſoldier levelling his muſket through a hole of the tree, which was about a foot in diameter, a ball from the enemy grazing upon the upper part of the hole, and thereby forced downwards, ſhot the young man through the hand, and me into the leg, which obliged me to keep my bed for two days. A great wall-gun called a Harquebuz de Croq being fired from the top of the caſtle, burſt in the middle. At night as this boy was ſitting with the guard by the fire, ſome of them conceived a jealouſy of him; and ſtrictly examining him about the cauſe of his coming, he affirmed it to be becauſe the maſter whom he ſerved had uſed him cruelly for ſpeaking ſome words in favour of the parliament. With which anſwer they not being ſatisfied, threatned that unleſs he would confeſs the truth, they would hang him immediately; and to affright him, tied a piece of match about his neck, and began to pull him up on a halbert. Upon this he promiſed to confeſs all, if they would ſpare his life; and thereupon acknowledged that captain White had hired him to number the men and arms in the caſtle, to poiſon the arms, the well, and the beer, to blow up the ammunition, to ſteal away one of my beſt horſes, to carry him back to them; for which ſervice he was to receive half a crown: confeſſing that he had accordingly poiſoned two cannon and the Harquebuz that were broken, but pretended that his conſcience would not give him leave to poiſon the water and the beer. The great guns were made ſervicable again by filing, and making a fire in them. The poiſon he uſed was of a red colour, and made up in the ſhape of a candle, with part of which he had rubbed three of our guns.

After

After this deliverance we got in some cattle for our provision, but the enemy drawing into the villages about us, soon prevented us from bringing in any more: yet we ventured one morning, knowing it to be market-day, to draw out between forty and fifty pikes and firelocks, with which we went about a quarter of a mile from the castle upon the road that leads to Shaftsbury. According to our expectation, the market people came with carts and horses loaded with corn and other provisions, which we seized and sent to the castle, paying for it the market-price, at which they were not a little surprized. By this means we furnished ourselves with three months more provision than we had before; which we had no sooner taken in, than the enemy drew round the castle, and from that time blocked us up more closely, raising a breast-work by casting up the earth about a tree which we had cut down on the side of a hill; from whence they commanded the gate of the castle, the only way that we had to sally out upon occasion, and shot several of our men, amongst the rest my gunner, as they fetched in wood. The person that commanded the party which lay before us, was one captain Christopher Bowyer of Dorsetshire, who, to get us out of the castle, proposed to grant us what terms we desired; to which we replied, that we designed to discharge our duty by keeping it as long as we could. Upon this he threatned us with great numbers of horse and foot, attended with several pieces of cannon, which he said were drawing towards us, boasting of the justice of his cause, and representing to us the greatness of our danger, and the inevitable ruin that must ensue upon our obstinacy: but captain Bean, who at that time served as cannoneer, ours being shot, as I mentioned before, told him, that we were not at all affrighted with his menaces; but upon confidence of the justice of our cause, were resolved to defend the place to the utmost; and warning him to look to himself, fired a gun, with which he wounded him in the heel; and it being unsafe for any to carry him off by day, his wound gangreened before night, and he died about two days after. In the room of captain Bowyer one colonel Barnes was sent by the king to command the forces that lay before us: he was brother to an honest gentleman who was chaplain to my father, for whose sake, and because he had the reputation of being an old soldier, a thing much valued by the parliament at that time, my father had procured him a considerable employment in their service, in which he continued as long as their constant pay lasted, but that failing, he ran away to the king. Upon his coming he raised a fort within musket-shot of us, on the hill that surrounded the castle, except only on the west-side, where was a pond of about six acres. The enemy possessed themselves of all the out-houses, but used them only by night, not thinking it safe to come at them by day; which we observing, one evening conveyed forty men through a vault leading to those houses, ordering them to lie private, and endeavour to surprize them when they came; which had been effected, if one of ours, contrary to order, upon the entrance of the first of the enemy, had not fired his pistol, and thereby given warning to the rest to shift for themselves. The man who was the occasion of this disappointment was deprived of the use of his arms till he should attempt something for the redeeming of his reputation; which soon after, upon a sally we made on the enemy, he did, in which we took two of the enemy's horses, and made some prisoners. How many of them were killed we could not learn: on our side some were wounded, of whom one died soon after.

A KINSMAN of mine, who was related to the lord Cottington, was ſent from Oxford to offer me what terms I would deſire. I permitted him to come in, that ſeeing our ſtrength and proviſion, he might make his report to the enemy to our advantage: for things were ſo ordered by removing our guards from place to place, filling up our hogſheads with empty barrels, and covering them with beef and pork, and in like manner ordering our corn, that every thing appeared double, to what it was, to them. The ſubſtance of the conditions I propoſed was: That if I underſtood from the earl of Eſſex that he could not relieve us within ſix months, we would then deliver the caſtle upon condition, that it ſhould not be made a gariſon: That the parliament ſhould have two thouſand pounds for what they had expended in the taking and keeping of it; with ſome other particulars, which the gentleman carried to Oxford with him: but we never had any return from him about them, neither indeed did we expect any. Our beer was now ſpent, our corn much diminiſhed, and we had no other drink but the water of our well, which tho' we drunk dry by day, yet it was ſufficiently ſupplied every night. But being reſolved to keep the caſtle as long as we could, we ſhortned our allowance, ſo that three pecks and a half of wheat one day, and a buſhel of barley another, ſerved near a hundred men, which was all our force, my troop being ſent away before for want of conveniency for horſe: this allowance was ſo ſhort, that I cauſed one of the horſes we had taken to be killed, which the ſoldiers eat up in two days, beſides their ordinary.

THE forces that had been ſent by the parliament to the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed proteſtants in Ireland, being, under pretence that they were neglected, as hath been before mentioned, brought into England to ſerve againſt thoſe who raiſed them; and the rebels, by the pacification made with them by the king's order, contrary to his promiſe to the parliament, left in the full enjoyment of what they had gotten from the Engliſh by rapine and murder; part of thoſe who came out of Ireland landed at Cheſter, and drew before Nantwich: they were commanded by one captain Sandford, brother to Sir William Sandford, a worthy perſon of Gray's-inn, to whom he had ſolemnly promiſed never to engage againſt the parliament: yet did he ſend in a very threatning ſummons to the town, and ſeconded it with a moſt furious aſſault, whilſt the works were but ſlenderly defended, the guard conſiſting for the moſt part of townſmen, who were then gone to dinner: but it ſo happened, that a boy of the age of fifteen firing a muſket from the town, ſhot him dead in the place, which diſcouraged his ſoldiers from any farther attempt.

Colonel George Monk, who had been ſent by the parliament into Ireland againſt the rebels, for ſome time ſcrupled to quit that ſervice, and to engage in this, being upon that account feared on this ſide by the earl of Ormond, whilſt he ſent thoſe forces into England, leſt he ſhould have obſtructed their going over; yet having afterward his liberty to wait on the king, was provided with a ſhip with them, and by ſome taken priſoner by a party from Yorkſhire, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who ſent him priſoner to Hull, from whence ſome time after he was removed to the tower of London. As the party of the forces from Ireland landed in the weſt, and marched by Briſtol to Worceſter, in order to their going; but being intercepted by the [illegible] they were to diſpoſe of were put on ſhore, and the reſt who [illegible] that were to put in were put, they marched [illegible] and [illegible] to be employed, with [illegible]

THE queen landed with an army of French, Walloons, and other foreigners, and brought with her great store of ammunition and money, procured by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland. With these and other forces the earl of Newcastle marched to besiege Hull, of which place the lord Ferdinando Fairfax was governor, who, with the assistance of the seamen belonging to some ships that lay in the harbour, made so fierce a sally upon the enemy, that they were forced to quit some of their guns, and withdraw to a greater distance, leaving many of their men behind them, of whom some were killed, and others taken prisoners. Colonel Overton carried himself, as I am well informed, with much honour and gallantry in this action. This bad success so dispirited the enemy, that they abandoned the siege, and retired to York; to which also the approach of winter, and the preparations of the Scots to march into England, did not a little contribute: for the parliaments of both kingdoms had at length agreed upon terms, and removed the last and greatest difficulty, consisting of some doubtful words in the covenant, which was to be taken by both nations, concerning "the preservation of the king's person," and "reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the pattern of the best reformed:" for which Sir Henry Vane, one of the commissioners of the parliament, found out an expedient, by adding to the first clause these or the like words, "In preservation of the laws of the land, and liberty of the subject;" and to the second, "according to the word of God." Which being an explanation that could not be refused, prevented any farther contestation about that matter.

ABOUT this time the enemy by cruel usage put a period to the life of my brother captain Robert Ludlow, who was their prisoner, as I before related. The news of this, and of the danger I was in, so afflicted my father, together with his constant labours in the publick service, and possibly his dissatisfaction about the imprisonment of his good friend Mr. Henry Martin, for words spoken in the house, as he conceived, in discharge of his duty, that he died, expressing himself deeply sensible of the condition of the bleeding nation, and heartily praying for the prosperity of the publick cause. The words spoken by Mr. Martin in parliament were to this purpose, "That it was better one family should perish, than that the people should be destroyed:" And being required to explain himself, he ingenuously confessed that he meant the family of the king; for which he was committed to the tower, but afterwards released, and re-admitted to his place in the parliament. About the same time Mr. John Pym also died, who had been very instrumental in promoting the interest of the nation: his body was for several days exposed to publick view in Derby-house before it was interred, in confutation of those who reported it to be eaten with lice.

THE enemy before Warder-castle kept their guards within pistol-shot of it day and night, so that we could not expect any more intelligence from abroad; yet one of ours sent by us into the country a week before, to inform us of the state of affairs, met, at an honest man's house not far from the castle, a soldier, whom the enemy had pressed to serve them; whose heart being with us, these two agreed, that when relief should be coming, he who was without should appear with a white cap on his head, and blow his nose with his handkerchief. In the mean time the besiegers raised a battery, and by a shot from thence cut off the chain of our portcullis, which rendering our gate unserviceable to us, we made it so to them, by barricading it up on the inside: so that now we had no way

out but through a window, our other doors being walled up before. But the battery not anſwering their expectation, they reſolved to try other experiments, either by digging a hole in the caſtle-wall, and putting a ſufficient quantity of powder therein to blow it up, or by undermining the ſaid wall, and ſupporting it with timber, and then ſetting it on fire: whereby they ſuppoſed to deſtroy that alſo on which the wall reſted, and ſo to bring down the wall. In order to this they prepared materials to defend them whilſt they were about the work, and brought together about two dozen of oaken planks three inches thick, which they endeavoured in a dark night to ſet up againſt the caſtle wall, half of them on one ſide, and half on the other. Our ſentinels diſcovered them on one ſide, and beat them off, forcing them to leave their boards behind them. On the other ſide they ſet them up, and in the morning were hard at work under their ſhelter. We heard a noiſe of digging, but for ſome time could not perceive where: at length we diſcovered the place, and endeavoured to remove them, by throwing down hot water and melted lead, tho' to little purpoſe. At laſt with hand-granadoes we obliged them to quit their work, and to leave their tools behind them, with their proviſions for three or four days: and tho' we had no way out of the caſtle but by a narrow window, yet we brought in their materials and proviſions: for that morning having ſhot the officer that commanded their guard in the head, their trenches not being finiſhed to ſecure their approaches to the out-houſes, under the ſhelter of which they kept their guard; and being admoniſhed by what befel captain Bowyer, of the danger of delaying to dreſs a wound, they deſired leave to carry off their wounded man, which I granted on condition that they would commit no act of hoſtility in the mean time: and when five or ſix of them who carried him off were about piſtol-ſhot from the wall, I appeared with forty muſketeers ready to fire on the top of the caſtle, and ordered three or four men out of the window mentioned before, who brought in their materials.

A RELATION of mine, one captain Henry Williams, who commanded a company in colonel Barns's regiment, deſiring to be admitted to ſpeak with me, and I conſenting, he endeavoured to perſwade me to a ſurrender, offering me any conditions I would ask; but his arguments made no impreſſion upon me.

IN the mean time the king, to encourage his friends in the city to riſe for him, ſent them a commiſſion to that purpoſe by the lady Aubigny, which ſhe brought made up in the hair of her head; but the deſign being diſcovered, ſhe fled for refuge to the houſe of the French ambaſſador; who refuſing to deliver her to Sir Henry Vane and Mr. John Liſle, ſent by the parliament with a guard to ſeize her, pretending his privilege; the houſe, being informed by Sir Francis Knowles, that at the time of the bloody maſſacre at Paris, one of the French king's ſecretaries, who was of the reformed religion, flying to the Engliſh ambaſſador's houſe for protection, and diſdaining himſelf amongſt the greateſt, was forced from thence by the king's command, ordered this lady to be treated in the like manner, which was done accordingly. Having appointed a court for the trial of thoſe who were engaged in this conſpiracy, and Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Challoner were found guilty, and executed [illegible]. Sir John Hotham and his ſon were alſo condemned to loſe their [illegible] according to the ſentence of Hull to the enemy [illegible] put in execution upon the ſaid Sir John [illegible] the latter the day following. Sir Alexander [illegible]

endeavouring to betray Plymouth, with the government of which he was entrusted by the parliament.

About the 16th of the same January the Scots marched into England, and having Berwick secured for them, the first thing they attempted was the taking of Newcastle; which they did by storm: The lords and commons for their encouragement having sentenced, and caused execution to be done upon William Laud archbishop of Canterbury, their capital enemy, on the 10th of the same month.

Sir William Waller being reinforced with some city-regiments, thought himself strong enough to take the field: and because the western clothiers were often obstructed in their passage to London by the garison of Basing-house, which was kept for the king, he attempted to reduce it; but was repulsed with loss. After which he marched to Arundel in Sussex, where he soon beat the king's garison out of the town into the castle, which after some time, and the loss of some men, was surrendred to him, with several persons of quality therein, at mercy.

About the middle of January Sir William assured us, that if we held out a fortnight longer, he would relieve us, or lay his bones under our walls. We had also some hopes given us from Southampton and Pool, the latter of which places about this time some of the inhabitants endeavoured to betray to the lord Crawford; but the design being discovered, as the enemy was entring the outworks, and expecting to be admitted into the town, some great guns loaded with small shot were fired upon his men, and made a great slaughter amongst them. Between these two garisons of Southampton and Pool lay my troop of horse, to do what service they could against the enemy, and to favour our relief: where my cornet, afterwards known by the name of major William Ludlow, was shot through the body, and into the thigh, and his horse in two places, by some of the enemy from an ambuscade; being brought to Southampton, and his wounds searched, the bullet that went in at his belly was found at the chine of his back, with a piece of the waistband of his breeches, which being cut out, he wonderfully recovered, to be in some measure serviceable to the public.

To encourage the forces of Pool, and Southampton, to come to our relief, I sent them word, that they should have seven or eight hundred pounds to gratify them, which I was able to make good with what I had remaining of the plate which I found in one of the closets of the castle, as I mentioned before.

Towards the end of the winter Sir Ralph Hopton, who commanded the king's forces in the west, being informed that the battery which had fired against us for two months had done no great execution, and that colonel Barns was more employed in plundering the country than in advancing the king's service, sent Sir Francis Doddington with a further supply of men to reduce us; and with an engineer to undermine the castle. To this end they forced the miners of Meinshup to assist them. As soon as we heard the noise of their digging, we endeavoured to countermine them; but the castle walls being joined with an entire wall at the foundation, the morter whereof was so well tempered, that it was harder than the stones themselves, we could by no means break through it. Our medicines were now spent, and our surgeon, who with eight of his brothers served at that time in my troop, shot through the body and disabled, tho' the bullet glancing, missed the vitals. One of his brothers, with another soldier, adventured out of the window, in order to procure some means for his

recovery, whilſt ſome of ours by diſcourſes, firing, and much noiſe, drew the enemy to the other ſide of the caſtle; ſo that they ſafely paſſed their guards, and went to the honeſt man's houſe before mentioned, where they met again that friend of ours, who being preſſed by the enemy to ſerve them, remained with them to ſerve us; and received from him a letter directed to us from ſome of our friends, encouraging us to hold out, and promiſing us relief within ten days: of whoſe approach this our friend undertook to give us notice, by the ſigns before agreed on. Our meſſengers having furniſhed themſelves with what they went for, returned to us with this good news, this poor honeſt man having drawn off the ſentinel by whom they were to paſs.

THE ten days being expired, and ten more after them, without any tidings of relief, our proviſions waſting, I obſerved a great ſilence amongſt the enemy; and being deſirous to know whether our friend were upon the guard, that we might learn of him what he knew, we took occaſion from their ſilence to deſire of them, that if they were alive they would make ſome noiſe, tho' they might not be permitted to ſpeak: which one of them doing by blowing his noſe, we were willing to make a further diſcovery; and having told him he did it in his ſleeve for want of a handkerchief, he by this time underſtanding our meaning, appeared in ſight, and with his handkerchief blew his noſe again, endeavouring by ſigns and words to inform us of our condition, digging in the wall of the ſtable, and laying the ſtones in order; then diſcourſing with two of his fellows, he challenged them to play at football with one of them the next, and with the other the day after; ſaying to them aloud, that we might hear, "If I beat the firſt, I fear not the ſecond." Tho' we ſuppoſed that the firſt danger he deſigned to admoniſh us of was the mine, yet for the more clear diſcovery thereof, we laid a train of powder upon the caſtle-wall, which he by ſigns ſignified to us to be what he intended. But we were miſtaken in the interpretation of his ſecond action, by which we concluded he deſigned to repreſent to us a ſpeedy relief, if we could hold out againſt the firſt; tho' it was indeed another mine prepared to ſpring immediately after the firſt, as we afterwards found, tho' we never had the happineſs to ſee or ſpeak with the poor man more. I received a letter from Sir Francis Doddington, who commanded in chief before us, wherein taking notice of the relation between our families, he expreſſed himſelf ready to do me any friendly office, and adviſed me to a timely delivery of the caſtle, leſt by refuſing ſo to do, I ſhould bring my blood upon my own head. In my anſwer I acknowledged his civility, aſſuring him, that being entruſted with the cuſtody of it by the authority of the parliament, for the ſervice of the country, I could cheerfully lay down my life in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in me: for that it would not be only in my defence, but in defence of the laws and liberties of the nation; and therefore cautioned him how he proceeded any farther in aſſaulting us, leſt he ſhould thereby contract the guilt of more innocent blood. His letter, with my anſwer, he ſent to Oxford, as appeared by the weekly news-paper of London, wherein they were printed from that of Oxford, which Aulicus publiſhed to ſhew my Obſtinacy, and Britannicus my fidelity to the public cauſe.

THE night following we ſtood centinel upon the guard; on Monday morning, being very weary, I lay down and ſlept till between two and three of the clock, at which time one of my guard came to me, and told me that they had left burning for the ſpringing of the mine into the powder, to that the mine ſpringing I was

liſted up with it from the floor, with much duſt ſuddenly about me; which was no ſooner laid, but I found both the doors of my chamber blown open, and my window towards the enemy blown down, ſo that a cart might have entered at the breach. The party which they had prepared to ſtorm us lay at ſome diſtance, to ſecure themſelves from any hurt by the ſpringing of the mine: but that being done, they made haſte to ſtorm, which they might eaſily do at my window, the rubbiſh of the caſtle having made them a way almoſt to it. Thoſe who ſtormed on my ſide were the Iriſh yellow coats, commanded by captain Leiceſter. My piſtols being wheel-locks, and wound up all night, I could not get to fire, ſo that I was forced to truſt to my ſword for the keeping down of the enemy, being alone in the chamber, and all relief excluded from me, except ſuch as came in by one of my windows that looked into the court of the caſtle, through which I called to my men there, acquainting them with my condition, and requiring them to haſten to my relief. Mr. Gabriel Ludlow my kinſman not only came himſelf, but ordered others to my aſſiſtance, and to that end placed a ladder under the window before-mentioned, which being too ſhort by near two yards, I was obliged to leave the breach, where the enemy was ready to enter, five or ſix times, to take his arms and himſelf in; which being done, he helped in five or ſix more, whom I ordered to fill up the breach and the doors with the bed, chairs, table, and ſuch things as were next at hand. This place being in ſome meaſure ſecured, I went to ſee what other breaches had been made, and to provide for their defence, and found one in the room under me well defended, but that in the ground-room on the other ſide not at all; there I placed a guard, and ran to the upper rooms, which had many doors and windows blown open, at every one of which I appointed a guard, in ſome meaſure proportionable to the danger. From thence I went to the top of the caſtle, which was leaded, and of a ſex-angular figure, with a turret upon each angle. Two of theſe were blown down, with part of the leads, behind which the enemy ſheltered themſelves, ſo that we could not remove them by our ſhot; but by throwing down ſome great ſtones, with which the mine had plentifully furniſhed us, we killed one of theirs, and wounded ſome others. Captain Leiceſter was one of thoſe who ſheltered themſelves behind this rubbiſh, and deſired leave to carry off the wounded men that were with him; which I readily granted, letting them know, that we ſought not their blood, but our own defence. Soon after we alſo had occaſion to make trial of their humanity; for one of our ſoldiers being buried in the outward rubbiſh of the caſtle, and yet alive, ſent to acquaint me with his condition, and to deſire my help: Upon which I deſired of the enemy to dig him out, and make him priſoner; or ſuffer us to do it, and we would deliver him to them: but they would conſent to neither; and when I told them that I had not uſed them ſo, but had permitted them to carry off their wounded men, they replied, that tho' it was my favour to ſuffer that, yet their chief officer would not permit this. The poor man lived in this condition near three days, and then through moſt barbarous uſage, being denied any relief, he died. We loſt three of our men by the ſpringing of the mine, but the reſt were moſt wonderfully preſerved. Our proviſion of corn, which at the rate we liv'd would have laſted three weeks longer, was blown up, with part of our ammunition; but our proviſion of fleſh being for about four days, was preſerved. Whilſt this laſted, I thought it adviſeable, having repulſed the enemy, to put the beſt countenance we could upon our affairs, hoping

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by ſo doing we might bring the enemy to give us the better conditions. But Mr. Balſum our miniſter, with two or three more religious men, who till that time had carried themſelves without diſcovering any fear, preſſed me very earneſtly to propoſe a treaty to the enemy. I told them, that it was a very unſeaſonable time to do any thing of that nature, having beat off the enemy, and three or four days proviſions left: that I did not doubt before that was ſpent, by a good improvement of our time, to bring the enemy to reaſonable terms: whereas if we ſhould now deſire a treaty with them, they would conclude our ſpirits low, our condition deſperate, and ſo hold us to harder terms, or it may be give us none at all. They replied, That if I refuſed to hearken to their propoſal, they judged that all the blood that ſhould be ſpilt in further oppoſition would be charged upon my account. This being a very heavy charge laid on me by men of age and experience, of whoſe integrity I had a very good opinion, I durſt not reſiſt any longer, by balancing my youth and little experience againſt their years and judgment; and therefore left it to them to do what they ſhould think fit: but they aſſuring me they would rather loſe their lives than do any thing without me, I promiſed that if they would call to the enemy for a parley, I would anſwer. Whereupon they moved it to the enemy, who took time to acquaint their commander in chief with it. His anſwer was; That ſince we had refuſed to treat with him whilſt the caſtle was whole, he would not now treat with us. I could not forbear letting the beſiegers know, that the return was no other than I expected: that the motion did not ariſe from me, but was conſented to by me for the ſatisfaction of ſome about me, who were now reſolved to expoſe themſelves with me to the utmoſt hazards, in defence of the place, without demanding any terms again; not doubting, if we were neceſſitated to lay down our lives in this ſervice, to ſell them at a good rate. My friends having found their advice to produce no other effect than I had foretold, reſolved for the future to be wholly diſpoſed of by me; ſo that both officers and ſoldiers began to prepare againſt the utmoſt extremity. None of ours had been killed by the ſhot during the ſtorm, but ſome ſlightly wounded, and their clothes ſhot through, a bullet from the enemy having pierced my hat cloſe by my head. The beſiegers had ten killed by ſhot and ſtones in the ſtorm, and divers wounded: amongſt the former was one Hillſdeane, who a little before he expired ſaid, he ſaw his brother fire that muſket by which he received his mortal wound; which might probably be, his brother being one of thoſe who defended that breach where he, attempting to enter, was ſhot: but if it were ſo, he might juſtly do it by the laws of God and man, it being done in the diſcharge of his duty, and in his own defence. The ſilver plate belonging to the houſe, found ſoon after we were cloſe beſieged, I buried in the cellar, with the help of one of my ſervants. On Saturday the enemy began to converſe friendly with us, and a ceſſation of acts of hoſtility being agreed upon, a ſon of colonel Barnes, captain Farmer, Mr. Plott, the gentleman whom I formerly mentioned to be related to the lord Cottington, and to have endeavoured to perſwade me to ſurrender the caſtle before the ſiege, with ſeveral other officers, came up cloſe to the breaches, where we conferred together: and they earneſtly preſſing me to ſurrender, I told them I would not be averſe to it upon fitting terms; for had not thoſe who owned the caſtle made uſe of it to the prejudice of the country, I preſumed it had not been taken from them, and poſſeſſed by us, in order to prevent the like inconveniencies for the future; againſt which conceiving

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ſufficient proviſion made by the ſpringing of the late mine, I was willing to quit the ſame, if we might have liberty to march to the next gariſon belonging to the parliament, with our arms, and what elſe we had in the caſtle. They replied, They could not anſwer to his majeſty the giving of ſuch conditions to us, Sir William Waller having lately refuſed to receive Arundel-caſtle from ſome of the king's party, upon any other terms than at mercy, who they knew to have been in a much better ſtate of defence than we were; and therefore preſſed us to deliver ourſelves upon the ſame condition, promiſing us much favour. To this I anſwered, That ſome related to us had already experienced the favours they extended to their priſoners: that the compliance of thoſe at Arundel ought to be no precedent to us; and that unleſs we might march off, we would not ſurrender. They told me, the longer I held out the worſe it would be for me; and Mr. Plott, who, as he ſince informed me, had prevailed with them to propoſe this treaty, earneſtly preſſed me to lay hold on the opportunity, intimating by his words and geſtures, that if I refuſed it, I ſhould not have another: but I reſolving to defend the place as long as I could, our treaty came to nothing. I had ſome thoughts of charging through the enemy in the beginning of the night, in order to force our way to the neareſt of our gariſons, which I preſumed might have been effected by the morning; but the deſperate condition in which we muſt have left our ſick and wounded men, diverted me from putting that deſign in execution. And now the ſpirits of my ſoldiers began to flag; my gunſmith deſiring leave to go home, and ſeveral others making choice of one amongſt them to ſpeak for them, were very importunate with me to ſurrender; with which expreſſing myſelf diſpleaſed, I acquainted them that I would take the beſt time to do it for their advantage, and thereby quieted them, ſo that they reſolved to move me no more about it; yet ceaſing not to complain to each other of their wants and hardſhips, the enemy became acquainted therewith, as they afterwards told me. On the lord's-day in the afternoon, the beſiegers diſcourſed with ſome of our men who were upon the leads, endeavouring to draw as many of them as they could thither, that the breaches being left unguarded, they might have an opportunity to take us by ſtorm; which I perceiving, made uſe of it to animate our men afreſh, and ſucceeded ſo well therein, that the enemy by our chearfulneſs began to ſuſpect that we had ſome notice of relief approaching. This ſuſpicion cauſed them to continue diſcourſing with my ſoldiers moſt part of the night, to get the truth out of them, promiſing them liberty to march away, if they would deliver Mr. Balſum our miniſter, or myſelf to them. The next morning many of them came up to one of the breaches, to perſwade us to ſurrender; which opportunity being willing to improve, having ten doors blown open by the firſt mine, our walls that ſtood being cracked in ſeveral places, and another mine ready to ſpring, that would probably level moſt part of the caſtle with the ground, not having proviſion ſufficient for one day left, nor any hopes of relief, I propounded to them to yield myſelf their priſoner, if they would conſent that thoſe with me might march off. To which they anſwering, That tho' my good nature led me to make that offer, yet they could not accept of it: I told them, that unleſs I might have four things granted, I would not deliver the caſtle. 1ſt. Quarter without diſtinction for the lives of every one. 2dly. Civil uſage for all my party. 3dly. Not to be carried to Oxford. 4thly. A ſpeedy exchange. They promiſed me I ſhould have all theſe made good to the full; and colonel

Barns ſaid, that if I pleaſed to come out to them, I ſhould find more friends than I expected: whereupon requiring my men to be upon their guard, and not to ſuffer any to come near them till my return, I went out to them, and they brought me to the lord Arundel and Sir Francis Doddington, who were without the garden-wall, where my lord Arundel aſſured me, that what was agreed ſhould be made good to me; and was pleaſed further to add, that tho' he preferred my converſation before the enjoyment of his own children, yet if I thought fit to perſiſt in the way I had begun, he would do his utmoſt to endeavour that I might be exchanged for his two ſons, who were then priſoners with Sir William Waller. To this I anſwered, that if I were convinced the cauſe I had engaged in was not good, I ſhould ſoon recede from it; but till then I could not but perſiſt in the proſecution thereof. Sir Francis Doddington told me, he was glad to ſee me alive, but ſorry to find ſo much reſolution employed in ſo bad a cauſe. I let him know, that my apprehenſions concerning the cauſe were very different from his, elſe I had not hazarded myſelf as I had done. He alſo promiſed the performance of the articles to the utmoſt of his power; and for myſelf, that whilſt I was in his cuſtody I ſhould have no other priſon but his own lodgings. Thus all things being agreed upon, I returned to the caſtle, and ordered my ſoldiers to lay down their arms; which being done, the enemy directed them to draw together into a certain room in the caſtle, where they ſet a guard upon them; but gave me the liberty of the place upon my parole, offering me one or two of my own company to aſſociate with me: whereupon I deſired that my couſin Gabriel Ludlow, Mr. Balſum, and a ſervant, might be permitted to come to me, which was granted. Their civility to me was ſuch, eſpecially that of the lord Arundel, that I diſcovered to him the plate and other things that I had hid in the caſtle: but I cannot ſay that they performed their articles with me in relation to my men; for the ſecond day after their entrance, they threatned to take away the lives of two of them, who having been formerly preſſed by them, and their conſciences not giving them leave to ſerve them, choſe rather to come to us, and be beſieged with us, than to have liberty to range and oppreſs the country with them. The poor men made their condition known to me; and I went to the chief officers of the enemy, and charged them with it as a breach of that article by which we were to have all our lives ſecured to us, in virtue of theſe words, "Quarter without diſtinction." Captain Leiceſter, to whom I principally applied myſelf, becauſe he pretended to moſt experience in things of this nature, told me, that I only conditioned for my ſoldiers, and that theſe who ran from them were not mine, but theirs: I replied, that they were never theirs, tho' they had forced them to be with them, having preſſed them into their ſervice, which they had no power to do; but tho' it ſhould be granted that they had been theirs, yet they were now ours, and the words of the article were, "Quarter without diſtinction." He anſwered, that if I had intended to have theſe included, I ſhould have particularly named them. I told him, that it was needleſs, every particular being included in the univerſal; and that if I had ſuſpected ſuch uſage, I would have died before I would have delivered the caſtle to them. He ſaid, that if I diſliked the conditions, they would withdraw, and leave me as they found me. I replied, that ſeeing they were now acquainted with my neceſſities, that propoſition was as unworthy and diſingenuous as their interpretation of the articles; and that if they proceeded to extremities againſt the two ſoldiers, becauſe the power was at preſent in their hands,

I did not doubt that God would give me an opportunity to resent it; and if not, I was fully assured that He would do it himself. In the afternoon I was desired to go to Sir Francis Doddington's quarters, which were at a gentleman's house about half a mile from the castle; to which place I was accompanied by one lieutenant Elsing, brother to the clerk of the parliament of that name, with whom I had a free debate concerning the justice of our cause, and the evil of their undertaking, especially of those amongst them, who, having been sent by the parliament against the rebels in Ireland, had returned and drawn their swords against those that had raised them; which was his case. He was so convinced of the truth of what I said, that he took the first opportunity he could find to return to us; and to that end went to the garison of Gloceſter, where he was employed, and behaved himself so well, that he was advanced to the command of a lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of foot; in which capacity he went afterwards into Ireland, where he lost his life against the rebels. Having received notice that a council of war was sitting upon the two soldiers before-mentioned, and also that they endeavoured to find some pretext to take away the life of Mr. Balsum our minister, I sent to admonish them to be careful to preserve themselves from the guilt of innocent blood; putting them in mind, that if they proceeded to such a breach of their faith, they must expect to account for it at another time. Upon this message, one captain Bishop observing them to persist in their bloody intentions, withdrew from the council, and soon after from the party. But Sir Francis Doddington and captain Leiceſter so ordered the matter at the council, that the two soldiers were condemned, and most perfidiously executed. They also discovered all imaginable malice against Mr. Balsum, but finding no colour to proceed against him in this publick way, they fell upon a more secret and base method to take away his life; to that end sending three men, who broke in upon him whilst he was at prayer; but he rising up, and looking steddily upon them, observing them to stand still, demanded of them the cause of their coming, who standing some time with horror and confusion in their faces, after some conference with each other, confessed to him, that they were sent to destroy him, but that they found a superior power restraining them, and convincing them of the wickedness of their intentions, offering to convey him out of the hands of his enemies, or to do any thing else for him that he should desire. He thanked them for their kindness, and being unwilling that they should hazard themselves for his sake, desired only some few necessaries, the weather being cold, and he in great want, which they readily furnished him with. Soon after he was carried away to Salisbury, and the rest of the officers and soldiers of our garison sent to Oxford, contrary to the express words of the third article of our capitulation, the enemy pretending to a positive order of the king for so doing. Sir Francis Doddington having dispatched some affairs in the country, took me with him to Wincheſter, and in our way thither shewed me a letter from Sir Ralph Hopton, desiring him to use all means possible to draw me to their party, which he endeavoured by making use of the best arguments he could, to prove the justice of their cause, the probability of their success, and the inconsiderableness of our strength in all parts, accompanying them with all the incouragements imaginable. The first night of our journey we lay at one Mr. Awbery's of Chalk, where we met with Dr. Earl and young Mr. Gataker, whom he desired to assist him in his design to convert me. Mr. Gataker rather chid than argued with

with me: Dr. Earl accuſed the parliament of endeavouring the deſtruction of learning, which I deſiring him to make appear, he told me, that by aboliſhing epiſcopacy we took away all encouragement to it; for that men would not ſend their ſons to the univerſity, had they not ſome hopes that they might attain to that preferment. To this I replied, That it would be much more honeſt for ſuch men to train up their children at the plow, whereby they might be certainly provided with a livelihood, than to ſpend their time and money to advance them to an office, pretended to be ſpiritual, and inſtituted for ſpiritual ends, upon ſuch a ſordid principle and conſideration. Sir Francis, as I conceived, aſhamed of the doctor's diſcourſe, put an end to the converſation. The next day we went to Salisbury, where, tho' multitudes of people were in the ſtreets, and in the inn where I was lodged, no perſon offered me the leaſt incivility, tho' I took the liberty in my chamber to maintain the juſtice of our cauſe in the preſence of forty or fifty of the town. Mr. John Penruddock, high-ſheriff of the county, having confined Mr. Balſum in the county-goal, and ſent to him to prepare himſelf to die, aſſuring him that he was to be executed in a ſhort time, came to me, and with many other expreſſions of kindneſs, deſired me, that in caſe of any extremity I would ſend to him, aſſuring me, that he wiſhed me as well as his own children, and promiſing that he would ride night and day to ſerve me. This poor gentleman was ſo unhappy, during his ſhrievalty, to have two of his nephews, preſuming upon their uncle's intereſt, and preſſing through his guards, killed by them, he having given order that none ſhould be permitted to paſs without a ſtrict examination. In our way to Wincheſter one Mr. Fiſher, an acquaintance of mine, then an officer of the king's, ſaluted me, and enquiring how I did, I anſwered him, As well as one could be in my condition; he thereupon replying, Why, I hope they uſe you civilly, do they not? Yes, ſaid I, very civilly. Sir Francis Doddington over-hearing him, took it ſo ill, that he cauſed him to be immediately diſarmed, telling him, that he was too bold, to call in queſtion the uſage of his priſoner. Being arrived at Wincheſter, I ſtaid at an inn till a private lodging was provided for Sir Francis, at whoſe quarters, according to his promiſe, I lodged, whilſt in his cuſtody. Moſt of the officers about the town came to me at the inn, ſeveral of them preſſing me to diſcourſe, and particularly concerning the juſtice of our cauſe: I excuſed myſelf, by reaſon of my preſent circumſtances; but they ſtill perſiſting, I thought myſelf obliged to maintain the neceſſity of our taking up arms in defence of our religion and liberties; but ſome of them being wholly biaſſed to their intereſt, as they went from me, met a relation of mine, one colonel Richard Manning, who tho' a papiſt, commanded a regiment of horſe in the king's ſervice, and told him, that they came from one of the boldeſt rebels that they had ever ſeen. The colonel coming to viſit me, informed me of this diſcourſe, adviſing me, whatſoever I thought, not to be ſo free with them, leſt they ſhould do me ſome miſchief. The next morning, before our departure for Oxford, Sir Francis Doddington brought me to Sir Ralph Hopton's lodgings, which being the head-quarters, we found there moſt of the principal officers of that army; where the general, after he had ſaluted me, demanded how I, being a gentleman, could ſatisfy myſelf to bear arms againſt my king: I told him, that, as I conceived, the laws both of God and man did juſtify me in what I had done. Well, ſaid he, I underſtand you are ſo fixed in your principles, that I am like to do little good upon you by my perſwaſions; but

but shall desire the archbishop of Armagh to take the pains to speak with you, when you come to Oxford; and if he cannot work on you, I know not who can. This bishop was very learned, and of great reputation for piety; yet I was assured by one who had his information from Mr. Bernard of Batcomb, that when the said Mr. Bernard earnestly pressed him to deal faithfully with the king in the controversy which was between him and the parliament concerning episcopacy, according to his own judgment in that matter, which he knew to be against it, representing to him the great and important service he would thereby do to the church of God, the archbishop answered, That if he should do as Mr. Bernard proposed, he should ruin himself and family, having a child and many debts. For this reason those arguments which could not prevail with me, when used by others, were not likely to be of more efficacy from him, who in a business of such concernment had been diverted from the discharge of his duty by such low and sordid considerations.

The next day I came to Oxford, conducted by a party of horse commanded by one who was captain-lieutenant to Sir Francis Doddington, where reposing a while at a house near Christ-church, till the pleasure of the king might be known concerning me, there came to me two persons very zealous to justify the king's cause, and to condemn that of the parliament. These men were Irish papists, sent over by the rebels in Ireland to treat with the king on their part, about assisting him against the parliament. This I afterwards understood from one of them, whose name was Callaghan O Callaghan, when, together with the brigade commanded by the lord Musquerry, he laid down his arms to me in Ireland. The king looking upon such men as most fit to be confided in, gives the presidentship of Munster, vacant by the death of Sir William St. Leger, to the lord Musquerry, an Irish rebel; which the lord Inchequin, son-in-law to Sir William, soliciting for, and claiming a right to it, took so ill, that the lord Broghill, as he since informed me, found no great difficulty to prevail with him to declare for the parliament, who thereupon made him their president of Munster. In this capacity he performed many considerable services against the Irish, taking great store of plunder from them, and not sparing even his own kindred, but if he found them faulty, hanging them up without distinction. Having brought together an army, he marched into the county of Tipperary, and hearing that many priests and gentry about Cashell had retired with their goods into the church, he stormed it, and being entered, put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar: of such force is ambition when it seizes upon the minds of men.

About this time Sir Edward Deering came from the king's quarters at Oxford, and surrendered himself at Westminster; where being examined in the house of commons, he said, that since the cessation made with the rebels in Ireland, seeing so many papists and Irish in the king's army, and his councils wholly governed by them, his conscience would not permit him to remain longer with the king, and therefore he was come to throw himself upon the mercy of the parliament, and in conformity to their declaration, to compound for his delinquency. Accordingly he was admitted to composition, and an order made to proceed in like manner towards such as should come in after him. Whereupon the earl of Westmorland, and divers others, came in to the parliament, and desired the benefit of their declaration for composition.

WHILST I was attending the king's pleaſure at Oxford, the captain that conveyed me thither brought me word, that he was ordered to deliver me to Mr. Thorpe the keeper of the caſtle; and pretending much affection to me, told me, that the ſaid keeper would take from me my upper garment, my money, and all that was looſe about me, adviſing me therefore to leave ſuch things with him, and promiſing to bring them to me in the morning: I not ſuſpecting his deſign, delivered him my cloke, with my money, and ſome other things, all which he carried away with him the next day; neither could I have any redreſs, tho' I wrote to Sir Francis Doddington, complaining of this treachery, the keeper of the caſtle not laying the leaſt claim to any ſuch thing. Our ſick and wounded men, after they had been kept for ſome time priſoners in the hall of Warder-caſtle, where a popiſh prieſt very ſolemnly, with his hands ſpread over them, curſed them three times, were carried from thence to Briſtol. In the caſtle of Oxford I met with Mr. Balſum, and other friends, who had been with me in Warder-caſtle, with many more who were detained there for their affection to the parliament, amongſt whom were colonel Shilborn of *Buckinghamſhire*, colonel Henly of *Dorſetſhire*, captain Haley of Gloceſterſhire, and captain Abercromy a Scots-man. I had a friend in the town who furniſhed me with what I wanted: thoſe who had not any ſuch means of relief, were ſupplied from London by a collection of the ſum of three hundred pounds, made for them by ſome citizens, and conveyed down to them. Neither was Oxford it ſelf deſtitute of ſome who contributed to their relief; one Dr. Hobbs in particular, who preached then at Carfax, an honeſt man of the epiſcopal party, uſually putting them in mind of it after his Sermon. The priſoners taken by the king's party had been treated very cruelly, eſpecially at Oxford, by Smith the marſhal there; but the members of parliament that deſerted their truſt at Weſtminſter coming thither, and ſitting in council there, having not quite loſt the affections of Engliſh-men, took the examination of that affair into their hands, and ſuſpended Smith from the execution of his office, till he ſhould give ſatisfaction concerning thoſe things of which he was accuſed. They committed the management of the place to one Thorp, and ſent ſome of their own number to enquire concerning our uſage. In the mean time Smith came to me by order, and offered me the liberty of the town, and to lodge where I pleaſed therein, upon my parole to be a true priſoner: but demanding of him, whether, in caſe I accepted his offer, I might have the liberty to viſit my friends in the caſtle when I thought fit; and he anſwering, that it would not be allowed, I choſe rather to be confined with my friends than at liberty with my enemies. The lord Arundel endeavouring to make good his promiſe of procuring my exchange for his two ſons, earneſtly ſoliciting the king to it; but tho' he had been a great ſufferer for his ſervice, the king poſitively refuſed to grant his requeſt, telling him, he had no uſe of children. The lady Byron came to me, and deſired me to procure her huſband, who was priſoner in the tower, to be exchanged for me, and carried a letter from me to my mother then at London, about it; who ſoliciting the earl of Eſſex our general to that effect, was deſired by him not to trouble her ſelf any more therein, aſſuring her that he would be as careful of me, as if I were his own ſon. A perſon from Sir Edward Stradling came alſo to me, in order to an exchange between us, telling me, that the king had promiſed that nothing of that nature ſhould be done before Sir Edward Stradling and colonel

Lunsford were exchanged. The lord Willmot ſent a gentleman to acquaint me that he had procured a grant from the king, that I ſhould be exchanged for Sir Hugh Pollard; and that if I would write a letter to the earl of Eſſex with the propoſal, he would ſend it by a trumpeter; but I judging this exchange to be very unequal, Sir Hugh being a perſon much eſteemed for his intereſt and experience, propoſed in my letter to the lord general, that he would put ſome other perſon with me into the balance againſt him. Whilſt I was in expectation of the general's anſwer, we received advice that moſt of our foot that lay before Newark, commanded by Sir John Meldrum, a worthy Scotſman, were defeated and made priſoners by prince Rupert: But this loſs was in ſome meaſure recompenſed by a victory obtained at Cherington in Hampſhire, by our forces, commanded by Sir William Waller, againſt thoſe of the king commanded by Sir Ralph Hopton. The numbers on each ſide were very near equal, and the ſucceſs had been doubtful for the moſt part of the day, but at laſt the enemy was totally routed, and put to flight: and had good uſe been made of this victory, the controverſy had been ſoon decided in the weſt; but we were not yet ſo happy to improve our advantages: by which negligence we got little more than the field, and the reputation of the victory, tho' the enemy loſt ſome of their principal officers in the fight, amongſt whom were the lord John brother to the duke of Lennox, Sir Edward Stawell, colonel Richard Manning, formerly mentioned, and that Smith who had been knighted by the king for reſcuing his ſtandard out of the hands of Mr. Chambers, ſecretary to the earl of Eſſex. This fight at Cherington happened on the 29th of March, 1644. about a fortnight after the ſurrender of Warder-caſtle, till which time had I been able to keep it, I ſhould have been relieved. The enemies officers came to the caſtle at Oxford to ſolicit the priſoners to take arms under them; but finding their endeavours to prove ineffectual, they ſoon deſiſted from that attempt. After three weeks confinement here, my exchange was agreed, the lord general Eſſex expreſſing much generoſity and readineſs in it, as he had promiſed to my mother: for leſt the king ſhould be reminded of his promiſe to Sir Edward Stradling and colonel Lunsford, or of that to my lord Willmot in favour of Sir Hugh Pollard, and ſo on either hand the deſign of my liberty come to be obſtructed, he conſented to the exchange of all the three for colonel Houghton, Sir John Savil, captain Abercromy, and my ſelf. Colonel Henly went off alſo with us, being exchanged for lieutenant colonel Robert Sandys. I was led blindfold through the city of Oxford till I had paſſed their works, and the next day arrived at London, where I found the earl of Eſſex diſpoſed to an exchange for my officers and ſoldiers, which was ſoon after made, and with them for Mr. Balſum, whom he entertained as his chaplain to the time of his death. He expreſſed a great deſire to provide me with a command in his army: but the parliament, upon the inſtances of the gentlemen that ſerved for the county of Wilts, having appointed me ſheriff thereof, upon an invitation of Sir Arthur Haſlerig to be major of his regiment of horſe in Sir William Waller's army, which was deſigned for the ſervice of the weſt, I accepted of it, and mounted the choiceſt of my old ſoldiers with me, Sir Arthur buying a hundred horſe in Smithfield for that purpoſe: the reſt of my men the lord general took into his own company. As ſoon as my troop was compleated, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, I repaired to the regiment then with Sir William Waller near Abingdon, who was directed by the parliament with his army to block up the king at Oxford on one ſide, whilſt

whilſt the earl of Eſſex ſhould do the ſame on the other. Which ſtorm the queen foreſeeing, withdrew to Exeter, where ſhe was delivered of a daughter, which ſhe leaving in the cuſtody of the lady Dalkeith, returned to France, as well to ſecure herſelf, as to ſolicit for ſupplies. In the mean time the king breaking out from Oxford, marched towards Worceſterſhire; upon which the earl of Eſſex commanded Sir William Waller to march after him, whilſt he himſelf with his army marched weſtward. This order ſeemed very ſtrange to the parliament, and to moſt of us, being likely to break Sir William Waller's army, which conſiſted for the moſt part of weſtern gentlemen, who hop'd thereby to have been enabled to ſecure the country, and to promote the publick ſervice. The parliament ſent to the lord general to obſerve his former orders, and to attend the king's motions; but he ſending them a ſhort anſwer, continued his march weſt, in which he took Weymouth, and relieved Lyme, that had endured a long ſiege, and with the aſſiſtance of the ſeamen, tho' their works were inconſiderable, had often repulſed the enemy, and killed great numbers of them in ſeveral ſallies that they made upon them. A party commanded by Sir Robert Pye was ordered to Taunton, which he reduced to the obedience of the parliament. Upon the advance of the earl of Eſſex, the army of the enemy commanded by prince Maurice retreated farther weſtward. Sir William Waller, according to his orders from the general, followed the king, but could not find an opportunity to engage him; ſo that the ſummer being almoſt ſpent, and the weſtern gentlemen obſerving little done for the ſecurity of thoſe parts to which they were related, prevailed with him to permit colonel Alexander Popham, colonel Edward Popham his brother, my ſelf, and ſome others, to return into the weſt, in order to provide recruits for his army, and to ſecure the country. To this end I received a commiſſion from him to raiſe and command a regiment of horſe, with a permiſſion to take my own troop with me. As ſoon as we came into Wiltſhire we were earneſtly ſolicited to go to the relief of major Wanſey, who was beſieged by the enemy in Woodhouſe, formerly purchaſed of my father by Mr. Arundel, brother to the lord Arundel of Warder. Upon our approach we underſtanding that their forces were drawn off, ſtaid a day or two at the Devizes; where notice being brought to us of the enemies return before that place, we immediately advanced, and came that night to Warmiſter, from whence we ſent a party of about forty horſe, with order to bring us certain intelligence of the enemies condition: This party meeting upon Warmiſter-heath with about the like number of theirs, fought them, and having taken ſome priſoners, returned to us, with an account, that the enemy only drew off from Woodhouſe to reinforce themſelves for the better carrying on of their work; in order to which Sir Ralph Hopton with a thouſand horſe was come from Briſtol. The next morning a party of the enemies horſe faced us on the heath, thereby to provoke us to charge them, and then by retreating from us, to have drawn us within their body of horſe, who were marching on our left amongſt the hedges, endeavouring to get into our rear; which we ſuſpecting, forbore making any attempt upon them; and about noon finding that we were not in a condition of performing what we came about, marched off towards Saliſbury. We were no ſooner got upon the Downs, but we diſcovered their body of horſe marching into the town; yet we continued our march, obſerving the enemy as well as we could, to which end I kept in the rear; and diſcovering them climbing the hills not far from us, I informed colonel Alexander Popham thereof, telling him,

him, that they appearing to be at leaſt four times our number, I thought it not at all adviſeable to engage them. But he ſaying, that ſince they were ſo near, we could not in honour avoid it, I promiſed him that I would not deſert him. Whereupon he drew up his party into one body, which with reformed officers and others conſiſted of near a hundred; and I drew up my troop, conſiſting of the like number, into another body: but having before ſent away my ſumpter and led horſes, upon ſuſpicion of the event, I was obliged to ride after them to take my ſuit of arms which was with them, having ordered my men not to ſtir from their ground till I came back, in which they were very punctual. As I was returning, I met colonel Popham and all his party flying, of whom demanding the cauſe of this alteration of his reſolution, he anſwered, that it was by no means adviſeable to fight them. I found my men ſtanding their ground, and the enemy advancing towards them in twelve bodies, each of which ſeemed to be as big as ours. I thanked them for obeying my orders, and told them, that if they continued to do ſo, I doubted not by the bleſſing of God to bring them off. In order to which I ſent my ſtandard before with half a ſcore choſen horſe, and then began to march off with the reſt; but finding ſome of my men beginning to ride for it, I put myſelf at the head of them, to let them ſee, that I could ride as faſt as they; withal telling them, that if they would ſtand by me, I would bring up the rear. By this means I got my men to keep cloſe together, which contributed much to their ſafety. The greateſt part of the other company followed colonel Edward Popham to Salisbury; but his brother colonel Alexander, with about ſix horſe, ſtruck out of the way and retired to Pool. After we had made about three miles of our way, one of my troopers fell from his horſe, and the beaſt running from him, he was in great danger of being deſtroyed by the enemy, who was in purſuit of us; which being willing to prevent, I took him up behind me, and his horſe running along with the company, was taken ſoon after on the top of the hill very ſeaſonably; for my horſe was by that time ſo far ſpent with the extraordinary weight, that he could not gallop any longer; but the ſoldier mounting his own horſe, mine ſoon recovered his wind and ſtrength again. Twice or thrice the enemy came up to us, demanding the word, and were as often repulſed to their body: the laſt time we ſhot one of their officers, which made them more cautious of approaching us. Many of our horſes being ſpent, I commanded the ſoldiers to quit them, and to run them through, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy, adviſing the men to ſhift for themſelves, either amongſt the corn, or in the villages through which we paſſed, whereby moſt of them ſecured themſelves; but ſome were taken by the enemy, and killed in cold blood by one of their officers after quarter given, and their lives promiſed to them. At laſt I came to Salisbury with about thirty horſe, where divers perſons diſaffected to the parliament made a great ſhout at our coming into the town, rejoicing at our defeat, which they had heard of by ſome of our company, who had paſſed through the town about an hour before. From thence I continued my way to a place called Motton-bridge, on one ſide of which there is a cauſeway about three foot broad, where I made a halt; and ordering my party to continue their retreat towards Southampton, I kept ſome of thoſe who were the beſt mounted with me, and made good that paſs for ſome time againſt the enemy, who tho' they followed us as far as White-pariſh, twenty miles from the place where they firſt began their purſuit, they took no more of our men after this halt which we put them to; ſo that with

the reſt I arrived ſafe at Southampton. Two days after my coming to Southampton, colonel Norton received advice, that the enemy was preparing to ſend ſome forces, in order to beat off thoſe of ours that blocked up Baſing-houſe. He being then before Wincheſter, and reſolving to march with his troop to reinforce the beſiegers, deſired me with my troop to ſupply his place at Wincheſter till his return. Being unwilling to refuſe any publick ſervice, tho' my men were already very much haraſſed, I marched thither; and that thoſe in the caſtle might ſee they were not at liberty to ravage the country, I drew out my troop and faced them: upon which they ſent out what horſe they had to ſkirmiſh with us; amongſt whom obſerving one Mr. William Neale, who was of my acquaintance, and formerly my ſchool-fellow, I called to him, telling him, that I was ſorry to ſee him there; but ſince it was ſo, I offered to exchange a ſhot with him, and riding up to that purpoſe, he retreated towards his party, where making a ſtand, he called to me to come on, which I did; but he retreated again till he came within the ſhelter of their foot, and one with him diſmounting, fired a muſket at me loaded with a brace of bullets, of which one went into the belly of my horſe, the other ſtruck upon my breaſt-plate, within half an inch of the bottom of it: my horſe carried me off, but died that night. The neceſſities of my men being great, and this ſervice not immediately belonging to me, I thought it my duty to return into Wiltſhire, where I might expect to be better ſupplied than in Hampſhire, to which county I had no relation: therefore ſending to colonel Norton to make proviſion for the ſervice at Wincheſter, I marched with fourſcore horſe to Salisbury; which town having triumphed upon our defeat, I thought moſt proper to ſupply us with what we wanted: and to that end having procured a liſt of the diſaffected in the town, I required them, without delay, to collect amongſt themſelves five hundred pounds for the recruiting and paying of my troop, who had not received any pay ſince they came out. The town made many excuſes, and at laſt prevailed with me to take two hundred pounds, with which I paid and recruited my troop; and having diſpoſed them in the beſt manner I could for the ſervice of the country, I went to London to compleat my regiment, and to furniſh it with arms, and all ſuch things as were neceſſary.

In the mean time Sir Francis Doddington had cauſed the two men that he had taken at Warder to be hanged, upon pretence that they ran away from him; and having brought ſome pieces of cannon before Woodhouſe, made a breach ſo conſiderable in the wall, that the beſieged were neceſſitated to ſurrender at mercy, but they found very little, for they were preſently ſtripped of all that was good about them: and Sir Francis Doddington being informed by one Bacon, who was parſon of the pariſh, that one of the priſoners had threatned to ſtick in his skirts, as he called it, for reading the common-prayer, ſtruck the man ſo many blows upon the head, and with ſuch force, that he broke his skull, and cauſed him to fall into a ſwoon; from which he was no ſooner recovered, but he was picked out to be one of the twelve which Sir Francis had granted to Sir William St. Leger to be hanged, in lieu of ſix Iriſh rebels who had been executed at Warum by colonel Sydenham, in purſuance of an order from the parliament to give them no quarter. Theſe twelve being moſt of them clothiers, were hanged upon the ſame tree; but one of them breaking his halter, deſired that what he had ſuffered might be accepted, or elſe that he might fight againſt any two for his life; notwithſtanding

which they caused him to be hanged up again, and had proceeded much farther, had not Sir Ralph Hopton sent orders to put a stop to their butcheries.

The king having ranged about for some time, thought fit to return towards Oxford; and being joined by some foot from thence, skirmished with Sir William Waller's army at Cropredy-bridge, wherein little hurt being done on either side, the king marched into the west, in order to a conjunction with his forces in those parts, commanded by prince Maurice.

When I first took arms under the parliament in defence of the rights and liberties of my country, I did not think that a work so good and so necessary would have been attended with so great difficulties: but finding by experience the strong combination of interests at home and abroad against them, the close conjunction of the popish and prelatical parties in opposition to them; what vast numbers depended upon the king for preferments or subsistence; how many of the nobility and gentry were contented to serve his arbitrary designs, if they might have leave to insult over such as were of a lower order; and adding to all this the great corruption of the nation, I became convinced of my former error, and began now more to wonder that they found so many friends to assist them in their just and lawful undertaking, than I had done before at the opposition they met with. In these thoughts I was every day more confirmed, by observing the strange divisions amongst our own party, every one striving to enlarge his own power in a factious and ambitious way, not caring tho' thereby they obstructed and ruined the cause itself. Of this I had some experience in my own particular, as well as others of a much greater figure than myself: for tho' my country-men had in my absence prevailed with the parliament to make me sheriff of the county of Wilts, and engaged themselves to raise a regiment for me; yet because I refused to deliver up my former commission received from Sir William Waller, and to take a new one from the earl of Essex, tho' that I had from Sir William obliged me to obey the said earl as much as one given me immediately from himself, those of my country-men who were of the faction of the earl of Essex, obstructed me in the raising of my regiment, keeping from me those arms that were bought to that end, countenancing my major, for whom I had procured that employment, against me, and detaining our pay from us; so that I and my men had nothing to keep us faithful to the cause but our affection to it. Yet were we not wanting to improve every opportunity in the best manner we could, to the service of the country; for having notice that a garison was put into the lord Sturton's house, and another into that of Sir Ralph Hopton at Witham, I marched in the night first to Sturton-house, which was defended against us, till each of us carrying a faggot to one of the gates, wherewith we set them on fire, together with one of the rooms of the castle, those that kept it slipped out at a back-door through the garden into the park, which they did undiscovered, by reason of the darkness of the night. Having rendered that place untenable, we hastened to Witham, where we found in the park near a hundred cattle belonging to Sir Ralph Hopton, which served for the payment of my soldiers: those who were within desired to treat, and demanded liberty to return home; which was granted, upon condition to deliver up their arms, and to engage to keep no garison in that place for the time to come. Being upon my return, I took with me my hangings, pictures, best beds, and other things, which my father's servants

vants had ſo well concealed, at the firſt breaking out of the war, in a private part of my houſe, that they eſcaped the ſearch of the enemy, who had plundered all they could find, broken all the windows, taken away the leads, and pulled up the boards in moſt parts of the houſe. Whilſt I was at London, that party which I left in the country had taken ſome wool and other things from the lord Cottington, the lord Arundel, and others, which they ſold, and divided the money amongſt themſelves. From the lord Cottington's they brought, amongſt other things, a horſe that had been taken from me before at Warder-caſtle.

THE lord Fairfax, the earl of Mancheſter, and the Scots, beſieged York, of which the earl of Newcaſtle was governor, having with him a gariſon conſiſting of ſix or ſeven thouſand foot, beſides horſe. After ſome time ſpent in the ſiege, prince Rupert arrived with about eighteen thouſand men, and cauſed the beſiegers to raiſe the ſiege, who joining their forces, reſolved to obſerve his motions, and to fight him if they found an occaſion; but that they might be a little refreſhed and furniſhed with proviſions, which they wanted, they marched towards Tadcaſter. If prince Rupert, who had acquired honour enough by the relief of York in the view of three generals, could have contented himſelf with it, and retreated, as he might have done, without fighting, the reputation he had gained would have cauſed his army to increaſe like the rolling of a ſnow-ball; but he thinking this nothing unleſs he might have all, forced his enemies to a battle againſt the advice of many of thoſe that were with him; in which the left wing of the enemy charging the right wing of ours, conſiſting of Engliſh and Scots, ſo totally routed them, that the three generals of the parliament quitted the field, and fled towards Cawood caſtle: the left wing of our army commanded by colonel Cromwell, knowing nothing of this rout, engaged the right wing of the enemy commanded by prince Rupert, who had gained an advantageous piece of ground upon Marſton-moor, and cauſed a battery to be erected upon it, from which captain Walton, Cromwell's ſiſter's-ſon, was wounded by a ſhot in the knee. Whereupon colonel Cromwell commanded two field-pieces to be brought in order to annoy the enemy, appointing two regiments of foot to guard them; who marching to that purpoſe, were attacked by the foot of the enemy's right wing, that fired thick upon them from the ditches. Upon this both parties ſeconding their foot, were wholly engaged, who before had ſtood only facing each other. The horſe on both ſides behaved themſelves with the utmoſt bravery; for having diſcharged their piſtols, and flung them at each other's heads, they fell to it with their ſwords. The king's party were encouraged in this encounter, by ſeeing the ſucceſs of their left wing; and the parliament's forces that remained in the field were not diſcouraged, becauſe they knew it not, both ſides eagerly contending for victory; which, after an obſtinate diſpute, was obtained by Cromwell's brigade, the enemy's right wing being totally routed and flying, as the parliament's had done before, our horſe purſuing and killing many of them in their flight. And now the enemy's left wing, who had been conquerors, returned to their former ground, preſuming upon an entire victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen prince Rupert; but before they could put themſelves into any order, they were charged and entirely defeated by the reſerves of Cromwell's brigade. Prince Rupert, upon the routing of the parliament's right wing, concluding all to be his own, had ſent letters to the king, to acquaint him with the victory, upon

which

which the bells were rung, and bonfires made at Oxford. Sir Charles Lucas, major-general Porter, major-general Tilyard, with above a hundred officers more, were taken prisoners by the parliament's forces: all the enemy's artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage fell also into their hands. The prince's own standard, with the arms of the Palatinate, was likewise taken, with many others both of horse and foot. Fifteen days after this fight, being the 16th of July, 1644, the city of York was surrendered to the parliament's forces upon articles; and the earl of Newcastle having had some dispute with prince Rupert before the engagement, wherein some words had passed which the earl could not well digest, soon after left England, and the prince retired to Bristol.

The earl of Essex was marched with his army into Cornwall; yet to what publick end I could never understand, for the enemy there had already dispersed themselves. Some said, that he was perswaded to march thither by the lord Roberts, to give him an opportunity to collect his rents in those parts. Upon this the king drew out what forces he could from Oxford, designing to join them with some others in the west; by which conjunction, the parliament apprehending their army under Essex to be in danger, ordered Sir William Waller to observe the king's motions: but whether the neglect of relieving him at the Devizes, or the affront put upon him, by commanding him to follow the king after he had been ordered to attend the service of the west, or what else it was that had lowered him, I cannot say; yet visible it was, that so much care and expedition was not used in attending the king in his marches as was requisite. However lieutenant-general Middleton, then under Sir William Waller, was sent with a party of horse to the assistance of the earl of Essex; but he kept at such a distance from him, that he afforded him little help. Neither was there that diligence as should have been then used by the earl of Essex himself, to engage the king before his conjunction with the western forces, or to fight them when they were united, they not much, if at all, exceeding ours in number, and in courage and affection to the cause engaged much inferior. But the earl of Essex and the lord Roberts having led the army into a corner of Cornwall, betook themselves to the ships with which the earl of Warwick attended the motion of the army. Being thus deserted, the horse broke through the enemy under the command of Sir William Balfour, the foot and train of artillery being left with major-general Skippon about Bodmin, who was forced, about the latter end of September, 1644, to make the best terms he could with the enemy for them, agreeing to leave their arms and cannon behind them, and to be conducted into the parliament's quarters, with whatsoever belonged to them; but before the convoy had done with them, they lost most of their clothes, and in that condition arrived at Portsmouth, where they found their general the earl of Essex.

The parliament soon caused them to be armed and clothed again; and the horse having forced their way, as before-mentioned, the army was speedily recruited, scarce a man having taken arms on the other side. The earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller were ordered with their forces to draw westward of London, as well to favour the earl of Essex upon occasion, as to put a stop to the enemy's approach, if he should attempt it. The king marched, as was expected, in great triumph out of the west, Sir William Waller lying about Basingstoke; from whom I received a letter, inviting me to come to their assistance: in order to

which I began my march with ſome horſe and dragoons raiſed by major Wanſey, who had been commanded by the earl of Eſſex to continue with me; and on the way received an order from the committee of both kingdoms, to advance towards them with what force I had. We were very well received by them, having with us about five hundred horſe, and particularly becauſe they had been under ſome apprehenſions that the enemy had intercepted us, who were indeed poſted in our way; yet we paſſed by them in the night without diſturbance, and came ſafely to our friends. Within a day or two our army advanced towards Newbury, of which place the enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves. The earl of Eſſex being indiſpoſed, could not attend that ſervice, and therefore the committee of both kingdoms ſent ſome members of their own, to take care that all poſſible advantages might be taken againſt the enemy, and to prevent any contention amongſt our friends concerning the command, or any other matters. The river that ran through the town defended the enemy on the ſouth ſide of it, ſo that we could not come at them: and on the north-weſt part of it, within cannon-ſhot, lay Dennington-caſtle, in which they had placed a gariſon; ſo that we had no other way to the town, but on the north-eaſt of it, where they had raiſed a breaſt-work and furniſhed ſome houſes that were without it with foot, the ground between that and the river being marſhy, full of ditches, and not paſſable. On the north ſide of this high-way was a ſtrong ſtone houſe belonging to one Mr. Doleman, having a rampart of earth about it, which was alſo poſſeſſed by the enemy; ſo that little could be done upon them the firſt day, ſave skirmiſhing in ſmall parties, as they thought fit to come out to us. On our ſide we had the advantage of a hill, which ſerved in ſome meaſure to cover our men: here we planted ſome of our field-pieces, and fired upon the enemy, who anſwered us in the like manner from the town. In the afternoon they drew two of their guns to the other ſide of the river, and with them fired upon that part of ours that lay on the ſide of the hill, who were much expoſed to that place where their guns were planted: my regiment being that day on the guard, received the greateſt damage; amongſt others my couſin Gabriel Ludlow, who was a cornet therein, and who had behaved himſelf ſo well in the defence of Warder-caſtle, was killed: he died not immediately after he was ſhot; ſo that having cauſed him to be removed out of the reach of their guns, and procured a ſurgeon to ſearch his wounds, he found his belly broken, and bowels torn, his hip-bone broken all to ſhivers, and the bullet lodged in it; notwithſtanding which he recovered ſome ſenſe, tho' the ſurgeon refuſed to dreſs him, looking on him as a dead man. This accident troubled me exceedingly, he being one who had expreſſed great affection to me, and of whom I had great hopes that he would be uſeful to the publick. In this condition he deſired me to kiſs him, and I not preſently doing it, thinking he had talked lightly, he preſſed me again to do him that favour; whereby obſerving him to be ſenſible, I kiſſed him; and ſoon after having recommended his mother, brothers and ſiſters to my care, he died. Our enemies having ſecured themſelves, as I mentioned before, we were neceſſitated to divide our army, in order to attack them on the north-weſt ſide of the town by Dennington-caſtle; where moſt of our foot who engaged the enemy were of thoſe who had been lately ſtripped by them in Cornwall: which uſage being freſh in their memory, cauſed them to charge with ſuch vigour, that ſome of them ran up to their cannon, and clapped their hats upon the touch-

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holes of them, falling ſo furiouſly upon the enemy, that they were not able to ſtand before them, but were forced to quit their ground, and run under the ſhelter of Dennington-caſtle, leaving behind them ſeveral pieces of cannon, beſides many of their men killed and taken priſoners. Thoſe on our ſide commanded by the earl of Mancheſter, obſerving the enemy to retreat in that diſorderly manner on the other ſide, thought it their duty to endeavour to force their paſſage on this; and to that end our horſe and foot, with ſome cannon, were drawn into a bottom, between Doleman's houſe and the hill, where our guns were firſt planted: thoſe at the little houſes, and at the breaſt-work, fired thick upon us; but our foot ran up to the houſes, and attacked the enemy ſo vigorouſly, that they were forced to retire to their breaſt-work; between which and Doleman's houſe our men continued firing about an hour and half. But finding many to fall, and that there was no probability of doing any good, they retreated, leaving two drakes behind them. Our horſe had ſtood drawn up within a little more than piſtol-ſhot of the enemy's works all the while our foot were engaged, for their encouragement and protection againſt any horſe that ſhould attack them, as alſo to ſecond them in caſe they had made way. I had divers men and horſe ſhot, and amongſt the reſt my own. The night coming on ſeparated us, when drawing off I perceived that my major had ſecured his troop in the rear of all, having taken care that all the regiment might not be loſt in one engagement. In the night the enemy removed their cannon and other carriages to Dennington-caſtle, where having lodged them, they marched between our two parties towards Oxford. The next morning we drew together, and followed the enemy with our horſe, which was the greateſt body I ſaw together during the whole courſe of the war, amounting to at leaſt ſeven thouſand horſe and dragoons; but they had got ſo much ground of us, that we could never recover ſight of them, and did not expect to ſee them any more in a body that year: neither had we, as I ſuppoſe, if encouragement had not been given them privately by ſome of our own party. Colonel Norton's regiment of horſe, with ſome foot, being left to block up Baſing-houſe, he deſired to have more force aſſigned him for the more effectual carrying on that work, and particularly my regiment of horſe. I was not ignorant of the hardſhip of that ſervice, it not being properly my work, who was raiſed by and for the county of Wilts; yet having received an order to that purpoſe from the general, and ſent my major with part of the regiment into Wiltſhire for the defence of that county, I reſolved to obey, eſpecially conſidering that the intercourſe between London and the weſt was much interrupted by that gariſon.

The enemy, contrary to all expectation, appeared again in a body near Newbury, where our army lay, who drew out to oppoſe them. Some ſmall skirmiſhes happened between them, but a general engagement was oppoſed in a council of war by ſome of the greateſt amongſt us. Whereupon the king, in the face of our army, twice as numerous as his, had time to ſend his artillery from Dennington-caſtle towards Oxford, without any oppoſition, to the aſtoniſhment of all thoſe who wiſhed well to the publick. But by this time it was clearly manifeſt, that the nobility had no further quarrel with the king, than till they could make their terms with him, having, for the moſt part, grounded their diſſatisfactions upon ſome particular affront, or the prevalency of a faction about him. But tho' it ſhould be granted, that their intentions in taking arms were to oblige the king to conſent to redreſs the grievances of the nation; yet

did also the siege soon after, contrary to our expectation. We made use of the opportunity, and furnished the town with provisions and all things necessary; which being done, the forces of Wilts and Dorsetshire marched back to the said counties. Being returned to Salisbury, I was informed that the enemy had put a garison into Langford-house, two miles from thence, whereupon I resolved to fortify the belfrey in the Close, where I might keep a small guard to secure it for a horse-quarter, and to that end had summoned workmen to perform that work. At night having drawn up my regiment in order to acquaint them with the necessity that lay upon them to be more than ordinarily diligent in their duty at that juncture, as also to divide their watches between them, and to appoint the guard for that night, I received an alarm of the enemies approach, and that they were advanced as far as Amesbury: of which desiring to have certain information, I sent threescore horse under the command of captain Sadler, the only captain of my regiment then with me, some of them being absent with leave, and others without, to advance towards the enemy, till by taking of prisoners, or some other way, he might get some certain intelligence concerning them, and then to come back to me. With the rest of my men I marched slowly after him, being unwilling to retire into our quarters till I had made a further discovery concerning the enemy. Captain Sadler, according to his instructions, marched to Amesbury, and sent me word from thence, that he had advice the enemy was not far off. I sent to him to continue his march, with the same orders as before, my self with the rest of the regiment following; and being come to Nether-Haven, as I think it is called, I received notice from captain Sadler, that he had engaged an advanced party of the enemy, and could not get off; which unexpected news, and contrary to my orders, caused me to advance with all diligence to his relief, who had approached so near their main guard, as to give them an alarm to draw together, and yet had not pursued his charge, which if he had done, he might easily have dispersed the guard, and prevented the rest from coming together; but he having only alarm'd them, stood looking upon them whilst they drew up their body, which, when I came up, I perceived to be more numerous than all ours: However, thinking it unfit to shew any backwardness at such a time, I advanced with that party that was with me, which was not above one half, the rest following as fast as they could, in order to charge the enemy's body; but they, before we came within pistol-shot, faced about and ran away. Thereupon I divided my men into two parties, giving the command of one of them to one Marshall, my major's lieutenant, the chief officer then with me, except captain Sadler, with whose conduct the troopers were so far dissatisfied, that they refused to follow him. The other party I headed my self, and gave orders to both not to persue farther than the town, where we agreed to rally, falling into it by several ways. My party halted according to order, after having killed and taken prisoners about thirty of the enemy, with several of their horses: but that party commanded by lieutenant Marshall not observing his orders, having pursued the enemy at least two miles, met with other bodies of the enemies horse drawn together upon the alarm, who killed and took some of ours prisoners, the rest retreating in a disorderly manner. At my return to Salisbury I commanded all my men to be upon the guard till the morning, without unbridling or unsadling their horses; after which I disposed my prisoners into the belfrey, and placed a guard upon them; and having set our sentinels, I received a letter from colonel Norton, desiring me to send some horse to

his aſſiſtance againſt ſome of the king's forces, which as I was reading, one of my ſentinels brought me word that the enemy appeared at the town's-end. Whereupon I immediately mounted with ſix more, ordering the reſt to make ready; and riding up by the three ſwans, heard a great noiſe of horſes in the ſtreet that leads into the city from Old Sarum, which cauſed me to return to the market-place, where finding many of the enemy's horſe, I went by the back-ſide of the town-houſe through a ſtreet called the Ditch, to my guard, which was drawn up in the Cloſe, but very ſhort of the number I expected; for ſome, contrary to orders, were gone to bed, and others taking the advantage of the night had ſtolen away, ſo that thoſe remaining were not much above thirty horſe. Of theſe I ſent ten under a cornet to charge them, my ſelf following after with the reſt, and ordering a trumpet to ſound in our rear, as if more were coming on. Paſſing by the chief croſs, where we were forced to march one by one, and entring the market-place, I found the cornet pickeering with the enemy, whom I with five or ſix of mine charged on the left flank, ſo that they gave ground, and thereby preſſed ſo hard on their own men on the right, and they on their file-leaders, that the whole party was ſoon routed, and ran before us. We followed them cloſe in the rear, and tho' they made many ſhot at me, yet I received no wound in the whole action. About a hundred of them ran thro' Wincheſter-gate to their main body, and about twice that number fled up a ſtreet called Endleſs-ſtreet, whom I purſuing, my horſe fell backwards with me, by a check I gave him; but my own men being in my rear, I ſoon recovered on horſe-back, and continued the perſuit, till I found the enemy to make a ſtand, the ſtreet, according to its name, being walled up at the farther end, and one of them breaking back upon me, and leaping the brook, but his horſe loſing his feet, threw him down; and he perceiving himſelf to be at my mercy, deſired his life. His horſe I gave to one of my men who had been diſmounted; and having examined him, I found that he was a lieutenant colonel, his name Middleton, and a papiſt. He aſſured me, that there were three hundred men in that party which we had routed, three hundred appointed to ſecond them, and three hundred more attended at the town's-end as a reſerve, and that the whole body was commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. I acquainted him that my party being not ſo conſiderable, he might probably be reſcued, and therefore I could not give him quarter, unleſs he would engage himſelf to be a true priſoner, which he did, upon condition that he might be my priſoner, which I promiſed him. And now moſt of my men being diſperſed, I lodged my colours at an honeſt man's houſe of the town, delivering my priſoner and wounded men to the guard in the belfrey, and with five or ſix made my retreat through the Cloſe by one Mrs. Sadler's, at whoſe houſe I quartered, where I found a boy ſtanding at the door with my ſuit of arms, which I put on. Upon Harnham-hill I found a cornet with about twelve of our men, with whom I reſolved to return and march after the enemy; but when we came to the belfrey, and were encouraging our little guard to oppoſe the enemy, we diſcovered three of their troops marching into the Cloſe from the north-gate, their whole body following them. Whereupon having commanded the guard to fire upon them, I charged the enemy with as many of my party as were willing to follow me, exchanging ſeveral ſhot with them. Their firſt ſquadron ſoon began to give ground; but my guard not firing upon the enemy according to my orders, and it being now grown light, they ſoon perceived the ſmallneſs of our number, and refuſed to run as before;

before; so that I was forced to retire as fast as I could with my men, one of whom carried away a sword of the enemy which was run through his arm. Before they came to Harnham-bridge they overtook one of my servants whose name was Stent, who, after he had long defended himself, delivered up his sword upon promise of quarter; after which, contrary to their word, they gave him several cuts on the head, so that above threescore splinters of bones were afterwards taken out of his skull. Being come to the other side of the bridge, I turned and faced the enemy, with one of my pistols in my hand, upon which they halted a little, whereby my men had time to recover almost to the top of Harnham-hill. In this posture I stood till the enemy were come within half pistol-shot of me, and then made my retreat. Another of my servants, called Henry Coles, who entred into my father's service two days after I was born, fell also into the enemy's hands, being mortally wounded, and died two or three days after. My groom also was taken by them. Upon the descent of the hill beyond Odstock I missed the road by reason of the snow, which lying upon the ground, had covered the beaten way, so that I was obliged to cross some plow'd lands to get into it again; which while I was doing, one of the enemy came up within shot of me, and calling me by my name, asked if I would take quarter; but as he rid directly upon me, armed with back and breast, I fired a pistol at him, and shot him into the belly; by which wound he fell from his horse, and was carried to the next town, where he died two days after, as one of my troopers afterwards told me, who was taken prisoner near the same place. In Odstock-lane another of the enemy being advanced within musquet-shot of me, called me also by name, and desired me to stay and take honourable quarter. I hearing him give good words, thought he had proposed to render himself to me, and therefore stopped my horse, that I might hear him more distinctly; but he instead of that made ready his carabine to fire at me, which I perceiving, and sensible of my danger, by reason of the greatness of the enemy's number, made the best of my way towards Fording-bridge, where having rested a little, and rallied a party of my horse, I marched with them to Southampton. At that place I endeavoured to procure some force for the relief of those poor men that were left in the belfrey at Salisbury; which as I was doing, I received advice, that after a vigorous resistance for the most part of that day, the enemy had forced a collier to drive his cart, loaden with charcoal, to the door of the belfrey, (where he lost his life) and with it burnt down the door, which in a day's time we should have secured by a breast-work; but for want thereof lieutenant colonel Read was forced to yield the place to the enemy upon such terms as he could get, which were, to have their lives, and be prisoners of war. The enemy took here, and in the town, as also of those who pursued them in the night, contrary to my orders, fourscore prisoners; and had taken more if they had not received a check upon their first arrival in the town by a handful of men: for they had placed guards at the gates of most of the greatest inns in the city; but their party flying, those guards also quitted their posts, whereby many of our men had an opportunity to get off. I was slightly wounded on the breast with a sword: my horse was hurt with a shot, and died of it soon after. We had about threescore of the enemy prisoners at Southampton, taken with colonel Coke; these we exchanged for our men, having engaged to procure elsewhere the discharge of as many as we wanted of the number they had of ours, which I made good to them. The most serviceable of my horse I sent towards Portsmouth, to take

advantages againſt the enemy as there ſhould be occaſion, remaining with the reſt about Limington and Hurſt-caſtle, reſolving as ſoon as I could to mount my men again. The enemy hoping to ſurprize me in this corner, marched towards me, but failed in their deſign. I being gone into the Iſle of Wight to confer with our friends there, whom I found very well diſpoſed to the publick ſervice; and being informed that the enemy deſigned to attempt the gariſon of Chriſt-church, we imbarked ſome men to reinforce them, who being ready to put to ſea, news was brought that the enemy were beaten off, and ſo ſaved our men that trouble. The lord Goring having left a conſiderable force in the county of Wilts, marched with his army into Somerſetſhire, where being joined by thoſe who had beſieged Taunton, they ſat down before it again: colonel Maſſey was ſent by the parliament to relieve the place, but finding his forces not ſufficient to that purpoſe, he durſt not attempt it.

The committee of both kingdoms ordered my regiment to lie at Odium to prevent the excurſions of the gariſon at Baſing-houſe; but after we had been there a few days, my major, who had more wit than courage or honeſty, prevailed with the council of officers to vote our lying there unſafe and unadviſeable. I being unwilling to ſtay contrary to their advice, without an eſpecial order, acquainted the committee of both kingdoms with the reſult of the council of officers, who approving their reaſons, ſent me orders to draw off: in obedience to which I marched into Surrey, and the firſt night arrived at a place called, as I think, Godliman near Guildford. Sir John Evelyn endeavoured to perſwade me to join lieutenant-general Cromwell, who was ordered into the weſt; but being engaged to attend our committee about the recruiting of my regiment, I was not willing to ſtir till that buſineſs was effected, that I might not leave ſo many honeſt men who had loſt their horſes in the ſervice, before I had procured ſome proviſion to be made for them. The diſputes in the mean time continued in the two houſes concerning the conduct of the army; and tho' what was objected touching the late miſcarriages at the fight of Newbury, and elſewhere, amounted not to a formal charge, yet it ſo far prevailed with the houſe of commons, as to convince them of the neceſſity of making an alteration in the conduct of the army, in order to bring the war to a concluſion; which reſolution was taken by the houſe upon the report made to them by Mr. Zouch Tate, chairman of the committee appointed for the reforming of the army, wherein he repreſented that they had been endeavouring to obey their orders, but found the condition of the army as the phyſician did the blood of his patient, that conſulted him about the cure of a ſlight tumour, when the whole maſs of his blood was entirely corrupted; that therefore the committee had ordered him to acquaint the houſe, That the whole body of their army being infected, nothing would ſerve for their recovery leſs than the entire renewing of their conſtitution. The houſe, that they might do it without giving occaſion to any ſiniſter reflections upon themſelves, agreed upon a ſelf-denying ordinance, the grounds whereof were expreſſed to be, the clearing of the parliament from the aſperſions caſt on them, of prolonging the war on purpoſe to gratify each other with places, and neglecting their duty in the houſe by holding employments in the army: they therefore enacted, that all members of parliament ſhould ſurrender the offices they held from them, that they might the better attend their duty in parliament. By this means the earl of Eſſex, the earl of Mancheſter, and Sir William Waller, were laid aſide, the latter rather

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to shew their impartiality, than from any distrust of him, he having never discovered to that time any inclination to favour the king's cause. Upon this change Sir Thomas Fairfax was voted general, and Philip Skippon major-general of the foot. A committee was also appointed to consider, what number of horse and foot this army should consist of, and who under the general should command them. They agreed also upon the colonels, some whereof were Scots, as Middleton, Holborn, and others, who disliking the design, refused to accept of employments. Pointz was commissionated to command the forces in the north, and Massey those in the west, consisting chiefly of such as had served under Sir William Waller. The committee would have named me for the command of a regiment; but the gentlemen who served in parliament for the county of Wilts, pretended then that they could not spare me; yet soon after, observing me not fit to promote a faction, and solely applying myself to advance the cause of the publick, they combined against me, and procured me to be laid aside, under colour that they stood not in need of more than four troops for the service of the county, of which they offered me the command; and I should not have declined it, had I found my endeavours answered with suitable acceptance, or that they whom I served had been willing the publick cause, for which I was ready to sacrifice my life, should prosper: but the contrary being most evident; and tho' some of the gentlemen continued to manifest their fidelity to the publick, and their affection to me, yet most of them having now espoused another interest, and rejoicing at any loss that fell upon ours, I chose rather to desist, and wait for a better opportunity to improve my talent for the service of the publick. My major, notwithstanding his artifices, being disappointed in his expectation to command these troops, openly pulled off the mask, and with about thirty of his troop, and some strangers, under pretence of beating up a quarter of the enemy, went over to them, having sent his wife before to give them notice of his design. But his lieutenant continuing faithful to the publick, hindered most part of his troop from following him. Soon after he undertook to raise a regiment in the north parts of Wiltshire for the king; but whilst he was attempting to effect it, an encounter happened between him and some forces of the parliament, wherein being worsted, and endeavouring to save himself by leaping over a ditch, he fell with his horse into it, and was so bruised with his fall, that he never spoke more, thereby receiving such a recompence as was due to his treachery.

About the same time that the parliament made Sir Thomas Fairfax general of their forces, the king made prince Rupert general of his, notwithstanding his late ill success at Marston-moor, to the great dissatisfaction of many of his council.

The committee of Wilts divided themselves, one part of them to sit at Malmsbury, and the other to reside about Salisbury; but wanting a place for their security, they put a garison into Falston-house; and captain Edward Doyly contending with major William Ludlow for the government thereof, the committee at London gave it to the latter, who with his troop somewhat restrained the excursions of the king's party from their garison thereabouts. That part of the committee which sat at Malmsbury having some affairs to dispatch at Marlborough, went thither accompanied by colonel Devereux, governor of the place. The first night after their arrival a party of the king's surprized them there, and

took ſome of the committee, with the ſaid governor, and moſt of the forces they had with them, priſoners.

The parliament, tho' they were not wanting to make all fitting preparations for war, yet neglected no honeſt endeavours to procure peace, aſſuring themſelves that they ſhould be the better enabled to bear whatſoever might be the event of the war, if they took care to diſcharge their conſciences in that particular, and to manifeſt, that as they had been compelled to it by mere neceſſity, ſo, if it muſt be continued, it ſhould not be through their choice or obſtinacy. To this end it was agreed, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from the parliament, to treat with others to be ſent from the king about conditions of peace. The place of their meeting was at Uxbridge, where after the king had owned the two houſes as a parliament, to which he was not without difficulty perſwaded, tho' he had by an act engaged that they ſhould continue to be a parliament till they diſſolved themſelves, which they had not done; and conſented that his commiſſioners ſhould treat in the ſame quality they were in before the war, the commiſſioners of parliament declining to give them the titles conferred upon them ſince; they made ſome progreſs in the treaty, which began the 13th of January, 1645, but the propoſition concerning the biſhops being rejected, it came to nothing. During the treaty Mr. Love, one of the chaplains attending the commiſſioners of parliament, preaching before them, averred, "That the king was a man of blood, and that it was a vain thing to hope for the bleſſing of God upon any peace to be made with him, till ſatisfaction ſhould be made for the blood that had been ſhed." For theſe words the king's commiſſioners demanded ſatisfaction; but the treaty breaking up, nothing was done in order thereunto. And now both parties renewed the war, Weymouth being ſeized for the king, and ſome advantage obtained againſt the parliament near Pomfret. On the other ſide, the forces of the parliament ſurprized the important town of Shrewſbury, whereby the king's correſpondence with Wales became much interrupted. They alſo recovered Weymouth by the help of the gariſon of Melcolm-regis, which is ſeparated from the ſaid town by a ſmall arm of the ſea, with a bridge over it, and which was preſerved by the induſtry of the governor colonel Sydenham.

Colonel Cromwell, notwithſtanding the ſelf-denying ordinance, was diſpenſed with by the parliament; and being impowered to command the horſe under Sir Thomas Fairfax, he marched with a party of horſe and dragoons from Windſor, and at Iſlip-bridge met, fought, and defeated the queen's regiment of horſe, together with the regiments of the earl of Northampton, the lord Wilmot, and colonel Palmer, taking five hundred horſe and two hundred foot priſoners, whereof many were officers and perſons of quality. After which he ſummoned Blechington-houſe, which was ſurrendered to him by colonel Windebank, ſon to the late ſecretary of ſtate, who, coming to Oxford, was ſhot to death for ſo doing. He forced Sir William Vaughan, and lieutenant-colonel Littleton, with three hundred and fifty men, into Bampton-buſh, where he took them both, and two hundred of their men priſoners, with their arms; ſending colonel Fiennes after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horſe, three colonels, and forty private ſoldiers, priſoners, with their arms: and being reinforced by about five hundred foot from colonel Brown, he attempted Faringdon-houſe, but without ſucceſs.

GENERAL

GENERAL Fairfax leaving lieutenant-general Cromwell to block up the king at Oxford, with the body of the army marched westward, with a design to relieve Taunton; but being ordered by the committee of both kingdoms to besiege Oxford, he appointed colonel Welden to relieve that town, which he easily effected, the enemy marching off at his approach, apprehending them to be the whole army marching against them, as they before had been informed. The king sent the prince of Wales, accompanied with Hyde and Culpeper, into the west, to raise forces; and despising the "new model," as it was called, because most of the old officers were either omitted by the parliament, or had quitted their commands in the army, judging himself master of the field, marched towards Leicester, and by this time was grown so considerable, that the committee of both kingdoms thought it high time to look after him, and to that end commanded the general with the army to march and observe his motions; but before he could overtake him, the king had made himself master of Leicester by storm, and plundered it, with the loss of about seven hundred men on his side, and about one hundred of the town. Being encouraged with this success, and with the consideration that he was to encounter with an unexperienced enemy, upon advice that our army was in search of him, he advanced towards them, and both armies met in the field of Naseby on the 14th of June, 1645. Some days before, one colonel Vermuyden, an old soldier, who commanded a regiment of horse, had laid down his commission, whether through diffidence of success, or what other consideration, I know not: and in the beginning of the engagement major-general Skippon, the only old soldier remaining amongst the chief officers of the army, received a shot in the body from one of our own party, as was supposed unwillingly, whereby he was in a great measure disabled to perform the duty of his place that day, tho' extremely desirous to do it. Under these discouragements the horse upon our left wing were attacked by those of the enemy's right, and beaten back to our cannon, which were in danger of being taken, our foot giving ground also. But our right wing being strengthened by those of our left that were rallied by their officers, fell upon the enemy's left wing, and having broken and repulsed them, resolving to improve the opportunity, charged the main body of the king's army, and with the assistance of two or three regiments of our infantry, entirely encompassed the enemy's body of foot, who finding themselves deserted by their horse, threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners. By this means our horse were at leisure to pursue the king, and such as fled with him towards Leicester, taking many prisoners in the pursuit, who with those taken in the field amounted in all to about six thousand, and amongst them six colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, eighteen majors, seventy captains, eighty lieutenants, eighty ensigns, two hundred inferior officers, about one hundred and forty standards of horse and foot, the king's footmen and servants, and the whole train of artillery and baggage. This victory was obtained with the loss of a very few on our side, and not above three or four hundred of the enemy.

IN the pursuit the king's cabinet was taken, and in it many letters of consequence, particularly one from the lord Digby, advising the king, before any act of hostility on either side, to betake himself to some place of strength, and there to declare against the parliament; by which men perceived that the design of making war upon the parliament was resolved upon early, the king having followed this council exactly.

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THE parliament had impeached Finch of high-treaſon, for adviſing the illegal tax of ſhip-money, ſoliciting the judges to declare it lawful, and threatening thoſe who refuſed ſo to do, for which good ſervice the king had preferred him to be keeper of the great ſeal; but the place being vacant upon his flight, the king would not entruſt it with Littleton, before he had obliged him by an oath, to promiſe to ſend the ſeal to the king whenſoever he ſhould by any meſſenger require it of him; which I am inclined to believe to have been the cauſe why Littleton left the parliament, not daring to ſtay, after he had, according to his oath, ſent the ſeal to the king by one Mr. Elliot, diſpatched to him by the king for that purpoſe. The Seal being thus carried away, the parliament finding juſtice obſtructed through want of it, declared, that the ſeal ought to attend them during their ſitting, and therefore that all that was or ſhould be done ſince it was carried to the king, was null and void. Upon which a new ſeal was ordered to be made, and commiſſioners nominated for the keeping of it, and putting it in execution to all intents and purpoſes, the parliament thereby exerciſing the ſupreme authority in virtue of their frequent declarations; "That the king doth nothing in his perſonal capacity as king, but in his politick capacity according to law; of which the judges of Weſtminſter-hall are judges in the intervals of parliament; and during the ſitting of parliament, the two houſes, being the great council, both of king and people, are the ſole judges thereof."

IN the king's cabinet were alſo found letters from the queen, blaming him for owning thoſe at Weſtminſter to be a parliament, and warning him not to do any thing to the prejudice of the Roman catholicks; with a copy of his anſwer, wherein he promiſed his care of the papiſts, and excuſed his owning the two houſes at Weſtminſter to be a parliament; aſſuring her, that if he could have found two of his mongrel parliament at Oxford, as he called them, of his mind therein, he would never have done it; and that tho' he had done it publickly, the parliament refuſing to treat with him otherwiſe, yet he had given order to have it entered in the journal of his council, that this, notwithſtanding, ſhould not be of any validity for the enabling them to be a parliament. Another paper was found with them, giving ſome account of the troubles in Ireland, wherein the papiſts who had taken arms being qualified "rebels," that term was ſtruck out, and the word "Iriſh" added by the king himſelf. There was likewiſe a letter to the French king, complaining of the unkindneſs and ingratitude of the queen, and of the reaſons of the removal of her ſervants that ſhe brought over with her; of which it had been diſcretion in the king to have kept no memorials, ſuch matters, when buried in oblivion, being next beſt to the not having any differences between ſo near relations. Many more letters there were relating to the publick, which were printed with obſervations, by order of the parliament; and others of no leſs conſequence ſuppreſſed, as I have been credibly informed, by ſome of thoſe that were intruſted with them, who ſince the king's return have been rewarded for it. One paper I muſt not omit which was here found, being that very paper which contained the principal evidence againſt the earl of Strafford, and had been, as before mentioned, purloined from the committee appointed by the houſe of commons to manage the charge againſt him, having theſe words written upon it with the king's own hand, "This paper was delivered to me by George Digby," tho' he, as well as the reſt of that committee, had ſolemnly proteſted, that he had neither taken that paper away, nor knew

what was become of it. The priſoners and ſtandards taken in the fight were brought through London to Weſtminſter. The ſtandards were ordered to be hung up in Weſtminſter-hall, and the priſoners were ſecured in the artillery-ground near Tothill-fields; a committee being appointed to conſider how to diſpoſe of them, who permitted thoſe to return home that would give ſecurity for their living peaceably for the future; but ſuch as did not, which was much the greater number, were ſhipped off to ſerve in foreign parts upon conditions. This ſucceſs was aſtoniſhing, being obtained by men of little experience in affairs of this nature, and upon that account deſpiſed by their enemies; yet it proved the deciding battle, the king's party after this time never making any conſiderable oppoſition. Leiceſter capitulated two days after, and was ſurrendered; and ſome of our forces beſieged Cheſter, whilſt the Scots did the like to Hereford. The general Sir Thomas Fairfax marched with the army to relieve our friends at Taunton, where colonel Welden was beſieged, took Highworth in his march, and diſſipated the club-men, defeated Goring's forces at Lamport, poſſeſſed himſelf of the towns of Bridgewater and Bath by capitulation, and of Sherburn-caſtle by ſtorm. Briſtol alſo was ſurrendered after the out-works and fort had been taken by aſſault, with divers other ſucceſſes of leſs importance, and therefore unneceſſary to be mentioned here. Lieutenant-general Cromwell being ſent to reduce ſuch gariſons as were in the way to London, began with the caſtle of Wincheſter, which was delivered to him upon articles; after which he marched to Baſing-houſe, and erected a battery on the eaſt ſide of it; by which having made a breach, he ſtormed and entered it, putting many of the gariſon to the ſword, and taking the reſt with the marquis of Wincheſter, whoſe houſe it was, priſoners. Colonel Robert Hammond had been before made priſoner by the marquis, and was kept here by him in order to ſecure his own life, which he did by putting himſelf under the colonel's protection, when ours entered the place. It was ſuſpected that colonel Hammond, being related to the earl of Eſſex, whoſe half-ſiſter was married to the marquis of Wincheſter, had ſuffered himſelf to be taken priſoner on deſign to ſerve the ſaid marquis. The place he attempted was Langford-houſe near Salisbury, which was yielded in a day or two upon articles. The works about Baſing were levelled, Sherborn-caſtle ſlighted, as alſo Falſton-houſe, of which major Ludlow was governor, who was removed to undertake the ſame charge at Langford-houſe, wherein the parliament thought fit to keep a gariſon by reaſon of its nearneſs to the enemy.

The king, as well to ſecure himſelf by getting as far from our forces as he could, as to raiſe a new army if poſſible, marched with the horſe that he had left towards North-Wales, hoping in his way to relieve Cheſter beſieged by Sir William Brereton, and by his preſence in Wales to prevail with them to furniſh him with a body of foot: but he found himſelf fruſtrated in both theſe deſigns: for being worſted near Routen-heath by major-general Pointz, who commanded a brigade of the parliament's in thoſe parts, he ſaw the face of affairs much altered both in North and South-Wales: in the laſt of which, tho' he was entertained civilly by ſome particular perſons, yet the generality of the country, that during his ſucceſſes had ſubjected themſelves even ſlaviſhly to his inſtruments, now fearing he might draw the army of the parliament after him, and make their country the ſeat of war, began to murmur againſt him, and drew together a numerous body in the nature of a club-army, whiſ-

pering amongſt themſelves as if they intended to ſeize his perſon, and deliver him to the parliament to make their peace. Which being reported to the king, he thought fit to retire from thence with his forces, only leaving a ſmall gariſon in the caſtle of Cardiff, which, together with the county, was ſoon after reduced to the obedience of the parliament by colonel Pritchard, where Sir John Strangways was amongſt others taken priſoner, who by order of the parliament was ſent up to London, and committed to the tower. The iſle of Angleſey, and ſuch places of North-Wales as had been held for the king, were ſurrendered to the parliament; but Glamorganſhire and the parts adjacent continued not long in their duty, but revolted at the inſtigation of one Mr. Kerne of Winny, who pretending great fidelity to the parliament, was intruſted by them as their ſheriff for that county, and made uſe of that authority to raiſe the county againſt them, and to beſiege colonel Pritchard, and the reſt of their friends in the caſtle of Cardiff; who being reduced to ſome neceſſity, had been probably conſtrained to ſurrender it, had not ſpeedy relief been procured from the parliament under the conduct of colonel Kirle of Gloceſterſhire; who falling ſuddenly upon the enemy, routed and killed many of them.

THE king's affairs being in this low condition in England and Wales, he reſolved to try what might be done in Scotland; in order to which, he commands the lord Digby to march thither with a party of ſixteen hundred horſe, and to join the marquis of Montroſs then in arms for him in that kingdom. In obedience to the king's order, the lord Digby marched from Newark, and in his way ſurprized about eight hundred of ours near Sherborn; but was afterwards routed by colonel Copley, who recovered the men and arms taken from ours, killed forty of the enemy upon the ſpot, took four hundred of them priſoners, and about ſix hundred horſes: the lord Digby's coach and papers were alſo taken. This party was defeated a ſecond time by Sir John Brown, and a third by colonel Bright, who took two hundred of them priſoners; the lord Digby with about twenty more hardly eſcaping to the Iſle of Man, and from thence to Ireland.

AT the approach of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, the enemy raiſed the ſiege of Taunton; from thence the general marched to Honyton, and the next day to Colompton, from whence the enemy retired in great diſorder. On October 20th, the army, tho' much weakened by hard duty and the rigour of the ſeaſon, reſolved upon the blockade of Exeter. Carmarthen-caſtle, Monmouth, and divers other places, were ſurrendered to the parliament: ſo that the king looking upon the rebels in Ireland as his laſt refuge, ſends orders to the earl of Ormond not only to continue the ceſſation, but to conclude a peace with them, upon condition they would oblige themſelves to ſend over an army to his aſſiſtance againſt the parliament of England. The ſupreme council of Ireland, as they called themſelves, having notice of it, invited the earl of Ormond to Kilkenny to treat about the ſame; who being willing to ſee his relations and his eſtate in thoſe parts, as alſo to expedite that ſervice, accepted their invitation, and marched thither with about three or four thouſand horſe and foot for his guard, which, by the advice of the lord Mountgarret and the ſupreme council, were diſperſed into quarters in the villages thereabouts; the earl of Ormond ſuſpecting nothing, having ſent orders to Sir Francis Willoughby, who commanded that party under him, to that purpoſe: but he being an old and experienced commander, well acquainted with the

treachery of that nation, and particularly those of the popish religion, knowing how easy it would be for the Irish to cut them off in the quarters assigned for them, resolved not to consent to the dispersing of his men; and therefore desired of the earl of Ormond, that he might quarter with them in the field, or where his lordship should appoint, desiring if this would not satisfy, he might have liberty to return home; advising him not to trust his person with them, notwithstanding their fair words. My lord hereupon leaves the care of quartering his men to Sir Francis Willoughby; but resolves himself to stay at Kilkenny. Sir Francis draws the troops into Goran, a town five miles from Kilkenny, where he kept his guards with as much caution as if he had been in an enemy's country. The enemy being by this means disappointed of their design to cut off the party by surprize, resolved to attempt it by open force; and all the favour that the earl of Ormond could get amongst his relations, was to have notice to shift for himself, which with much difficulty he did, sending orders to his forces to march towards Dublin, in which he was very readily obeyed by them, having had advice that the country was rising upon them; which they did in such numbers, that if colonel Bagnal governor of Loughlyn had not permitted them to pass the bridge there, they had in all appearance been cut off. When they had recovered their own quarters, they discovered a piece of treachery, as Sir Francis Willoughby, who gave me this account, judged it to be, tho' he knew not on whom to charge it: for they found that they had not been in a condition to make any opposition, if the enemy had fallen upon them, the powder with which they were furnished having no force in it; which came to be discovered upon the tryal of a musket at a mark, by the small report it gave, and the fall of the bullet half way from it: whereupon searching further into the matter, they found all their store to be of the same sort. The Irish seized upon all the earl of Ormond's plate, and whatsoever he had with him at Kilkenny, his haste not permitting him to save any thing. By this usage his zeal for the prosecution of the treaty with the rebels became much abated. The king's commission to the earl of Ormond was not of so large an extent as he was willing to allow, in case the treaty with the Irish came to any effect; and therefore the earl of Glamorgan, afterwards earl of Worcester, was impowered by private instructions from him, to promise them the liberty of the Romish religion, with divers other advantages to the Irish rebels, upon which he treated with them. But because this, when it came to be publickly known in England, was highly resented by many even of the king's party, the lord Digby, who was ordered by the king to assist in that affair, finding that the treaty was not like to take effect, to give a specious colour to the matter, as if Glamorgan had in that particular exceeded his commission, accused him of high-treason, and procured him to be imprisoned by the earl of Ormond: but in letters intercepted from the lord Glamorgan to his lady, he desired that she would not entertain any fears concerning him; for that he doubted not, if he could be admitted to be heard, that he should be able to justify his proceedings, to the confusion of those who had caused his imprisonment.

The English officers and soldiers provoked by the late treachery of the Irish, and apprehending that without assistance from England they might fall into their hands, would not be satisfied unless a message was sent to the parliament, to treat about conditions for the putting of Dublin, and the protestant forces of Ireland, into their hands: in order to which

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the parliament ſent over commiſſioners to treat with the earl of Ormond and the council. But tho' the earl was not willing that any thing ſhould be concluded at that time; yet Sir Francis Willoughby was, as I have heard him ſay, ſo far convinced of the neceſſity and duty that lay upon them ſo to do, that he promiſed our commiſſioners to preſerve the caſtle of Dublin, of which he was then governour, for the ſervice of the parliament, whenſoever they ſhould command it.

MONTROSS having obtained a victory againſt thoſe whom the Scots had left to preſerve the peace of Scotland, by the means of which he was become maſter of a great part of that kingdom, David Leſley was ſent thither from Hereford with moſt of the Scottiſh horſe, where he defeated the army of Montroſs, and reduced that nation to its former obedience.

AFTER the ſurrender of Briſtol to the forces of the parliament, prince Rupert who had been governour thereof returned to Oxford, where he found ſo cool a reception from the king by reaſon of the loſs of that place, that colonel Leg then governour of Oxford was turned out of that command for being of his faction, and the government of that city put into the hands of Sir Thomas Glenham. The prince was for ſome time forbidden to wear a ſword; and tho' he was ſoon after reſtored to that liberty, yet he was never more intruſted with any command. The houſe of commons finding their buſineſs to increaſe, and their numbers to diminiſh by the death of ſome, and deſertion of others to the king at Oxford, ordered the commiſſioners of the ſeal to iſſue out writs to ſuch counties, cities, and boroughs, as the houſe by their particular order ſhould direct, for the election of members to ſerve in parliament. They ordered alſo a jewel to be prepared of the value of about ſeven hundred pounds, to be preſented to Sir Thomas Fairfax; it had the houſe of commons repreſented on one ſide, and the battle of Naſeby on the other: three members of parliament were deputed to carry the preſent to him; the opportunity of whoſe guard I took to go into the weſt without diſturbance, which was difficult to do at that time, many of the king's party hovering about the Downs, from whence they were called colonel Downs his men: who rendering the rode unſafe, I procured a guard of twenty or thirty of the county horſe to accompany me during my ſtay in thoſe parts. So ſmall a number not being ſufficient either to defend me, or to make any attempt, I betook myſelf to colonel Maſſey's party, commanded at that time by colonel Edward Cook, where I had not been long before an alarm was given, that a party of horſe from Oxford had marched by, with a deſign to relieve Corſe-caſtle, beſieged at that time by our forces: But before we could get our men together, they had ſurprized part of ours in Warham, and beaten off the guard between that place and the caſtle, which they relieved with what they could, and were returned back again. In this action a brother of my father's was mortally wounded, taken priſoner by the enemy, and died the next day. Colonel Cook was forced to content himſelf to reinforce the beſiegers, and to return to his former ſtation.

THE army commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax having left a ſtrong party to block up Exeter, advanced weſtward towards the enemy; and at Bovey Tracy fought the Brigade commanded by the lord Wentworth, took four hundred horſe, and about a hundred foot, priſoners, with ſix ſtandards, one of which was the king's. Two regiments of ours appeared before Dartmouth, and ſummoned it; but the gariſon being numerous, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, refuſed to ſurrender: upon which

the army advancing, possessed themselves of their outworks, and having turned their cannon upon them, two forts, distant about a mile from the town, wherein were thirty four pieces of cannon, and two ships of war that were in the harbour, surrendred; which the governour understanding capitulated, and delivered the town upon articles, being permitted to march off himself; but Sir Hugh Pollard, the earl of Newport, colonel Seymour, four colonels, with divers others, were to remain prisoners: and a French vessel coming into the harbour, not knowing what had passed, was seized, and letters of consequence found in her from the queen. The prince of Wales, who to countenance their affairs had the name of general in the western parts, finding their affairs desperate, shipped himself for Scilly, leaving the command of their forces to Sir Ralph Hopton, who was soon after summoned by general Fairfax to lay down his arms; and after several messages, four commissioners on each side met at Tresilian-bridge, and came to an agreement; the substance of which was, to deliver up all their arms, artillery and ammunition, except what was excepted by the articles; to be admitted to compound according to the rates fixed by the parliament, and to have liberty granted for such as desired it to go beyond sea, which Sir Ralph Hopton and some others did. The people of Padstow seized a ship coming from Ireland, and perceiving a letter floating in the sea, took it up, and opening it, found it to be from the earl of Glamorgan, therein acquainting the king's party, that six thousand Irish were ready to be embarked for their assistance, and that four thousand more should follow them in a short time. Upon the dispersion of Sir Ralph Hopton's army, most of the forts and tenable places in the west procured the best conditions they could for themselves. Hereford was surprized on the 18th of December, by colonel Birch and colonel Morgan, after it had been besieged for about two months ineffectually by the Scots: In this place was taken that inveterate enemy to the parliament serjeant Jenkins, with some others. In February following, Byron the governour of Chester surrendred that place upon terms.

The best friends of the parliament were not without fears what the issue of their new elections might be: for tho' the people durst not choose such as were open enemies to them, yet probably they would such as were most likely to be for a peace upon any terms, corruptly preferring the fruition of their estates and sensual enjoyments before the public interest; which sort of men were no less dangerous than the other: and therefore honest men in all parts did what they could to promote the election of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance; judging it to be of the highest importance so to wind up things, that we might not be over-reach'd by our enemies in a treaty, that had not been able to contend with us in open war. To this end I endeavoured that my uncle Mr. Edmund Ludlow might be chosen for the borough of Hinden, where tho' he was elected and returned by the principal burgesses and bailiff, yet the rabble of the town, many of whom lived upon the alms of one Mr. George How, pretending that they had chosen the latter, the sheriff returned them both. By this means Mr. How got first into the house; but they being informed of the matter of fact, commanded him to withdraw till the case should be decided by the committee of privileges. Shortly after a writ being issued out for the election of two knights to serve for the county of Wilts, in the room of my father, who died in their service, and of Sir James Thynne, who contrary to his trust had deserted to the king at Oxford, the earl of

Pembroke ſent to me, and acquainted me, that he underſtood that the country was inclined to chooſe me to ſerve for one of their knights in parliament, deſiring me to endeavour that his ſecond ſon Mr. James Herbert might be choſen for the other, promiſing that tho' he was young, yet he would undertake he ſhould vote honeſtly for the commonwealth. I inform'd him, that I knew nothing of the intentions of the county to elect me, but hoped that if they elected his ſon, he would make good his promiſe. His ſon alſo entred into the like engagement for himſelf. At the day appointed for the election, having had ſeveral invitations ſo to do, I attended according to cuſtom, and the words of the writ, which require the candidates to be preſent at the place of election. The earl of Pembroke's friends deſired me to conſent that his ſon might have the firſt voice, which I did, tho' many of the country gentlemen were unwilling to permit it: which done, the county was pleaſed to confer the truſt upon me without any oppoſition. Some who were not preſent, took it ill that I ſent not to them to deſire their company, which I excuſed, aſſuring them that I had not ſent to any perſon, having forborn ſo to do, not out of any diſreſpect to them, or confidence in my own intereſt, but out of a ſenſe of my own inability to undertake ſo great a charge, as well as out of a deſire to have a clear and unqueſtionable right to an employment of ſuch importance. When I came to the houſe of commons, I met with colonel Robert Blake, attending to be admitted, being choſen for Taunton; where having taken the uſual oaths, we went into the houſe together, which I choſe to do, aſſuring my ſelf, he having been faithful and active in the publick ſervice abroad, that we ſhould be as unanimous in the carrying it on within thoſe doors.

The parliament being ſenſible that the king had corrupted thoſe forces that they had ſent over to ſuppreſs the rebellion in Ireland, and that they had no great aſſurance of the lord Inchequin, nominated the lord Viſcount Liſle, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, and a member of the houſe of commons, to be lieutenant for Ireland, looking upon him as the moſt conſiderable perſon of integrity they could think upon. He procured the liberty of colonel Monk, then priſoner in the Tower, upon information that he had good experience in that war, and an intereſt in the ſoldiers there; to which Mr. William Cawley gave his ſingle negative. On the 13th of April, 1646. Exeter was delivered to ours upon articles, by which all ſuch as were in the town and gariſon were admitted to compound for their eſtates, paying two years value for the ſame. Barnſtable, Dunſtarcaſtle, and Michael's-mount in Cornwall, were alſo ſurrendred: in the laſt of which places the marquis of Hamilton was priſoner by the king's order, and reſtored to his liberty upon the ſurrender of it, which favour he acknowledged to the members of the houſe of commons, attending in perſon at their door to that end. The moſt conſiderable body of men remaining in the field for the king was commanded by Sir Jacob Aſhley, who being on his march towards Oxford, was attacked by colonel Morgan and Sir William Brereton at Stow in the Woald, where, after a ſharp diſpute on both ſides, Sir Jacob Aſhley's forces were entirely defeated, many of them killed and wounded, and himſelf taken priſoner. During his confinement he was heard to ſay, "That now they had no hopes to prevail but by our "diviſions." Which deſerves the more reflection, becauſe he being well acquainted with the king's ſecrets, was not ignorant, that many amongſt us, who at the beginning appeared moſt forward to engage themſelves,

and to invite others to the war against the king, finding themselves disappointed of those preferments which they expected, or out of some particular disgusts taken, had made conditions with the king not only for their indemnity, but for places and advancements under him; endeavouring by a treaty, or rather by treachery, to betray what had cost so much blood to obtain. These men, to strengthen their interest, applied themselves to the presbyterian party, who jealous of the increase of sectaries, of which the army was reported chiefly to consist, readily joined with them. By which conjunction most of the new elected members were either men of a neutral spirit, and willing to have peace upon any terms, or such, who tho' they had engaged against the king, yet finding things tending to a composition with him, resolved to have the benefit of it, and his favour, tho' with the guilt of all the blood that had been shed in the war upon their heads, in not requiring satisfaction for the same, nor endeavouring to prevent the like for the future; designing at the most only to punish some inferior instruments, whilst the capital offender should not only go free, but his authority be still acknowledged and adored, and so the nation more enslaved than ever to a power, which tho' it destroys the people by thousands, must be accountable to none but God for so doing; whom some persons, as it is apparent by their usage of mankind, either think not to be, or not at all superior to them. Another sort of men there was amongst us, who having acquired estates in the service of the parliament, now adhered to the king's party for the preserving of what they had got; who, together with such as had been discharged from their employments by the reform of the army, or envied their success, combined together against the commonwealth. This party was encouraged and supported upon all occasions by the Scots and the city of London: The first of them, tho' they began the war, and tho' their assembly of ministers had declared the king guilty of the blood of thousands of his best subjects, their covenant engaging them in the preservation of his person so far only as might consist with the laws of the land, and liberty of the subject; yet having had many good opportunities in England, and hoping for more, supposing it to be in their power to awe the king to whatsoever they should think fit, they were contented to swallow that ocean of blood that had been shed, pressing the parliament by their commissioners to conclude upon such terms with the king, as shewed them rather advocates, than such as had been enemies to him. The latter having had their treasure much exhausted by the war, and their trade long interrupted, besides the influence the Scots had upon them by the means of their ministers, the common council being also debauched by serjeant Glyn, and others of that party in the house of commons; it was not so much to be wondered at if they earnestly solicited for a speedy determination of the difference by a treaty. The king also perceiving judgment to be given against him by that power to which both parties had made their solemn appeal, thought it advisable to make use of the foxes skin, and for a time to lay aside that of the lion, sending messages to the parliament to desire of them a safe conduct for his coming to London in honour, freedom and safety, there personally to treat with the two houses about the means of settling a firm and lasting peace; the Scots in the mean time repeating their instances with the parliament, to enter into the consideration of the articles of religion contained in the covenant, to give a speedy peace to his majesty, to pay them near two hundred thousand pounds, which they pretended to be due to them for their arrears, and to make a just estimate of the losses they had sustained

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by ſea and land ſince the beginning of the war, for want of ſuch ſupplies as were promiſed them, which they computed at more than the former ſum. The parliament, for divers reaſons, thought it not convenient to comply with the king's propoſitions; and in anſwer to the Scots, demanded of them an exact account of what was due to them, requiring them to withdraw their gariſons from ſuch places as they poſſeſſed in England. Some differences they had alſo with the Scots commiſſioners concerning the excluſion of the king from having any thing to do with the militia, and touching the Scots intermedling with the government of England, about the education of the king's children, the diſbanding of armies, and an act of oblivion; in which matters the parliament of England would not permit the Scots to interpoſe; and therefore their commiſſioners acquainted them that they had not power to conſent to any demands of that nature: whereupon the deputies of Scotland applied themſelves to the two houſes, demanding that they would enlarge the powers of their commiſſioners to that end. But there being found in theſe demands of the Scots ſome expreſſions highly reflecting upon the parliament, the two houſes declared them to be injurious and ſcandalous, and ordered them to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. After which they commanded the army to beſiege Oxford, who in order to that deſign blocked up Farringdon, Wallingford, and Woodſtock; but before they could form the ſiege of Oxford, the king eſcaped from thence on the 27th of April, 1646. of which notice being given to the parliament by colonel Rainſborough, who lay before Woodſtock; they ſuſpecting that he deſigned to come to London to raiſe a party againſt them, publiſhed an ordinance, declaring, that whoſoever ſhould harbour or conceal the king's perſon, ſhould be proceeded againſt as a traitor to the commonwealth. Within three or four days they received a meſſage from the Scots army, informing the parliament of the king's coming to them, and pretending to be much ſurprized at it; but it appeared afterwards that this reſolution had been communicated to them before. The king was accompanied in this expedition by one Hudſon, and Mr. Aſhburnham, paſſing as a ſervant to the latter. Upon this notice, the houſe of commons ſent an order to their commiſſioners in the Scots army to demand the perſon of the king, judging it unreaſonable that the Scots army being in their pay, ſhould aſſume the authority to diſpoſe of the king otherwiſe than by their order; reſolving further that the king ſhould be conducted to the caſtle of Warwick, and that thoſe who came out of Oxford with him ſhould be brought to London. The next day they commanded their army to advance, in order to hinder the conjunction of the king's forces with the Scots. The king ſoon after his arrival at the Scots quarters, gave order for the delivery of Newark into their hands; which having received, they ſurrendred to the Engliſh, and marched with the king to Newcaſtle; whereof the houſe of commons being informed, and that the earl of Leven, general of the Scots army, had by proclamation forbidden his forces to have any communication with the king's party, they deſiſted from their reſolution of advancing their army, and of conducting the king to Warwick, ordering the Scots to keep him for the parliament of England. Mr. Aſhburnham was permitted by the Scots to make his eſcape, but Mr. Hudſon was brought to London, and upon examination at the bar of the houſe of commons, confeſſed ſome things about the king's journey from Oxford. Commiſſioners being appointed by the parliament to be ſent down to the Scots army in this conjuncture; they made choice of two lords, of whom the earl of Pembroke

was one, and four of the commons; in which number colonel Brown the wood-monger being nominated to that imployment, he turned about to me, who sat behind him in the house, assuring me that he would be ever true to us: and truly I then believed him, having met him at the beginning of the war in Smithfield buying horses for the service of the parliament, where he spoke very affectionately concerning their undertaking, and served them afterwards very successfully, especially at Abingdon, as I mentioned before; but this wretched man soon discovered the corruption of his nature, and malignity that lay concealed in his heart: for no sooner had the king found out his ambitious temper, and cast some slight favours upon him, giving him a pair of silk stockings with his own hand, but his low and abject original and education became so prevalent in him, as to transform him into an agent and spy for the king, proving, as will be hereafter related, one of the bloodiest butchers of the parliament's friends.

The Scots having the king in their power, pressed him to write to the earl of Ormond his lieutenant in Ireland, and to the governors and commanders of places that remained in arms for him, to lay down their arms, and to deliver the said places to such as the parliament of England should appoint to receive them, acquainting him, that otherwise they could not protect him. Submitting to this necessity, he sent orders to that effect, which some obeyed, and others refused to comply with, looking upon him to be under a force. Amongst those who yielded obedience to the king's orders, was Montross, who disbanded the forces he had left, and went beyond sea. The city of Oxford having been blocked up for some time, began to capitulate, lest their farther obstinacy should prove prejudicial to them, particularly in the matter of compositions for their estates, the most considerable of the king's party being there. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat, and came to an agreement on the 22d of June, 1646, upon such terms as the parliament were unwilling to confirm; but whilst they were in debate concerning the articles, they understood that prince Rupert and others of the king's party were marched out of the town in pursuance of them; and that the garison would be entirely evacuated before they could signify their pleasure to the army. Wherefore tho' they did not approve the conditions, yet they thought not fit to do any thing in order to break them. The principal reason given by the army of their proceeding so hastily to a conclusion of the treaty, was, lest the king should make terms with the Scots, and bring their army to the relief of Oxford. Farringdon-house, Wallingford-castle, and Woodstock, were surrendered to the parliament; Worcester and Litchfield soon after, as also Pendennis and Ragland-castle.

The Scots by their commissioners pressed the parliament to send propositions of peace to the king, wherein they were seconded by an insolent address from the mayor and common-council of the city of London; in which after some acknowledgments of the care and courage of the parliament in the reformation of the church, and preservation of the laws, they desired of them, that such assemblies as were privately held to introduce new sects might be suppressed, lest they should breed disturbances in the church and state; that they would hasten the establishment of peace in the three kingdoms; that they would consider the great services of the Scots, and dismiss those who were distinguished by the name of Independents from all imployments civil and military, esteeming them

to be fire-brands that might endanger the publick peace, with other particulars of the ſame nature. The anſwer of the parliament to the ſaid addreſs was not much to the ſatisfaction of the petitioners, being a poſitive declaration, that they reſolved to preſerve their authority entire to themſelves. There was a party in the houſe of the ſame temper with the addreſſers, who earneſtly endeavoured to break the army, as the principal obſtacle to their deſigns, pretending the neceſſity of relieving Ireland, the loſs of which they ſaid would be infinitely prejudicial to England; and that the way to prevent it was to ſend thither ſome part of the army, who being united in affection, and of great reputation both for courage and conduct, would ſtrike a terror into the enemy, and undoubtedly accompliſh that important work; not forgetting to urge that the people of England were not able to bear their preſent burdens, and therefore muſt be eaſed. To theſe pretences it was replied, That it could not conſiſt with the honour or ſafety of the parliament to leſſen their forces, whilſt they had an army of another nation in their bowels; who tho' they were united in the ſame cauſe and intereſt with us, yet the beſt way to continue them ſo, was to be in ſuch a poſture as might ſecure us from any fear of their breaking with us; and that the more reputation the army had, the fitter they were to be kept together for that end. After a long debate, the queſtion was put; Whether two regiments of the army ſhould be ſent to the relief of Ireland? and it was carried in the negative by one voice only.

THE common-wealth-party taking advantage of the arguments uſed in the houſe for the relief of Ireland, and eaſe of the people of England, procured an order for the disbanding of colonel Maſſey's brigade, and money to be ſent to the Devizes in the county of Wilts, where they were ordered to be drawn together for that purpoſe. Alderman Allen and myſelf, who ſerved for that county, were commiſſionated to ſee it put in execution: in order to which we repaired to the lord-general, who lay then at Cornbury, and prevailed with him and commiſſary-general Ireton, with two regiments of horſe, to draw to the Devizes, which we found to be very neceſſary: for tho' many of that brigade were glad of the opportunity to return home to their ſeveral callings, having taken up arms, and hazarded their lives purely to ſerve the publick; yet divers idle and debauch'd perſons, eſpecially the foreigners amongſt them, not knowing how to betake themſelves to any honeſt employment, endeavoured to ſtir up the brigade to a mutiny; but not being able to effect that, ſome of them liſted themſelves to ſerve againſt the rebels in Ireland under Sir William Fenton, and others there preſent to receive them, for which we had inſtructions from the parliament; the reſt diſperſed themſelves, and returned home. The forces alſo that ſerved in the north under major-general Pointz were ſoon after disbanded.

THE city of London had made it their requeſt in the petition beforementioned, that ſome commiſſioners from them might accompany thoſe from the parliament to the king; but their own party in the houſe fearing perhaps to be out-bid by them, or it may be not having quite loſt all ſenſe of honour, rejected that motion with contempt, alledging that they had their repreſentatives in parliament, and were concluded by what they acted as well as other men: upon which Mr. Martin ſaid, That tho' he could not but agree with what had been affirmed touching their being involved in what their repreſentatives did, and their not ſending commiſſioners as deſired; yet as to the ſubſtance of what they propoſed, he could not ſo much

blame them as others had done, they therein shewing themselves in the end of the war no less prudent than they had expressed themselves honest in the beginning: for as when the parliament invited them to stand by them in the war against the king, in defence of their religion, lives, liberties and estates, they did it heartily, and therein shewed themselves good christians and true Englishmen; so now the war being ended, and the parliament upon making terms with the king, and thinking fit to sue to him, now their prisoner, for peace, whom they had all incensed by their resistance, the citizens having considerable estates to lose, shewed themselves prudent men, in endeavouring to procure their pardons as well as others: and tho', said he, you will not permit them to send as they desire, they have expressed their good will, which without doubt will be well accepted. The commissioners of parliament joining with those who were before with the king, endeavoured to perswade him to agree to the propositions of the parliament; but he disliking several things in them, and most of all the abolition of episcopacy, to which interest he continued obstinately stedfast, refused his consent, upon private encouragement from some of the Scots and English, to expect more easy terms, or to be received without any at all. The parliament willing to bring this matter to a conclusion, sent the same propositions a second time to the king, and desired the Scots to use their utmost endeavours to procure his consent to them. The Scots commissioners, especially the lord Loudon, pressed the king very earnestly to comply with them, telling him, that tho' the propositions were higher in some particulars than they could have wished, notwithstanding their endeavours to bring them as low as they could, according to their promises; yet if he continued to reject them, he must not expect to be received in Scotland, whither they must return; and upon his refusal of the conditions offered, deliver him up to the parliament of England. But whatsoever they or the English could say, making no impression upon the king, the parliament's commissioners returned with a negative from him.

The interposition of the Scots in this affair proving ineffectual, the war being at an end, and such considerable forces altogether unnecessary, the parliament appointed commissioners, to confer with those of Scotland concerning such things as remained to be performed by the treaty between them; that the fraternal union might continue, and the Scots depart towards their own country. In order to which the accounts of their army were adjusted, and a great sum of money agreed to be paid to them at the present, and other sums upon certain days, to their full satisfaction. Major-general Skippon, with a considerable body of men, carried down the money "in specie" for the payment of the Scots army; which being received by them, they delivered the king into the hands of the parliament's commissioners that attended him there, and began their march for Scotland, having delivered Newcastle to the English, and drawn their Men out of Berwick and Carlisle, which two places were agreed not to be garisoned without the consent of both kingdoms.

About this time the earl of Essex having over-heated himself in the chace of a stag in Windsor-forest, departed this life: his death was a great loss to those of his party, who to keep up their spirits and credit procured his funeral to be celebrated with great magnificence at the charge of the publick, the lords and commons with a great number of officers and gentlemen accompanying him to the grave. In the mean time I observed that another party was not idle; for walking one morning with lieutenant-general

general Cromwell in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveighed bitterly againſt them, ſaying in a familiar way to me; "If thy father were alive, he would let ſome of them hear what they deſerve:" adding farther, "That it was a miſerable thing to ſerve a parliament, to whom let a man be never ſo faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongſt them riſe up and aſperſe him, he ſhall never wipe it off. Whereas," ſaid he, "when one ſerves under a general, he may do as much ſervice, and yet be free from all blame and envy." This text, together with the comment that his after-actions put upon it, hath ſince perſwaded me, that he had already conceived the deſign of deſtroying the civil authority, and ſetting up of himſelf; and that he took that opportunity to feel my pulſe, whether I was a fit inſtrument to be employed by him to thoſe ends. But having replied to his diſcourſe, "That we ought to perform the duty of our ſtations, and truſt God with our honour, power, and all that is dear to us, not permitting any ſuch conſiderations to diſcourage us from the proſecution of our duty," I never heard any more from him upon that point.

WHILST the king was at Newcaſtle, the preſident de Bellievre came over into England, in the quality of an ambaſſador from the French king, with orders to endeavour a reconciliation between the king and the parliament. He had a favourable audience from the two houſes, and their permiſſion to apply himſelf to the king; but being on his way towards him, upon farther debate, they judged it not fit to ſubject that affair to the cognizance of any foreign prince, reſolving to determine it themſelves without the interpoſition of any, having experienced, that moſt of the neighbouring ſtates, eſpecially the monarchical, were at the bottom their enemies, and their ambaſſadors and reſidents ſo many ſpies upon them, as appeared more particularly by letters taken in the king's cabinet after the battle of Naſeby, which diſcovered that the emperor's reſident in London held a private correſpondence with the king, and there was ground to believe that the ambaſſador of Portugal did the like, from letters therein found from that king. Theſe applications to the king, together with the permiſſion granted by the parliament to the Turky company, to addreſs themſelves to him, for the commiſſionating of one whom they had nominated to be their agent with the Grand Signior, under pretence that he would not otherwiſe be received: to which may be added the frequent overtures of peace made by the parliament to the king, tho' he had not a ſword left wherewith to oppoſe them; and the great expectations of the people of his return to the parliament, being informed that the heads of the preſbyterian party had promiſed the Scots, upon the delivery of the king, that as ſoon as they had diſbanded the army, they would bring him to London in honour and ſafety: theſe things, I ſay, made the people ready to conclude, that tho' his deſigns had been wonderfully defeated, his armies beaten out of the field, and himſelf delivered into the hands of the parliament, againſt whom he had made a long and bloody war; yet certainly he muſt be in the right; and that tho' he was guilty of the blood of many thouſands, yet was ſtill unaccountable, in a condition to give pardon, and not in need of receiving any: which made them flock from all parts to ſee him as he was brought from Newcaſtle to Holmby, falling down before him, bringing their ſick to be touched by him, and courting him as only able to reſtore to them their peace and ſettlement.

THE party in the houſe that were betraying the cauſe of their country, became encouragers of ſuch petitioners as came to them from the city of London,

London, and other places, to that effect; very many of whom had been always for the king's interest, but their estates lying in the parliament's quarters, they secured them by their presence in the house, and at the same time promoted his designs by their votes. There was another sort of men who were contented to sacrifice all civil liberties to the ambition of the presbyterian clergy, and to vest them with a power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the bishops before. To this end they encouraged the reduced officers of the earl of Essex, such as Massey, Waller, Pointz, and others, to press the parliament for their arrears in a peremptory and seditious manner, that being furnished with money they might be enabled to stand by these their patrons in whatsoever design they had to carry on. And the better to facilitate the disbanding of the army, which they so much desired, they resolved to draw off a considerable part of them for the service of Ireland; and to render the work more acceptable, voted major-general Skippon to command them; joining the earl of Warwick and Sir William Waller in commission with Sir Thomas Fairfax, to draw out such forces as were willing to go, to continue such as should be thought necessary for the security of this nation, and to disband the rest. The army being well informed of the design, begun to consult how to prevent it; and tho' many of the officers were prevailed with to engage by advancements to higher commands, yet the major part absolutely refused. The commissioners of the parliament having done what they could in prosecution of their instructions, ordered those who had engaged in the Irish service to draw off from the army, which then lay at Saffron-Walden, and about New-market, and to be quartered in the way to Ireland; which done, they returned to London with an account of their proceedings.

The parliament being informed of what passed, were highly displeased with the carriage of the army; but the prudence and moderation of major-general Skippon, in his report of that matter to the house, much abated the heat of their resentment: yet some menacing expressions falling from some of them, lieutenant-general Cromwell took the occasion to whisper me in the ear, saying, "These men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears:" which expression I should have resented, if the state of our affairs would have permitted. In this conjuncture five regiments of horse chose their agitators, who agreed upon a petition to the parliament, to desire of them to proceed to settle the affairs of the kingdom, to provide for the arrears of the army, and to declare that they would not disband any of them till these things were done; deputing William Allen, afterwards known by the addition of adjutant-general, Edward Sexby, afterwards colonel Sexby, and one Philips, to present it, which they did accordingly at the bar of the house of commons. After the reading of the petition, some of the members moved that the messengers might be committed to the tower, and the petition declared seditious; but the house after a long debate satisfied themselves to declare, That it did not belong to the soldiery to meddle with civil affairs, nor to prepare or present any petition to the parliament without the advice and consent of their general, to whom they ordered a letter to be sent to desire for the future his care therein; with which acquainting the three agents, and requiring their conformity thereunto, they dismissed them. But this not satisfying, another petition was carried on throughout the army much to the same effect, only they observed the order of the parliament in directing it to their general, desiring him to present it. The

houſe having notice of this combination againſt them from colonel Edward Harley, one of their members, who had a regiment in the army, expreſſed themſelves highly diſſatisfied therewith, and ſome of them moved that the petitioners might be declared traitors, alledging that they were ſervants, who ought to obey, not capitulate. Others were not wanting, who reſolved the ſecuring of lieutenant-general Cromwell, ſuſpecting that he had under-hand given countenance to this deſign; but he being advertiſed of it, went that afternoon towards the army, ſo that they miſſed of him, and were not willing to ſhew their teeth ſince they could do no more. The debate continued till late in the night, and the ſenſe of the houſe was, that they ſhould be required to forbear the proſecution of the ſaid petition; but when the houſe, wearied with long ſitting, was grown thin, Mr. Denzil Hollis, taking that opportunity, drew up a reſolution upon his knee, declaring the petition to be ſeditious, and thoſe traitors who ſhould endeavour to promote it after ſuch a day, and promiſing pardon to all that were concerned therein, if they ſhould deſiſt by the time limited. Some of us fearing the conſequence of theſe diviſions, expreſſed our diſſatisfaction to it, and went out; which gave them occaſion to paſs two or three very ſharp votes againſt the proceedings of the army. The agitators of the army ſenſible of their condition, and knowing that they muſt fall under the mercy of the parliament, unleſs they could ſecure themſelves from their power by proſecuting what they had begun; and fearing that thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves ſo forward to cloſe with the king, out of principle, upon any terms, would now for their own preſervation receive him without any, or rather put themſelves under his protection, that they might the better ſubdue the army, and reduce them to obedience by force, ſent a party of horſe under the command of cornet Joyce, on the 4th of June, 1647. with an order in writing to take the king out of the hands of the commiſſioners of parliament. The cornet having placed guards about Holmby-houſe, ſent to acquaint the king with the occaſion of his coming, and was admitted into his bed-chamber, where upon promiſe that the king ſhould be uſed civilly, and have his ſervants and other conveniencies continued to him, he obtained his conſent to go with him. But whilſt cornet Joyce was giving orders concerning the king's removal, the parliament's commiſſioners took that occaſion to diſcourſe with the king, and perſwaded him to alter his reſolution: which Joyce perceiving at his return, put the king in mind of his promiſe, acquainting him, that he was obliged to execute his orders; whereupon the king told him, that ſince he had paſſed his word, he would go with him; and to that end deſcending the ſtairs to take horſe, the commiſſioners of the parliament being with him, colonel Brown and Mr. Crew, who were two of them, publickly declared, that the king was forced out of their hands; and ſo returned, with an account of what had been done, to the parliament.

THE king's officers who waited on him were continued; and the chief officers of the army began publickly to own the deſign, pretending thereby to keep the private ſoldiers, for they would no longer be called common ſoldiers, from running into greater extravagancies and diſorders. Colonel Francis Ruſſel and others, attending on the king, became ſoon converted by the ſplendor of his majeſty; and Sir Robert Pye, a colonel in the army, ſupplied the place of a querry, riding bare before him when he rode abroad: ſo that the king began to promiſe to himſelf that his condition was altered for the better, and to look upon the independent intereſt as more

conſiſting

consisting with episcopacy than the presbyterian, for that it could subsist under any form, which the other could not do, and therefore largely promised liberty to the independent party, being fully persuaded how naturally his power would revive upon his restitution to the throne, and how easy it would be for him to break through all such promises and engagements upon pretence that he was under a force. The principal officers of the army made it so much their business to get the good opinion of the king, that Whally being sent from them with orders to use all means but constraint to cause him to return to Holmby; and the king refusing, Whalley was contented to bring him to the army. Yet in the mean time a charge of high treason was drawn up by the army against eleven members of the house of commons, who were Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Clotworthy, serjeant Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nichols, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, colonel Edward Harley, commissary Copley, colonel Massey, and Sir John Maynard, for betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, with other particulars. This charge they accompanied with a declaration, shewing the reasons of what they had done, affirming that they were obliged by their duty so to do, as they tendred the preservation of the publick cause, and securing the good people of England from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treason being rather to keep these members from using their power with the parliament in opposition to the proceedings of the army, than from any design to proceed capitally against them, they resolved rather to withdraw themselves voluntarily, than to put the parliament or army to any farther trouble, or their persons to any more hazard. By these means the army, in which there were too many who had no other design but the advancement of themselves, having made the parliament, the Scots, and the city of London their enemies, thought it convenient to enlarge their concessions to the king, giving his chaplains leave to come to him, and to officiate in their way, which had been denied before. Whilst this design was on foot, I went down to their quarters at Maidenhead, to visit the officers; where commissary general Ireton suspecting that these things might occasion jealousies of them in me and others of their friends in parliament, desired me to be assured of their stedfast adherence to the publick interest, and that they intended only to dispense with such things as were not material, in order to quiet the restless spirits of the cavaliers, till they could put themselves into a condition of serving the people effectually. I could not approve of their practices; but many of the chief of them proceeding in the way they had begun, gave out, " that the intentions of the officers and soldiers in the army, were to establish his majesty in his just rights." The news of this being brought to the queen and prince of Wales, who were in France, they dispatched Sir Edward Ford, brother-in-law to commissary general Ireton, into England, to sound the designs of the army, and to promote an agreement between the king and them. Soon after which Mr. John Denham was sent over on the like errand. Sir John Barkley also upon his return to the queen from Holland, where he had been ordered to condole the death of the prince of Orange, came into England by the same order, and to the same purpose. It was in his instructions to endeavour to procure a pass for Mr. John Ashburnham, to come over to assist him in his negotiation; which, with many other particulars relating to this business, I have seen in a manuscript written by Sir John Barkley himself, and left in the hands of a merchant at Geneva. Being at Diepe in order to embark

for England, he met with Mr. William Leg, who was of the bed-chamber to the king; and they two came over together into England. They landed at Haſtings, and being on their way towards London, were met by Sir Allen Appeſley, who had been lieutenant governour to Sir John Barkley at Exeter, by whom he underſtood that he was ſent to him from Cromwell and ſome other officers of the army, with letters and a cypher, as alſo particular inſtructions to deſire Sir John Barkley to remember his own diſcourſe at a conference with colonel Lambert and other officers upon the ſurrender of Exeter, wherein he had taken notice of the bitter invectives of thoſe of the army againſt the king's perſon; and preſuming that ſuch diſcourſes were encouraged in order to prepare mens minds to receive an alteration of the government, had ſaid, that it was not only a moſt wicked but difficult undertaking, if not impoſſible, for a few men, not of the greateſt quality, to introduce a popular government againſt the king, the preſbyterians, the nobility, gentry, and the genius of the nation, accuſtomed for ſo many ages to a monarchical government; adviſing, that ſince the preſbyterians, who had begun the war upon divers ſpecious pretences, were diſcovered to have ſought their own advantages, by which means they had loſt almoſt all their power and credit; the independent party, who had no particular obligations to the crown, as many of the preſbyterians had, would make good what the preſbytery had only pretended to, and reſtore the king and people to their juſt and antient rights; to which they were obliged both by prudence and intereſt, there being no means under heaven more likely to eſtabliſh themſelves, and to obtain as much truſt and power as ſubjects are capable of: whereas if they aimed at more, it would be accompanied with a general hatred, and their own deſtruction. He had orders alſo to let him know, that tho' to this diſcourſe of his they then gave only the hearing, yet they had ſince found by experience, that all, or the moſt part of it was reaſonable, and that they were reſolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already paſſed: deſiring that he would preſent them humbly to the queen and prince, and be a ſuitor to them in their names, not to condemn them abſolutely, but to ſuſpend their opinions of them, and their intentions, till their future behaviour had made full proof of their innocence, whereof they had already given ſome teſtimonies to the world; and that when he had done this office, he would return to England, and be an eye-witneſs of their proceedings. Thus did the army-party endeavour to fortify their intereſt againſt the preſbyterians, who tho' they were very much weakned by the abſence of the eleven members, yet not to be altogether wanting to themſelves, paſſed a vote, that the king ſhould be brought to Richmond, whither he was inclined to go, having conceived a diſtruſt of the army, grounded chiefly upon the refuſal of the officers to receive any honours or advantages from him; and would not be diſſuaded from this reſolution, till the army had obliged the parliament to recal their vote. After which he inſiſted upon going to Windſor, much againſt the ſenſe of the army, and could not be prevailed with to paſs by the army in his way thither. This cauſed them to ſuſpect that he hearkned to ſome ſecret propoſitions from the preſbyterians, and deſigned to make an abſolute breach between the parliament and the army, which commiſſary general Ireton diſcerning, ſaid theſe words to him; "Sir, your "have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and "we mean to be ſo between you and the parliament." But the king finding himſelf courted on all hands, became ſo confident of his own intereſt,

interest, as to think himself able to turn the scale to what side soever he pleased. In this temper Sir John Barkley found him when he delivered the queen's letters to him, which he did, after leave obtained from Cromwell, and a confirmation received from his own mouth of what had been communicated before to him by Sir Allen Appesley, with this addition, that he thought no man could enjoy his life and estate quietly, unless the king had his rights, which he said they had already declared to the world in general terms, and would more particularly very speedily, wherein they would comprize the several interests of the royalists, presbyterians, and independents, as far as they were consistent with one another. Sir John Barkley endeavoured to persuade the king, that it was necessary for him, who was now in the power of the army, to dissemble with them, and proposed that Mr. Peters might preach before him, that he would converse freely with others of the army, and gain the good opinion of the agitators, whose interest he perceived to be very great amongst them. But this advice made no impression upon the king. He gave him also a relation of what had formerly passed between himself and Cromwell, whom he met near Causum, when the head quarters were at Reading, where Cromwell told him, that he had lately seen the tendereſt sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children; that he wept plentifully at the remembrance thereof, saying, that never man was so abused as he in his siniſter opinion of the king, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his kingdom: that they of the independent party had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the propositions sent to him at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which his majesty's interest seemed to invite him to; concluding with this wish, "that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king." With this relation the king was no more moved than with the rest, firmly believing such expressions to proceed from a necessity that Cromwell and the army had of him, without whom, he said, they could do nothing. And indeed the king was not without reason of that opinion; for some of the principal agitators, with whom Sir John Barkley conversed at Reading, expressing to him their jealousy that Cromwell was not sincere for the king, desired of him, that if he found him false, to acquaint them with it, promising that they would endeavour to set him right, either with or against his will. Major Huntington, a creature of Cromwell, and therefore entrusted by him to command the guard about the king, either believing him to be in earnest in his pretensions to serve the king, or else finding the king's affairs in a rising condition, became one of his confidents, and by order of the king brought two general officers to Sir John Barkley, recommending them to him as persons upon whom he might rely: these two had frequent conferences with Sir John Barkley, and assured him, that a conjunction with the king was universally desired by the officers and agitators, and that Cromwell and Ireton were great dissemblers if they were not real in it; but that the army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not shew themselves otherwise; protesting that however things might happen to change, and whatsoever others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the king. They acquainted him also, that proposals were drawn up by Ireton, wherein episcopacy was not required to be abolished, nor any of the king's party wholly ruined, nor the militia to be taken away from the crown; advising that the king would with all expedition agree to them, there being no assurance of the army,

which they had obſerved already to have changed more than once. To this end they brought him to commiſſary-general Ireton, with whom he continued all night debating upon the propoſals before-mentioned, altering two of the articles, as he ſaith himſelf in the manuſcript, in the moſt material points; but upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the excluſion of ſeven perſons, not mentioned in the papers, from pardon, and the admiſſion of the king's party to ſit in the next parliament, Ireton told him, that there muſt be a diſtinction made between the conquerors and thoſe that had been beaten, and that he himſelf ſhould be afraid of a parliament where the king's party had the major vote: in concluſion, conjuring Sir John Barkley, as he tendered the king's welfare, to endeavour to procure his conſent to the propoſals, that they might with more confidence be offered to the parliament, and all differences accommodated. Cromwell appeared in all his conferences with Sir John Barkley moſt zealous for a ſpeedy agreement with the king, inſomuch that he ſometimes complained of his ſon Ireton's ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his unwillingneſs to come up to his majeſty's ſenſe: at other times he would wiſh that Sir John Barkley would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up by narrow principles; always affirming, that he doubted the army would not perſiſt in their good intentions towards the king.

During theſe tranſactions, the army marched from about Reading to Bedford, and the king with his uſual guard to Woburn, a houſe belonging to the earl of Bedford, where the propoſals of the army were brought to him to peruſe, before they were offered to him in publick. He was much diſpleaſed with them in general, ſaying, That if they had any intention to come to an accommodation, they would not impoſe ſuch conditions on him: to which Sir John Barkley, who brought them to him, anſwered, That he ſhould rather ſuſpect they deſigned to abuſe him, if they demanded leſs, there being no appearance that men, who had through ſo many dangers and difficulties acquired ſuch advantages, would content themſelves with leſs than was contained in the ſaid propoſals; and that a crown ſo near loſt was never recovered ſo eaſily as this would be, if things were adjuſted upon theſe terms. But the king being of another opinion, replied, That they could not ſubſiſt without him, and that therefore he did not doubt to find them ſhortly willing to condeſcend farther, making his chief objections againſt the three following points: 1. The excluſion of ſeven perſons from pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his party from being elected members of the next enſuing parliament. 3. That there was nothing mentioned concerning church-government. To the firſt it was anſwered, That when the king and the army were agreed, it would not be impoſſible to make them remit in that point; but if that could not be obtained, yet when the king was reſtored to his power, he might eaſily ſupply ſeven perſons living beyond the ſeas, in ſuch a manner as to make their baniſhment ſupportable. To the ſecond, That the next parliament would be neceſſitated to lay great burdens upon the people, and that it would be a happineſs to the king's party to have no hand therein. To the third, That the law was ſecurity enough for the church, and that it was a great point gained, to reduce men who had fought againſt it, to be wholly ſilent in the matter. But the king breaking away from them, ſaid, "Well, I ſhall ſee them glad ere long to accept of more equal terms."

About

About this time Mr. Ashburnham arrived, to the king's great contentment; and his instructions referring to Sir John Barkley's, which they were to prosecute jointly, Sir John gave him what light he could into the state of affairs: but he soon departed from the methods proposed by Sir John Barkley, and entirely complying with the king's humour, declared openly, that having always used the best company, he could not converse with such senseless fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gained, there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own army, and that he was resolved to apply himself wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great familiarity between him and Whalley, who commanded the guard that waited on the king, and not long after a close correspondence with Cromwell and Ireton, messages daily passing from the king to the head-quarters. With these encouragements and others from the presbyterian party, the lord Lauderdale and divers of the city of London assuring the king, that they would oppose the army to the death, he seemed so much elevated, that when the propofals were sent to him, and his concurrence humbly desired, he, to the great astonishment, not only of Ireton and the army, but even of his own party, entertained them with very sharp and bitter language, saying, That no man should suffer for his sake; and that he repented him of nothing so much as that he passed the bill against the earl of Strafford: which tho' it must be confessed to have been an unworthy act in him, all things considered, yet was it no less imprudent in that manner, and at that time to mention it; and that he would have the church established according to law by the propofals. To which those of the army replied, That it was not their work to do it, and that they thought it sufficient for them to wave the point; and they hoped for the king too, he having already consented to the abolition of the episcopal government in Scotland. The king said, that he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, repeating frequently these or the like words; "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." This manner of carriage from the king being observed with the utmost amazement by many officers of the army who were present, and at least in appearance were promoters of the agreement, Sir John Barkley taking notice of it, looked with much wonder upon the king, and stepping to him, said in his ear, "Sir, you speak as if you had some secret strength and power which I do not know of; and since you have concealed it from me, I wish you had done it from these men also." Whereupon the king began to recollect himself, and to soften his former discourse; but it was too late, for colonel Rainsborough, who of all the army seemed the least to desire an agreement, having observed these passages, went out from the conference, and hastened to the army, informing them what entertainment their commissioners and propofals had found with the king. Sir John Barkley being desirous to allay this heat, demanded of Ireton and the rest of the officers, what they would do if the king should consent: by whom it was answered, That they would offer them to the parliament for their approbation. The king having thus bid defiance to the army, thought it necessary to bend all his force against them, and especially to strengthen their enemies in the parliament. To this end a petition was contrived to press them to a speedy agreement with the king, and presented in a most tumultuous manner by great numbers of apprentices and rabble, backed and encouraged by many dismissed and disaffected officers who joined with them. Whilst the two houses were in debate what answer to give

to this inſolent multitude, ſome of them getting to the windows of the houſe of lords, threw ſtones in upon them, and threatened them with worſe uſage, unleſs they gave them an anſwer to their liking: others knocked at the door of the houſe of commons, requiring to be admitted; but ſome of us with our ſwords forced them to retire for the preſent; and the houſe reſolved to riſe without giving any anſwer, judging it below them to do any thing by compulſion. Whereupon the ſpeaker went out of the houſe, but being in the lobby, was forced back into the chair by the violence of the inſolent rabble; whereof above a thouſand attended without doors, and about forty or fifty were got into the houſe. So that it was thought convenient to give way to their rage, and the ſpeaker demanding what queſtion they deſired to be put, they anſwered, That the king ſhould be deſired to come to London forthwith: which queſtion being put, they were aſked again what further they would have; they ſaid, That he ſhould be invited to come with honour, freedom and ſafety: to both which I gave a loud negative, and ſome of the members as loud an affirmative, rather out of a prudential compliance than any affection to the deſign on foot. By theſe votes, and the coming down of divers well-affected citizens to appeaſe them, the tumult was ſomewhat allayed, and the members of parliament with their ſpeaker paſſed through the multitude ſafely. The next morning I adviſed with Sir Arthur Haſlerig and others, what was fitteſt to be done in this conjuncture; and it was concluded, that we could not ſit in parliament without apparent hazard of our lives, till we had a guard for our defence, it being manifeſtly the deſign of the other party, either to drive us away, or to deſtroy us. Therefore we reſolved to betake ourſelves to the army for protection, Sir Arthur Haſlerig undertaking to perſwade the ſpeaker to go thither, to which he conſented with ſome difficulty; and having cauſed a thouſand pounds to be thrown into his coach, went down to the army, which lay then at Windſor, Maidenhead, Colebrook, and the adjacent places. Having acquainted as many of our friends as I could, with our reſolution to repair to the army, I went down; and the next day, being the ſame to which the parliament had adjourned themſelves, the army rendezvouzed upon Hounſlow-heath, where thoſe members of parliament, as well lords as commons, who could not with ſafety ſtay at Weſtminſter, appeared in the head of them, at which the army expreſſed great joy, declaring themſelves reſolved to live and die with them. At night the earl of Northumberland, the lord Say, the lord Wharton, and other lords; the ſpeaker and members of the houſe of commons aforeſaid, with Sir Thomas Fairfax, and many principal officers of the army, met at Sion-houſe to conſult what was moſt adviſeable to do in that juncture; which whilſt they were doing, an account was brought of the proceedings of thoſe at Weſtminſter that day, by the ſerjeant of the houſe, who came with his mace, to the no little ſatisfaction of the ſpeaker. He acquainted them, that the remaining members being met in the houſe of commons, had for ſome time attended the coming of their ſpeaker; but being informed that he was gone to the army, they had made choice of one Mr. Pelham a lawyer, and member of the houſe, to be their ſpeaker: after which they had appointed a committee of lords and commons to join with the directors of the militia of London, in order to raiſe forces for the defence of the parliament; the ſucceſs of which attempt they deſired to ſee before they would declare againſt the army. To this end, Maſſey, Pointz, Brown, and Sir William Waller, encouraged by the

common council, and others, who by various artifices had been corrupted, used all possible diligence to list men, and prepare a force to oppose the army; but their proceedings therein were much obstructed by divers honest citizens, who importunately solicited them to treat with the army, and also by the news of the general rendezvous upon Hounslow-heath.

Tho' the lords had been removed from the command of the army, yet it was manifest that their influence there still continued; partly from a desire of some great officers to oblige them, and partly from the ambition of others to be of their number, who to shew their earnest desires to serve the king, being morally assured the parliament and city were likely to be shortly in the power of the army, who might be induced to take other counsels in relation to the king, upon such success, especially considering his late carriage towards them; they sent an express to Sir John Barkley and Mr. Ashburnham, advising, that since the king would not yield to their proposals, that he would send a kind letter to the army, before it were known that London would submit. Whereupon a letter was prepared immediately; but the king would not sign it, till after three or four debates, which lost one whole day's time: at last Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Barkley going with it, met with messengers from the officers to hasten it. But before they could come to Sion-house the commissioners from London were arrived, and the letter out of season. For coming after it was known with what difficulty it had been obtained, and that matters were like to be adjusted between the parliament and army, it lost both its grace and efficacy. Notwithstanding all which, the officers being resolved to do what they could, proposed, whilst the army was in the very act of giving thanks for their success, that they should not be too much elevated therewith, but keep still to their former engagement to the king, and once more solemnly vote the proposals, which was done accordingly.

The face of affairs in the city was at this time very various, according to the different advices they received; for upon the report of the advance of the army, and the taking of some of their scouts, they cryed out, "Treat, Treat:" and at another time being informed that men listed in great numbers, the word was, "Live and die, Live and die:" but when Southwark had let in part of the army, and joined with them, they returned to the former cry of "Treat, Treat:" to which the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council consenting, were ready to admit the army as friends, being not able to oppose them as enemies, and afterwards to attend those members who had retired to the army, being in all about a hundred, to the parliament. Having resumed our places in the house, as many of the eleven members as had returned to act, immediately withdrew; and Pointz with other reduced officers, who had endeavoured to form a body against the army, fled. But we had other difficulties to encounter: for tho' that vote by which the petition of the army was declared seditious, and those guilty of treason, who should prosecute the same after such a day, was razed out of the journal; yet by reason that the bulk of the opposite party was left still in the house, the militia of London could not be changed without much difficulty, and some other votes of great consequence could not be altered at all. However, the parliament appointed a committee to inquire into the late force that was put upon them; who having made their report, Sir John Maynard was impeached, and recorder Glyn, with Mr. Clement Walker and others, imprisoned.

A day or two after the reſtitution of the parliament, the army marched through the city without offering the leaſt violence, promiſing to ſhew themſelves faithful to the publick intereſt; but their actions furniſhed occaſion to ſuſpect them, particularly their diſcountenancing the adjutators, who had endured the heat of the day: the free acceſs of all cavaliers to the king at Hampton-court, and the publick ſpeeches made for the king by the great officers of the army in a council of war held at Putney, ſome of that party taking the ſame liberty in the houſe of commons, where one of them publickly ſaid, That he thought God had hitherto blaſted our counſels, becauſe we had dealt ſo ſeverely with the cavaliers. Theſe things cauſed many in the army who thought themſelves abuſed and cheated, to complain to the council of adjutators, againſt the intimacy of Sir John Barkley and Mr. Aſhburnham with the chief officers of the army, affirming, that the doors of Cromwell and Ireton were open to them when they were ſhut to thoſe of the army. Cromwell was much offended with theſe diſcourſes, and acquainted the king's party with them, telling Mr. Aſhburnham and Sir John Barkley, that if he were an honeſt man, he had ſaid enough of the ſincerity of his intentions; and if he were not, that nothing was enough; and therefore conjured them, as they tendered the king's ſervice, not to come ſo frequently to his quarters, but to ſend privately to him, the ſuſpicion of him being grown ſo great, that he was afraid to lie in them himſelf. This had no effect upon Mr. Aſhburnham, who ſaid, that he muſt ſhew them the neceſſity of complying with the king, from their own diſorders. About three weeks after the army entered London, the Scots prevailed with the parliament to addreſs themſelves again to the king, which was performed in the old propoſitions of Newcaſtle, ſome particulars relating to the Scots only excepted. The king adviſing with ſome about him concerning this matter, it was concluded to be unſafe for him to cloſe with the enemies of the army whilſt he was in it. Whereupon the king refuſed the articles, and deſired a perſonal treaty. The officers of the army having ſeen his anſwer before it was ſent, ſeemed much ſatisfied with it, and promiſed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure a perſonal treaty, Cromwell, Ireton, and many of their party in the houſe preſſing the king's deſires with the greateſt earneſtneſs; wherein, contrary to their expectations, they found a vigorous oppoſition from ſuch as had already conceived a jealouſy of their private agreement with the king, and were now confirmed in that opinion; and the ſuſpicions of them grew to be ſo ſtrong, that they were accounted betrayers of the cauſe, and loſt almoſt all their friends in the parliament. The army that lay then about Putney were no leſs diſſatisfied with their conduct, of which they were daily informed by thoſe that came to them from London; ſo that the adjutators began to change their diſcourſe, and to complain openly in council, both of the king and the malignants about him, ſaying, that ſince the king had rejected their propoſals, they were not engaged any further to him, and that they were now to conſult their own ſafety and the publick good: that having the power devolved upon them by the deciſion of the ſword, to which both parties had appealed, and being convinced that monarchy was inconſiſtent with the proſperity of the nation, they reſolved to uſe their endeavours to reduce the government of England to the form of a common-wealth. Theſe proceedings ſtruck ſo great a terror into Cromwell and Ireton, that they thought it neceſſary to draw the army to a general rendezvous, pretending to engage them to adhere to their former

propoſals

propoſals to the king; but indeed to bring the army into ſubjection to them and their party, that ſo they might make their bargain by them; deſigning, if they could carry this point at the rendezvous, to diſmiſs the council of adjutators, to divide the army, and to ſend thoſe to the moſt remote places who were moſt oppoſite to them, retaining near them ſuch only as were fit for their purpoſe. This deſign being diſcovered by the adjutators, amongſt whom colonel Rainſborough had the principal intereſt, they uſed all poſſible induſtry to prevent the general muſter which was appointed to be at Ware; ſuppoſing the ſeparation thereupon intended to be contrary to the agreement made upon taking the king out of the hands of the parliament, and deſtructive to the ends which they thought it their duty to promote.

In the mean time Cromwell having acquainted the king with his danger, proteſting to him, that it was not in his power to undertake for his ſecurity in the place where he was, aſſuring him of his real ſervice, and deſiring the Lord to deal with him and his according to the ſincerity of his heart towards the king, prepared himſelf to act his part at the general rendezvous. The king being doubtful what to do in this conjuncture, was adviſed by ſome to go privately to London, and appear in the houſe of lords: to which it was anſwered, That the army being maſters of the city and parliament, would undoubtedly ſeize the king there; and if there ſhould be any blood ſhed in his defence, he would be accuſed of beginning a new war. Others counſelled him to ſecure his perſon by quitting the kingdom. Againſt which the king objected, that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was not willing to quit the army till that was paſſed; becauſe if the ſuperior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagement; if not, they muſt apply themſelves to him for their own ſecurity. The Scots commiſſioners alſo who had been long tampering with him, took hold of this opportunity to perſwade him to come to their terms, by augmenting his fears as much as they could. It was alſo propoſed, that he ſhould conceal himſelf in England; but that was thought unſafe, if not impoſſible. Some there were who propoſed his going to Jerſey, which was then kept for him; but the king being told by the earl of Lanerick, that the ſhips provided by Sir John Barkley for that purpoſe had been diſcovered and ſeized, tho' Sir John affirms in his papers that none were provided, that deſign was laid aſide. At laſt the king reſolved to go to the Iſle of Wight, being, as is moſt probable, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel Hammond the governor there. To this end the king ſent Mr. William Leg to Sir John Barkley and Mr. Aſhburnham, requiring them to aſſiſt him in his eſcape; and horſes were laid at Sutton in Hampſhire to that purpoſe. On the day following Sir John Barkley and Mr. Aſhburnham waiting with horſes, the king with Mr. Leg came out towards the evening, and being mounted they deſigned to ride through the foreſt, having the king for their guide; but they loſt the way; ſo that the night proving dark and ſtormy, and the ways very bad, they could not reach Sutton before break of day, tho' they hoped to have been there three hours before. At Sutton they were informed that a committee of the county was there ſitting by order of the parliament; which when the king heard, he paſſed by that place, and continued his way towards Southampton, attended only by Mr. Leg, and went to a houſe of the earl of Southampton at Titchfield, having ſent Sir John Barkley and

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Mr. Aſhburnham to colonel Hammond, governor of the Iſle of Wight, with a copy of the letter left upon the table in his chamber at Hampton-court, and two other letters which he had lately received, one of them without a name, expreſſing great fears and apprehenſions of the ill intentions of the common-wealth-party againſt the king. The other from Cromwell, much to the ſame purpoſe, with this addition, that in proſecution thereof, a new guard was deſigned the next day to be placed about the king, conſiſting of men of that party. He alſo ſent by them a letter to colonel Hammond, wherein after he had expreſſed his diſtruſt of the levelling part of the army, as he termed it, and the neceſſity lying upon him to provide for his own ſafety, he aſſured him, that he did not intend to deſert the intereſt of the army, ordering his two meſſengers to acquaint him, that of all the army the king had choſen to put himſelf upon him, whom he knew to be a perſon of a good extraction, and tho' engaged againſt him in the war, yet without any animoſity to his perſon, to which he was informed he had no averſion: that he did not think it fit to ſurprize him, and therefore had ſent the two perſons before-mentioned to advertiſe him of his intentions, and to deſire his promiſe to protect the king and his ſervants to the beſt of his power; and if it ſhould happen that he was not able to do it, then to oblige himſelf to leave them in as good a condition as he found them. Being ready to depart with theſe inſtructions, Sir John Barkley ſaid to the king, that having no knowledge of the governor, he could not tell whether he might not detain them in the iſland, and therefore adviſed, if they returned not the next day, that he would think no more of them, but ſecure his own eſcape. Towards evening they arrived at Limmington, but could not paſs by reaſon of a violent ſtorm. The next morning they got over to the iſland, and went directly to Cariſbrook-caſtle, the reſidence of the governor, where they were told that he was gone towards Newport. Upon this notice they rode after, and having overtaken and acquainted him with their meſſage, he grew pale, and fell into ſuch a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his horſe. In this conſternation he continued about an hour, breaking out ſometimes into paſſionate and diſtracted expreſſions, ſaying, "O gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the king into the iſland, if at leaſt you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray let him not come: for what between my duty to the king, and gratitude to him upon this freſh obligation of confidence, and the diſcharge of my truſt to the army, I ſhall be confounded." Upon this they took occaſion to tell him, that the king intended a favour to him and his poſterity, in giving him this opportunity to lay a great obligation upon him, and ſuch as was very conſiſtent with his relation to the army, who had ſolemnly engaged themſelves to the king; but if he thought otherwiſe, the king would be far from impoſing his perſon upon him: but, ſaid the governor, if the king ſhould come to any miſchance, what would the army and the king ſay to him that had refuſed to receive him? To which they anſwered, That he had not refuſed him who was not come to him. Then beginning to ſpeak more calmly, he deſired to know where the king was, and wiſhed that he had abſolutely thrown himſelf upon him, which made the two gentlemen ſuſpect that the governor was not for their turn; but Mr. Aſhburnham fearing what would become of the king if he ſhould be diſcovered before he had gained this point, took the governor aſide, and after ſome conference prevailed with him to declare, That he did believe

the king relied on him as a person of honour and honesty, and therefore did engage himself to perform whatsoever could be expected from a person so qualified. Mr. Ashburnham replied, I will ask no more: then, said the governor, Let us all go to the king, and acquaint him with it. When they came to Cowes-castle, where a boat lay to carry them over, colonel Hammond took captain Basket the governor of that castle with him, and gave order for a file or two of musketeers to follow them in another boat. When they came to the earl of Southampton's house, Mr. Ashburnham leaving Sir John Barkley below with colonel Hammond and captain Basket; went up to the king, and having given an account of what had passed between the governour and them, and that he was come with them to make good what he had promised; the king striking his hand upon his breast, said, "What have you brought Hammond with you? O you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring." Mr. Ashburnham then told him, that if he mistrusted Hammond, he would undertake to secure him. To which the king replied, "I understand you well enough; but if I should follow that counsel, it would be said and believed, that he ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him:" Telling him further, "That it was now too late to think upon any thing but going through the way he had forced him upon, wondering how he could make so great an oversight:" At which expression Mr. Ashburnham having no more to say, wept bitterly. In the mean time colonel Hammond and captain Basket beginning to be impatient of their long attendance below in the court, Sir John Barkley sent a gentleman of the earl of Southampton's, to desire that the king and Mr. Ashburnham would remember that they were below. About half an hour after the king sent for them up, and before colonel Hammond and captain Basket had kissed the king's hand, he took Sir John Barkley aside, and said to him; "Sir John, I hope you are not so passionate as Jack Ashburnham: Do you think you have followed my directions?" He answered, "No indeed; but it is not my fault, as Mr. Ashburnham can tell you, if he please." The king perceiving that it was now too late to take other measures, received colonel Hammond cheerfully, who having repeated to him what he had promised before, conducted them over to Cowes. The next morning the king went with the governour to Carisbrook, and on the way thither was met by divers gentlemen of the island, by whom he understood that the whole island was unanimously for him, except the governours of the castles, and colonel Hammond's captains; that Hammond might be easily gained, if not more easily forced, the castle being day and night full of the king's party; and that the king might choose his own time of quitting the island, having liberty to ride abroad daily: So that not only the king and those that were with him, but also his whole party, approved of the choice which he had made. The king and Mr. Ashburnham applied themselves to the governour with so good success, that he and those with him seemed to desire nothing more of the king than to send a civil message to both houses, signifying his propensity to peace, which was done accordingly.

No sooner was the king's escape taken notice of by the guards, but colonel Whalley hastned to the parliament with the letter which the king had left upon his table, shewing the reasons of his withdrawing, and his resolution not to desert the interest of the army; and tho' it was visible that the king made his escape by the advice of Cromwell, and therefore in all appearance with the consent of Whalley, yet he pretended for his

excuſe to the parliament, that Mr. Aſhburnham had broken his engagement to him at his firſt coming to Woburn, whereby he had undertaken that the king ſhould not leave the army without his knowledge and conſent. Upon this advice the parliament declared it treaſon for any perſon to conceal the king; but the manner of his eſcape being ſoon after diſcovered, and that he had put himſelf into the hands of the governour of the Iſle of Wight, they ſent a meſſenger to the Iſland for Mr. Aſhburnham, Sir John Barkley, and Mr. Leg, but the governour refuſed to deliver them.

THE time for the general rendevous of the army being now come, the commonwealth party amongſt them declared to ſtand to their engagement, not to be diſperſed till the things they had demanded were effected, and the government of the nation eſtabliſhed: to make good which reſolution ſeveral regiments appeared in the field with diſtinguiſhing marks in their hats: But lieutenant general Cromwell not contenting himſelf with his part in an equal government, puffed up by his ſucceſſes to an expectation of greater things, and having driven a bargain with the grandees in the houſe, either to comply with the king, or to ſettle things in a factious way without him, procured a party to ſtand by him in the ſeizing ſome of thoſe who appeared at the rendezvous in oppoſition to his deſigns. To this end, being accompanied with divers officers whom he had preferred, and by that means made his creatures, he rode up to one of the regiments which had the diſtinguiſhing marks, requiring them to take them out, which they not doing, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized; and then their hearts failing, they yielded obedience to his commands. He ordered one of them to be ſhot dead upon the place, delivering the reſt of thoſe whom he had ſeized, being eleven in number, into the hands of the marſhal; and having diſperſed the army to their quarters, went to give an account of his proceedings to the parliament: and tho' when an agreement with the king was carried on by other hands, he could countenance the army in oppoſition to the parliament; yet now the bargain for the peoples liberty being driven on by himſelf, he oppoſed thoſe who laboured to obſtruct it, pretending his ſo doing to be only in order to keep the army in ſubjection to the parliament; who being very deſirous to have this ſpirit ſuppreſſed in the army by any means, not only approved what he had done, but gave him the thanks of the houſe for the ſame: Whereunto, tho' ſingly, I gave as loud a "No" as I could, being fully convinced that he had acted in this manner for no other end but to advance his own paſſion and power into the room of right and reaſon; and took the firſt opportunity to tell him, that the army having taken the power into their hands, as in effect they had done, every drop of blood ſhed in that extraordinary way would be required of them, unleſs the rectitude of their intentions and actions did juſtify them, of which they had need to be very careful.

to colonel Michael Jones, who was ordered by the parliament to receive the ſame; and the earl of Ormond came to London, where his money was paid him, and he ſoon after retired into France.

The chief officers of the army having ſubdued thoſe of their body, who upon juſt ſuſpicion had oppoſed their treaty with the king, thought themſelves obliged by their former engagement to preſs for a perſonal treaty with him, which they procured to be offered, in caſe he would grant four preliminary bills: The firſt of which contained the revocation of all proclamations againſt the parliament: The ſecond, to make void all ſuch titles of honour as had been granted by the king ſince he had left the parliament; and that for the future none ſhould be conferred upon any perſon without the conſent of the parliament; The third was a bill to except ſome perſons from pardon: And the fourth for inveſting the militia in the two houſes. All which thoſe who thought it reaſonable and neceſſary to proceed judicially with him, were afraid he would grant; it being viſible, that had he been reſtored to the throne upon any terms, he might eaſily have gratified his friends, and revenged himſelf upon all his enemies. Colonel Hammond and Mr. Aſhburnham had frequent conferences with the king, who had made ſuch promiſes to the colonel, that he declared himſelf extremely deſirous that the army might reſume their power, and clear themſelves of the adjutators, whoſe authority he ſaid he had never approved. To this end he ſent one Mr. Traughton his chaplain to the army, to perſuade them to make uſe of their ſucceſs againſt the adjutators; and two or three days after earneſtly moved the king to ſend ſome of thoſe about him to the army, with letters of compliment to the general, and others of greater confidence to Cromwell and Ireton, promiſing to write to them himſelf, which he did; conjuring them by their engagements, their honour and conſcience, to come to a ſpeedy agreement with the king, and not to expoſe themſelves to the fantaſtick giddineſs of the adjutators. Sir John Barkley was made choice of for this employment, who taking Mr. Henry Barkley his couſin german with him, departed from the iſland with a paſs from the governour of Cowes; and being on his way met Mr. Traughton on his return between Bagſhot and Windſor, who acquainted him that he had no good news to carry back to the king, the army having taken new reſolutions touching his perſon. Being gone a little farther he was met by cornet Joyce, who told him, that he was aſtoniſhed at his deſign of going to the army, acquainting him, that it had been debated amongſt the adjutators, whether, in juſtification of themſelves, the king ſhould be brought to a trial; of which opinion he declared himſelf to be, not out of any ill will, as he ſaid, to the king's perſon, but that the guilt of the war might be charged upon thoſe that had cauſed it. About an hour after his arrival at Windſor, Sir John Barkley went to the general's quarters, where he found the officers of the army aſſembled; and being admitted, delivered his letters to the general, who having received them, ordered him to withdraw. After he had attended about half an hour, he was called in again, and told by the general, with ſome ſeverity on his face, that they were the parliament's army, and therefore could ſay nothing to the king's motion about peace, but muſt refer thoſe matters, and the king's letters, to their conſideration. Then Sir John looked upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the reſt of his acquaintance, who ſaluted him very coldly, ſhewing him Hammond's letter to them, and ſmiling with diſdain upon it. Being thus diſappointed, he went to his lodging, and ſtaid there from four till ſix of the clock, without any company, to his great

great diſſatisfaction. At laſt he ſent out his ſervant with orders to find out if poſſible ſome of his acquaintance, who met with one that was a general officer, by whom he was ordered to tell his maſter, that he would meet him at midnight in a cloſe behind the garter-inn. At the time and place appointed they met, where the officer acquainted him in general, that he had no good news to communicate to him; and then deſcending to particulars, ſaid, "You know that I and my friends engaged our ſelves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the reſt were not ſo, we were abuſed: that ſince the tumults in the army, we did miſtruſt Cromwell and Ireton, whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we miſtruſt neither, and that we are reſolved, notwithſtanding our engagement, to deſtroy the king and his poſterity, to which end Ireton has made two propoſitions this afternoon: one, that you ſhould be ſent priſoner to London: the other, that none ſhould ſpeak with you upon pain of death, and I do now hazard my life by doing it. The way deſigned to ruin the king is to ſend eight hundred of the moſt diſaffected in the army to ſecure his perſon, and then to bring him to a trial, and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days, and therefore if the king can eſcape, let him do it, as he loves his life." Sir John then aſking the reaſon of this change, ſeeing the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and that the officers were become ſuperior ſince the laſt rendezvous: he replied, that he could not certainly tell; but conceived the ground of it to be, that tho' one of the mutineers, as he call'd him, was ſhot to death, eleven more made priſoners, and the reſt in appearance over-aw'd, yet they were ſo far from being ſo indeed, that two thirds of the army had been ſince with Cromwell and Ireton, to tell them, that tho' they were certain to periſh in the enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their ſenſe; and that if all failed, they would make a diviſion in the army, and join with any who would aſſiſt them in the deſtruction of thoſe that ſhould oppoſe them. That Cromwell and Ireton argued thus: If the army divide, the greateſt part will join with the preſbyters, and will in all likelihood prevail, to our ruin, by forcing us to make our applications to the king, wherein we ſhall rather beg than offer any aſſiſtance; which if the king ſhall give, and afterwards have the good fortune to prevail, if he ſhall then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promiſe to our ſelves: thereupon concluding, that if they could not bring the army to their ſenſe, that it was beſt to comply with them, a ſchiſm being utterly deſtructive to both. In purſuance of this reſolution Cromwell bent all his thoughts to make his peace with the party that was moſt oppoſite to the king; acknowledging, as he knew well how to do on ſuch occaſions, that the glory of this world had ſo dazled his eyes, that he could not diſcern clearly the great works that the Lord was doing. He ſent alſo comfortable meſſages to the priſoners that he had ſeiz'd at the general rendezvous, with aſſurances that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice; and by theſe and the like arts he perfected his reconciliation. For my own part, I am inclined to believe that his ſon Ireton never intended to cloſe with the king, but only to lay his party aſleep, whilſt they were conteſting with the preſbyterian intereſt in parliament. And now having ſecured themſelves of the city, and perſuaded the king to deny the propoſitions of the parliament, ſubdued the army, and freed themſelves from the importunity of the king and his party, they became willing to quit their hands of him, ſince their tranſactions with him had procured them

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so much opposition, and to leave the breach with him upon the parliament; where they found the presbyterian party averse to an agreement with him upon any propoſals of the army, and the common-wealth-party resolved not to treat with him upon any at all.

Sir John Barkley being returned to his lodging, dispatched his cousin Henry Barkley to the Isle of Wight with two letters; one to the governour, containing a general relation, and doubtful judgment of things in the army; another in cypher, with a particular account of the foresaid conference, and a most passionate supplication to the king to meditate nothing but his immediate escape. The next morning he sent colonel Cooke to Cromwell, to let him know that he had letters and instructions to him from the king, who returned in answer by the messenger, that he durst not see him, it being very dangerous to them both; bidding him be assured, that he would serve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that it might not be expected that he should perish for his sake. Having received this answer, Sir John took horse for London, resolving not to acquaint any with the inclinations of the army, or with the king's pretended escape, which he presumed would be in a few days, the queen having sent a ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly in her letters. The next day after his arrival at London, he received a message from the Scots lords Lanerick and Lauderdale, desiring a meeting with him, presuming he had a commission from the king to treat: but he acquainting them that the king had said at his parting from him, that he would make good whatsoever he should undertake to any person in his name; the lord Lanerick replied, he would ask no other commission from him. At their second meeting they came near to an agreement, and resolved to conclude on the Monday following; but the next day Sir John Barkley receiving a letter from Mr. Ashburnham, requiring him in the king's name to lay aside all other business, and to return immediately to the king, was constrained to go out of town that night, and to leave the treaty unfinished, to the great dissatisfaction of both parties. At his return to the island he found the king determined not to attempt his escape till he had concluded with the Scots, who, he said, being very desirous to have him out of the hands of the army, would on that account come to an accommodation upon reasonable conditions; whereas if he should leave the army before any agreement with the Scots, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms. To this end the king ordered Sir John Barkley, Mr. Ashburnham, Dr. Hammond, and Mr. Leg to review the papers relating to the treaty with the Scots, which had been managed in London, chiefly by Dr. Gough a popish priest, who in the queen's name had conjured the king to make his speedy escape; and in his own beseeched him not to insist too nicely upon terms in the present exigency of his affairs: but Mr. Ashburnham hesitated much upon many expressions in the articles, relating to the covenant and church of England, of which he was a zealous professor, making many replies and alterations; and at last insisted that the king would send for the Scots commissioners to come to him. Accordingly Sir William Flemming was sent to that purpose; and the next day after, an express came from the said commissioners to the king, desiring that two papers might be drawn, the one to contain the least he would be contented with, and the other the utmost that he would grant to the Scots; which last they desired he would sign, promising to do the like to the first, and to deliver it to Dr. Gough upon the reception of his paper so signed.

But this matter was delayed ſo long, that they concluded the Scots commiſſioners would be on their way before another expreſs could be gone out of the iſland. At the ſame time that the Scots were coming to the king, commiſſioners were alſo ſent to him by the parliament, with offers of a perſonal treaty, on condition that the king, in teſtimony of his future ſincerity, would grant the four preliminary bills formerly mentioned. Whilſt theſe two ſorts of commiſſioners were one day attending the king as he walked about the caſtle, they obſerved him to throw a bone before two ſpaniels that followed him, and to take great delight in ſeeing them conteſting for it; which ſome of them thought to be intended by him to repreſent that bone of contention he had caſt between the two parties. It was propoſed by ſome of his party, that the king ſhould give a dilatory anſwer to the Scots, that he might have the better opportunity to eſcape; and at the ſame time it was moved, that he ſhould offer the four following bills to the parliament, upon preſumption that they could not well refuſe them, nor durſt grant them: the firſt was for the payment of the army, and for their diſbanding as ſoon as paid: the ſecond to put a period to the preſent parliament: the third to reſtore the king and queen to the poſſeſſion of their revenues: the fourth to ſettle a church-government without any coercive power; and till ſuch a government were agreed on, the preſent to continue without any coercive authority. This they adviſed upon apprehenſions, if the king ſhould give a poſitive denial, that the commiſſioners might have orders to enjoin the governor to keep a ſtricter guard over his perſon, and thereby his deſigned eſcape be prevented. To this advice the king replied, That he had found out a remedy againſt their fears; which was to deliver his anſwer to the commiſſioners ſealed up. The next day after the Engliſh commiſſioners had delivered their meſſage, and deſired the king's anſwer within three or four days; the commiſſioners of Scotland, Lowdon, Lanerick, Lauderdale, and others, delivered a proteſtation to the king, ſubſcribed by them, againſt the parliament's meſſage, affirming it to be contrary to the covenant, being ſent without their participation or conſent; and from this time began ſeriouſly to treat with the king, concluding at laſt upon ſuch terms as they could obtain, rather than ſuch as they deſired from him. When the time to receive the king's anſwer was come, he ſent for the Engliſh commiſſioners, and before he delivered his anſwer, demanded of the earl of Denbigh, who was the principal commiſſioner, whether they had power to alter any of the ſubſtantial or circumſtantial parts of the meſſage; and they replying that they had not, he delivered his anſwer ſealed up into the hands of the earl of Denbigh. Having received the king's anſwer, the commiſſioners withdrew for a little time, and being returned, the earl of Denbigh ſeemed to be offended, that the king had delivered his meſſage ſealed, alledging that they were required by their inſtructions to bring his anſwer, which whether his letter were or no, they could not know, unleſs they might ſee it, ſaying that he had been his ambaſſador, and in that employment would never have delivered any letter without a preceding ſight of it: the king told him, that he had employed twenty ambaſſadors, and that none of them had ever dared to open his letters; but having demanded whether what the earl of Denbigh had ſaid were the ſenſe of them all, and finding it ſo to be: "Well then, ſaid the king, I will ſhew it to you on condition you will promiſe not to acquaint any one with the ſubſtance of it, before you have delivered it to the parliament;" which they conſenting to, he deſired the company might withdraw.

draw. The commissioners proposed that the governour colonel Hammond might be permitted to stay; which the king being unwilling to allow, yet not thinking it convenient to refuse, gave way to, and by this means the governour as well as the commissioners, came to understand that the king had waved the interests both of the parliament and army, to close with the Scots, the substance of his letter being an absolute refusal of his consent to the four bills presented to him. The impression which the discovery of these things made upon the governor was so great, that before he departed from Carisbrook to accompany the parliament's commissioners to Newport, he gave orders for a strict guard to be kept in his absence; and at his return commanded the gates to be locked up, and the guards to be doubled, sitting up himself with them all night; whereby the king's intended escape was obstructed. The next morning he ordered the king's servants to remove, not excepting doctor Hammond his own kinsman, who taking leave of the king, acquainted him that they had left the captain of the frigate and two trusty gentlemen of the island to assist him in his escape, assuring him that they would have all things in readiness on the other side of the water to receive him. At their departure, the king commanded them to draw up a declaration, and send it to him the next morning to sign; which they did, and it was afterwards published in the king's name. When they came to Newport, one captain Burleigh caused a drum to beat to draw people together, in order to rescue the king; but there were few, besides women and children, that followed him, having but one musquet amongst them all, so that the king's servants thought not fit to join with or encourage them; but went over to the other side, where they continued about three weeks expecting the king's arrival; leaving captain Burleigh, who, with divers of his followers, was committed to jail. Upon the return of the king's negative to the four previous bills before mentioned, the parliament voted, "That no farther addresses should be made to the king by themselves, or any other person, without the leave of both houses; and that if any presumed so to do, they should incur the guilt of high-treason." They also published a declaration, prepared by colonel Nathanael Fiennes, shewing the reasons of their said resolutions; wherein, amongst other miscarriages of the king's reign, was represented his breaking of parliaments, the betraying of Rochel, his refusal to suffer any inquiry to be made into the death of his father, his levying war against the people of England, and his rejecting all reasonable offers of accommodation after six several applications to him on their part. Colonel Rainsborough was appointed admiral of the fleet; and Mr. Holland, myself, and another member of the house of commons, sent down to the head-quarters at Windsor, with orders to discharge from custody, captain Reynolds, and some others, called in derision "levellers," who had been imprisoned by the army, for attempting to bring about that which they themselves were now doing, and to exhort the officers to contribute the best of their endeavours towards a speedy settlement.

The Scots in pursuance of their treaty with the king, made what preparations they could to raise an army, wherein the presbyterians and cavaliers joined, tho' with different designs. The same spirit began to appear also in England, many of our ships revolting to the king at the instigation of one captain Batten, who had been vice-admiral to the parliament, and others, encouraged by the city and the presbyterian party. The seamen on board the ship commanded by colonel Rainsborough refused

fuſed to receive him, having before-hand ſecured one of my brothers, with others whom they ſuſpected to be faithful to their commander. The earl of Warwick, as moſt acceptable to them, was appointed to go down to reduce them to obedience, by which means part of the fleet was preſerved to the parliament, who immediately iſſued out orders for the fitting out of more ſhips to reinforce them. With the revolted ſhips prince Charles blocked up the mouth of the river; and about the ſame time his brother the duke of York, who upon the ſurrender of Oxford had been brought by order of the parliament to St. James's, and proviſion made for him there, eſcaped from thence to ſerve the king's deſigns. The caſtles of Deal and Sandwich declared alſo for the king, and colonel Rich was ſent with a party of the army to reduce them. In the mean time lieutenant-general Cromwell, not forgetting himſelf, procured a meeting of divers leading men amongſt the preſbyterians and independents, both members of parliament and miniſters, at a dinner in Weſtminſter, under pretence of endeavouring a reconciliation between the two parties: but he found it a work too difficult for him to compoſe the differences between theſe two eccleſiaſtical intereſts; one of which could endure no ſuperior, the other, no equal; ſo that this meeting produced no effect. Another conference he contrived to be held in King-ſtreet, between thoſe called the grandees of the houſe and army, and the commmon-wealth's-men; in which the grandees, of whom lieutenant-general Cromwell was the head, kept themſelves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, ariſtocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of them might be good in themſelves, or for us, according as providence ſhould direct us. The common-wealth's-men declared that monarchy was neither good in itſelf, nor for us. That it was not deſirable in itſelf, they urged from the 8th chapter and 8th verſe of the firſt book of Samuel, where the rejecting of the judges, and the choice of a king, was charged upon the Iſraelites by God himſelf as a rejection of him; and from another paſſage in the ſame book, where Samuel declares it to be a great wickedneſs; with divers more texts of ſcripture to the ſame effect. And that it was no way conducing to the intereſt of this nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite miſchiefs and oppreſſions we had ſuffered under it, and by it: that indeed our anceſtors had conſented to be governed by a ſingle perſon, but with this proviſo, that he ſhould govern according to the direction of the law, which he always bound himſelf by oath to perform: that the king had broken this oath, and thereby diſſolved our allegiance; protection and obedience being reciprocal: that having appealed to the ſword for the deciſion of the things in diſpute, and thereby cauſed the effuſion of a deluge of the people's blood, it ſeemed to be a duty incumbent upon the repreſentatives of the people to call him to an account for the ſame; more eſpecially ſince the controverſy was determined by the ſame means which he had choſen; and then to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of an equal common-wealth, founded upon the conſent of the people, and providing for the rights and liberties of all men, that we might have the hearts and hands of the nation to ſupport it, as being moſt juſt, and in all reſpects moſt conducing to the happineſs and proſperity thereof. Notwithſtanding what was ſaid, lieutenant-general Cromwell, not for want of conviction, but in hopes to make a better bargain with another party, profeſſed himſelf unreſolved, and having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of thoſe preſent at the conference, took up a

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cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired. The next day, passing by me in the house, he told me he was convinced of the desireableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibleness of it; thereby, as I suppose, designing to encourage me to hope that he was inclined to join with us, tho' unwilling to publish his opinion, lest the grandees should be informed of it, to whom I presume he professed himself to be of another judgment.

Much time being spent since the parliament had voted no more addresses to be made to the king, nor any messages received from him, and yet nothing done towards bringing the king to a trial, or the settling of affairs without him; many of the people who had waited patiently hitherto, finding themselves as far from a settlement as ever, concluded that they should never have it, nor any ease from their burdens and taxes, without an accommodation with the king; and therefore entered into a combination through England, Scotland, and Ireland, to restore him to his authority. To this end petitions were promoted throughout all countries, the king by his agents fomenting and encouraging this spirit by all means possible, as appeared by his intercepted letters: so that lieutenant-general Cromwell, who had made it his usual practice to gratify enemies, even by the oppression of those who were by principle his friends, began again to court the common-wealth-party, inviting some of them to confer with him at his chamber: with which acquainting me the next time he came to the house of commons, I took the freedom to tell him, that he knew how to cajole and give them good words when he had occasion to make use of them; whereat breaking out into a rage, he said, they were a proud sort of people, and only considerable in their own conceits. I told him, it was no new thing to hear truth calumniated, and that tho' the common-wealth's-men were fallen under his displeasure, I would take the liberty to say, that they had always been and ever would be considerable where there was not a total defection from honesty, generosity, and all true virtue, which I hoped was not yet our case.

The earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards the ships commanded by prince Charles, who presuming either that he would not fight him, or perhaps come over to him, lay some time in expectation; but finding by the manner of his approach that he was deceived in that particular, he thought it convenient to make all the sail he could for the coast of Holland. Our fleet followed him as far as the Texel; but according to the defensive principle of the nobility, our admiral thinking he had sufficiently discharged his duty by clearing the Downs, and driving the other fleet from our coast, declined to fight tho' he had an opportunity to engage. Deal and Sandown castles were reduced by colonel Rich, and many of our revolted ships not finding things according to their expectation, being constrained to serve under prince Rupert instead of the lord Willoughby, who they desired might command them, returned to the obedience of the parliament.

The Scots making all possible preparations to raise an army for the restitution of the king, Sir Thomas Glenham and Sir Marmaduke Langdale went to Scotland to join with them in that enterprize, and to draw what English they could to promote the design. The first of these seized upon Carlisle by order of the Scots, tho' contrary to their articles; whereupon the parliament thinking it necessary to provide for the security of

Berwick, placed a good garison therein, and resolving to reinforce the militia of each county, sent down some of their members to give life to the preparations. Amongst others I was appointed to go down to the county for which I served, where we agreed to raise two regiments of foot and one of horse. In the mean time the enemy was not idle, and taking advantage of the discontents of captain Poyer governour of Pembroke, they prevailed with him to revolt, and declare for the king. Other disaffected parts of the nation, not yet ready for open opposition, acted with more caution, preparing and encouraging petitions to the parliament for a personal treaty with the king, of which the principal were Surrey, Essex, and Kent. In Essex they met at Chelmsford in a tumultuous manner, and seized Sir William Masham and other members of parliament; who being ready to use all gentle methods to prevent farther inconveniencies, sent down Mr. Charles Rich, second son to the earl of Warwick, and Sir Harbottle Grimston, two of their members, to endeavour to quiet that tumultuous spirit, with instructions and power to promise indemnity to all that should desist from the prosecution of what they desired in this violent way: which commission they managed so well, that upon their promise to present the requests of the petitioners, which were drawn up in writing, to the parliament, and to return them an answer, the people of the country dispersed themselves to their own houses. But the sedition of the Surrey-men was not terminated so easily, of whom many hundreds came to the doors of the parliament; and not being satisfied with the answer the parliament thought fit to give to their petition, after they had been heated with drink, and animated by the cavalier party, they resolved to force from them another answer, and with intolerable insolence pressed upon their guard, beating the sentinels to the main guard, which was drawn up at the upper end of Westminster-hall, where they wounded the officer who commanded them; and being intreated to desist, became more violent; so that the soldiers were necessitated, in their own defence, and discharge of their duty, to fire upon them, whereby two or three of the country-men were killed: neither did this quiet them, till some horse and foot arrived to strengthen the guard, and dispersed them. Lieutenant-colonel Cobbet, who commanded the guard, being called into the house to give an account of what had passed, went to the bar bleeding from the wounds which he had received, and related the passages before-mentioned: but some friends of the petitioners within doors, informing the house that the matter of fact was otherwise than had been represented by the lieutenant-colonel, the parliament appointed a committee to examine the truth of it.

Those of the secluded members who were in England being returned to the house, divers hard words passed between them and others of the parliament; and one day commissary-general Ireton speaking something concerning them, Mr. Hollis thinking it to be injurious to them, passing by him in the house, whispered him in the ear, telling him it was false, and he would justify it to be so if he would follow him, and thereupon immediately went out of the house, with the other following him. Some members who had observed their passionate carriage to each other, and seen them hastily leaving the house, acquainted the parliament with their apprehensions; whereupon they sent their serjeant at arms to command their attendance, which he letting them understand, as they were taking boat to go to the other side of the water, they returned; and the house taking notice of what they were informed concerning them, en-

joined them to forbear all words or actions of enmity towards each other, and to carry themselves for the future as fellow-members of the same body, which they promised to do.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell perceiving the clouds to gather on every side, complained to me, as we were walking in the palace-yard, of the unhappiness of his condition, having made the greatest part of the nation his enemies, by adhering to a just cause: but that which he pretended to be his greatest trouble was, that many who were engaged in the same cause with him had entertained a jealousy and suspicion of him; which he assured me was a great discouragement to him, asking my advice, what method was best for him to take. I could not but acknowledge that he had many enemies for the sake of the cause in which he stood engaged, and also that many who were friends to that cause had conceived suspicions of him: but I observed to him, that he could never oblige the former, without betraying that cause wherein he was engaged; which if he should do upon the account of an empty title, riches, or any other advantages, how those contracts would be kept with him, was uncertain; but most certain it was, that his name would be abominated by all good men, and his memory be abhorred by posterity. On the other side, if he persisted in the prosecution of our just intentions, it was the most probable way to subdue his enemies, to rectify the mistakes of those that had conceived a jealousy of him, and to convince his friends of his integrity: that if he should fall in the attempt, yet his loss would be lamented by all good men, and his name be transmitted to future ages with honour. He seemed to take well what I said, and it might have been no disservice to him if he had acted accordingly: but his design was rather to perswade me, for the present, of the rectitude of his intentions, than to receive counsel from me concerning his conduct.

About this time we obtained some advantages in Ireland, where colonel Michael Jones, (who had been ordered by the parliament to command at Dublin when the earl of Ormond delivered it up) with the forces he had, fought the rebels, tho' double his number, at Dungon-hill, killed some thousands of them, and totally routed the rest: of which when the parliament had received information, they ordered five hundred pounds by year of the forfeited lands in Ireland to be settled upon colonel Jones as a reward for his good service. In England the defection began to increase; captain Henry Lilburn who commanded for the parliament in Tinmouth-castle, which lies at the mouth of the harbour, and is a key to Newcastle, declaring for the king; but notice thereof being brought to Sir Arthur Haslerig at Newcastle, of which town he was governour, he with great expedition drew down a party before the place, and attacking it unexpectedly, took it by assault, before the men had been thoroughly confirmed in their revolt by the governour, whom he put to the sword, and placed another garison therein.

Many of those who had been for the parliament in South-Wales now joining with the king's party, they grew to be a considerable body; whereby major-general Laughern, who upon some suspicion had been under confinement, was encouraged to get away and join himself to them; major-general John Stradling, Sir Henry Stradling, colonel Thomas Stradling, and several other gentlemen of those parts falling in with them. Colonel Horton, with about two thousand five hundred horse, foot, and dragoons, was sent into Wales to engage them; lieutenant-general Cromwell following with as many more forces as could be

spared

ſpared from the army; who being within three or four days march of colonel Horton, received advice that the enemy, to the number of about ſeven thouſand, had engaged the colonel at St. Faggons in Glamorganſhire; that upon the firſt attack our forces gave ground, but well conſidering the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, and encouraged by their affection to the cauſe wherein they were engaged, they charged the enemy's van, conſiſting of the beſt of their men, with ſo great bravery and reſolution, that they forced them to give way; which thoſe that were in their rear, who were for the moſt part new-raiſed men, perceiving, began to ſhift for themſelves. Upon this ours followed their charge with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the whole body of the enemy was ſoon routed and diſperſed; many of them were killed in the purſuit, and many taken priſoners: amongſt the latter was major-general Stradling, and divers other officers. The news of this ſucceſs was very welcome to all thoſe that wiſhed well to the publick, and proved a great diſcouragement to the contrary party.

THE petitioners of Surrey drew into a body, and in conjunction with the Kentiſh-men of the king's party, appointed their rendezvous upon Black-heath: but Sir Thomas Fairfax with that part of the army which he had with him, diſappointed that deſign, by poſſeſſing himſelf of that ground before them. However, the enemy had brought together a conſiderable body of men, many of whom were induced to come in, upon aſſurances given that they ſhould be commanded by Mr. Hales, a gentleman of a great eſtate in Kent; tho' afterwards the lord Goring appeared at the head of them, as had been deſigned from the beginning. Upon the advance of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, the enemy, who exceeded him in number by one half at leaſt, divided their body, ſending on part to poſſeſs themſelves of Maidſtone and the adjacent places, and another party to block up Dover and other forts upon the coaſt, whilſt Goring remained with the reſt about Rocheſter. Sir Thomas Fairfax reſolving firſt to attack thoſe about Maidſtone, fell upon them, and beat them into the town, which they had fortified before; whereupon tho' the numbers within the town being at leaſt equal to thoſe without, made it a work of great hazard and difficulty, yet conſidering that thoſe with the lord Goring exceeded either, and might march to the enemy's relief, ours reſolved to ſtorm the place, which they did the night following; the general by his own example encouraging the men to fall on, who for a good while were not able to make any conſiderable progreſs, till colonel Hewſon with his regiment opened a paſſage into one of the ſtreets, where the diſpute growing hot, he was knocked down with a muſquet; but recovering himſelf, he preſſed the enemy ſo hard, that they were forced to retreat to their main guard, and falling in with them at the ſame time, ſo diſordered them, that they all began to ſhift for themſelves; wherein they were favoured by the advantage of the night: yet many of them were made priſoners, and many killed; many horſes and all their artillery fell into the hands of ours. The general, as ſoon as he had refreſhed his men, advanced towards that body commanded by the lord Goring, which was much increaſed in number by the addition of thoſe who eſcaped from Maidſtone, but not in reſolution, being ſo diſcouraged with their relation of what had paſſed there, that immediately upon our approach they began to retreat, many of them running away to their own habitations. Notwithſtanding this, a conſiderable body continuing with the lord Goring, he ſent to the city of London, deſiring leave to march through the

the city into Essex, designing to recruit his men with such of that county as had lately expressed so much affection to the king's interest. The city, tho' much inclined to have the king received upon terms, yet not willing absolutely to espouse the cavalier party, especially in a flying posture; and considering that there was a great number still amongst them who retained their affection to the publick cause, returned a positive denial to Goring: so that he was necessitated to make use of boats or other means to transport his men over the river into the county of Essex. A party of horse was sent from the army to keep a guard at Bow-bridge, as well to prevent the disaffected in the city from running to the enemy, as to hinder them from doing any thing to the prejudice of London.

Lieutenant general Cromwell, with that part of the army which was with him, besieged the castle and town of Pembroke, whither the principal of that body which fled from St. Fagons had made their retreat. In the mean time the presbyterian party prevailing in the house, by reason of the absence of divers members who belonged to the army, and were employed in all parts of the nation, discharged from prison those who had been committed upon the account of that force which was put upon the house by the late tumults, and the parliament left to the mercy of their enemies with a very slender guard. The lord Lisle's commission to be lord lieutenant of Ireland expiring at the same time, they refused to renew it; by which means the province of Munster fell into the hands of the lord Inchequin as president, who made use of the opportunity to displace those officers that had been put in by the lord Lisle, preferring his own creatures to their employments, to the great prejudice of the English interest in that country: many others who were acquainted with his temper and principles quitted voluntarily; and tho' he still pretended fidelity to the state of England, yet he expressed himself dissatisfied with the proceedings of the army-party towards him. Some overtures also he had received from the Irish touching an accommodation; but being straitned by them in his quarters, and therefore advancing with his army towards them, colonel Temple and some others yet remaining in his army being willing to improve the occasion, pressed him so hard to resolve to fight, that he could not well avoid it. At the beginning of the battle the success seemed to be very doubtful, but in the end ours obtained the victory, some thousands of the enemy being killed, many made prisoners, and all their baggage taken. Not long after this he declared against the parliament, and joined with the Irish rebels: some of the English officers concurred with him in his declaration; many left him and came to the parliament, who made provision for them, as they had done for those that came away before. Tho' this conjunction of Inchequin was not concluded without the king's consent, yet it was not a proper season for him to condescend so far as they desired: whereby great divisions arose amongst them; for there was a party of old Irish, as they were called, headed principally by Owen Roe O Neal, of whom several were in the supreme council, who, out of an innate hatred to the English government, joined with those who would be satisfied with nothing less than to have the pope acknowledged to be their only supreme lord: so that not being able to agree, their differences proved very serviceable to the English interest. The like spirit of division appeared amongst our enemies in Scotland, where tho' the number was great of those that professed their constant adherence to their engagements contained in the covenant, yet when it came to a trial in their convention, the anti-covenanters, who were for restoring the king without any terms,

carried all before them: ſo that inſtead of the marquis of Argile, the marquis of Hamilton was appointed general of their army; all the inferiour officers being of the ſame mold and principle; inſomuch that the pulpits who before had proclaimed this war, now accompanied the army that was preparing to march with their curſes: for tho' they could have been contented that the ſectarian party, as they called it, ſhould be ruined, provided they could find ſtrength enough to bring in the king themſelves; yet they feared their old enemy more than their new one, becauſe the latter would only reſtrain them from lording it over them and others, affording them equal liberty with themſelves; whereas the former was ſo far from that, as hardly to ſuffer them to be hewers of wood and drawers of water: for thoſe who would have all power both civil and eccleſiaſtical put into one hand, could not poſſibly agree with ſuch as would have it divided into many.

These affairs neceſſitated the parliament to raiſe the militia, in order to oppoſe this malevolent ſpirit which threatned them from the north, and alſo prevailed with them to diſcountenance a charge of high treaſon, framed by major Huntington, an officer of the army, with the advice of ſome members of both houſes, againſt lieutenant general Cromwell, for endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himſelf; it being manifeſt that the preferring this accuſation at that time, was principally deſigned to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might be the better enabled to prevail againſt them.

The deſign of the king's eſcape was ſtill carried on; but by the vigilance of the governour of the Iſle of Wight and his officers it was diſcovered and prevented. The next morning after the diſcovery they found the iron bars of the king's chamber-window eaten through by ſomething applied to them: whereupon thoſe who were to have been inſtrumental in his eſcape, not knowing otherwiſe how to revenge themſelves on thoſe who had defeated their enterprize, accuſed major Rolfe, a captain in that gariſon, very active and vigilant in his charge, of a deſign to kill the king, raiſing ſuch a clamour about it, that the parliament thought not fit to decline putting him upon his trial; but the accuſation appearing to the grand jury to be grounded upon malice, they refuſed to find the bill. About the ſame time captain Burleigh, who had beat a drum at Newport for the reſcuing of the king, was brought to his trial; and the jury having found him guilty of high treaſon, he was executed according to the ſentence.

Those of the enemy commanded by the lord Goring, who had fled into Eſſex, grew to a conſiderable number; but being new-raiſed men, and not well acquainted one with another, upon the advance of our army retreated to Colcheſter with a body ſo much exceeding ours, which purſued and beſieged them in that place, that commiſſary general Ireton compared the town and thoſe therein to a great bee-hive, and our army to a ſmall ſwarm of bees ſticking on one ſide of it; but the number of ours was ſoon increaſed by the forces which the well-affected in the counties of Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge, ſent to their aſſiſtance.

The earl of Holland, who at the beginning of the parliament had appeared active for them, and afterwards leaving them, had gone to the king at Oxford, when he ſuppoſed him to grow ſtrong; then again returning to the parliament upon the declining of the king's affairs, publiſhing a declaration at his coming to London, that he left the king becauſe he ſaw the

the Irish rebels so eminently favoured by him; in this low condition of the parliament, revolted again, and formed a party of about a thousand horse, with which he marched from London, and declared against them, accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, (whose sequestration upon the account of his minority when he first engaged with the king, the parliament had freely remitted) and the lord Francis his brother, prevailing also with Dalbeir, formerly quarter-master-general to the earl of Essex, to join with them. Their rendezvous was appointed to be upon Bansted-Downs; but the vigilance of the parliament was such, that a party of horse and foot was soon sent after them, commanded by Sir Michael Lewesey, who without much dispute put those courtly gentlemen to the rout. The lord Francis presuming perhaps that his beauty would have charmed the soldiers, as it had done Mrs. Kirke, for whom he made a splendid entertainment the night before he left the town, and made her a present of plate to the value of a thousand pounds, staid behind his company, where unseasonably daring the troopers, and refusing to take quarter, he was killed, and after his death there was found upon him some of the hair of Mrs. Kirke sew'd in a piece of ribbon that hung next his skin. The rest fled towards St. Neots in the county of Huntington, where being fallen upon again, they were routed a second time: in which action the parliament's soldiers, to express their detestation of Dalbeir's treachery, hewed him in pieces. The earl of Holland was taken, and sent prisoner to Warwick-castle; but the duke of Buckingham escaped, and went over to France.

Pomfret-castle being seized by some of the king's party, was besieged by the country, assisted by some of the army, Sir Hugh Cholmely commanding at the siege; but the army finding little progress made therein, ordered colonel Rainsborough with more forces thither, appointing him to command in the room of Sir Hugh Cholmely. Whilst he was preparing for that service, being at Doncaster, ten or twelve miles from Pomfret, with a considerable force in the town, a party of horse dismounting at his quarters, and going up as friends to his chamber, under pretence of having business with him, seized him first, and upon his refusal to go silently with them, murdered him. After his death another commander being appointed in his place to carry on the siege, those in the castle were reduced to such extremities, that some of the most desperate of them resolved, together with their governour one Morris, who had been page to the earl of Strafford, to endeavour the breaking through our forces on Horseback; which they attempted, and tho' most of them were beaten back to the castle by the besiegers, yet this Morris made his way through; but was afterwards taken as he passed through the country in the disguise of a beggar, and carried to York, where he was arraigned before justice Thorpe, and being found guilty of treason, was executed for the same.

Lieutenant general Cromwell, with that part of the army which was with him, besieged the town and castle of Pembroke, whither the chief of that party that fled from St. Faggons had made their retreat, as I said before; but wanting great guns, he was obliged to send for some to Gloucester, which with much difficulty were brought to him. This place detained the greatest part of our army about six weeks; but it was remarkable, that about the time the Scots were entring into England, the garison, for want of provisions, was forced to capitulate and surrender upon articles, by which some of them were to remain prisoners, and

others

others to be baniſhed into Ireland for three years; amongſt the latter were colonel Thomas Stradling, Sir Henry Stradling, colonel Button and major Butler; of the firſt were colonel Laughern, colonel Poyer, and colonel Powell.

TWENTY thouſand Scots being upon their march into England under the conduct of duke Hamilton, with about five thouſand Engliſh, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, ſome of us who had oppoſed the lieutenant general's arbitrary proceedings, when we were convinced he acted to promote a ſelfiſh and unwarrantable deſign, now thinking ourſelves obliged to ſtrengthen his hands in that neceſſary work, which he was appointed to undertake, writ a letter to him to encourage him, from the conſideration of the juſtice of the cauſe wherein he was engaged, and the wickedneſs of thoſe with whom he was to encounter, to proceed with chearfulneſs, aſſuring him, that notwithſtanding all our diſcouragements we would readily give him all the aſſiſtance we could. The houſe of commons declared the Scots who had invaded England to be enemies, and ordered the lieutenant general to march towards them, and fight them; but the lords in this doubtful poſture of affairs declined to concur with them in the ſame: yet both of them, with the city of London, joined in driving on a perſonal treaty with the king in the Iſle of Wight, and to that end the lords and commons revoked the votes for non-addreſſes; whereby the king ſeemed to be on ſure ground, for that if the Scots army failed, he might ſtill make terms with the parliament. The king's party in Colcheſter were alſo much encouraged with hopes of relief from the Scots army, who were very numerous, and well furniſhed with all things but a good cauſe. To fight this formidable army the lieutenant general could not make up much above ſeven thouſand horſe and foot, and thoſe ſo extremely haraſſed with hard ſervice and long marches, that they ſeemed rather fit for an hoſpital than a battle. With this handful of men he advanced towards the enemy, and about Preſton in Lancaſhire both armies met on the 17th of Auguſt, 1648. The Engliſh who were in the Scots army had the honour of the van, and for a time entertained ours with ſome oppoſition; but being vigorouſly preſſed by our men, they were forced to retreat to a paſs, which they maintained againſt us, whilſt they ſent to their general for ſuccours; which he not ſending, on purpoſe, as was ſaid, that the Engliſh might be cut off, and his party kept intire to enable him to ſet up for himſelf, and give law to both nations, they began to ſhift for themſelves: which made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Scots, that they ſoon followed their example, retreating in a diſorderly manner. Ours followed them ſo cloſe, that moſt of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themſelves priſoners. Many of the principal officers of their foot were taken, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage: Hamilton, with four or five thouſand horſe in a body, left the field, and was purſued by colonel Thorney a member of parliament, and colonel of a regiment of horſe, a worthy and a valiant man, who following them too cloſe and unadviſedly, run himſelf upon one of their lances, wherewith he was mortally wounded, which he perceiving by the waſting of his ſpirits, to expreſs his affection to his country, and joy for the defeat of the enemy,, deſired his men to open to the right and left, that he might have the ſatisfaction to ſee them run before he died. The enemy's body of horſe kept themſelves together for ſome days roving up and down the country about Leiceſterſhire, which county the lord Grey of Grooby had raiſed, and brought together about three thouſand horſe and foot to

preserve the country from plunder, and to take all possible advantages against the enemy: and tho' a body of horse from the army was in pursuit of the Scots, yet the Leicestershire party came up first to them at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, where the body of the enemy's horse was; and whilst the Scots were treating with the other party from the army, the lord Grey's men, observing no guards kept, entered upon them before any conditions were made; whereupon Hamilton surrendered himself to colonel Wayte, an officer of the Leicestershire party, delivering to him his scarf, his george, and his sword, which last he desired him to keep carefully, because it had belonged to his ancestors. By the two parties the Scots were all made prisoners, and all their horses seized: the duke of Hamilton was carried prisoner to Windsor-castle, and all their standards of horse and foot were taken and sent up to London, where the parliament ordered them to be hung up in Westminster-hall. The house of lords who had avoided to declare the Scots enemies whilst their army was entire, now after their defeat prevented the house of commons, and moved that a day might be appointed to give God thanks for this success. The news of this victory being carried to the Isle of Wight, the king said to the governour, That it was the worst news that ever came to England; to which he answered, That he thought the king had no cause to be of that opinion, since if Hamilton had beaten the English, he would certainly have possessed himself of the thrones of England and Scotland: the king presently replied, "You are mistaken, I could have commanded him back with the motion of my hand." Which whether he could do or no, was doubtful; but whatever reasons he had for this opinion, it seemed very unseasonable to own it openly in that conjuncture. Lieutenant-general Cromwell marched with part of his army to Edinburgh, where he dispossessed the Hamiltonian party of their authority, and put the power into the hands of the presbyterians; by whom he was received with great demonstrations of joy: and tho' lately they looked upon the independent party as the worst of their enemies, yet now they owned and embraced them as their best friends and deliverers; and having notice given them that the English army was about to return into England, they prevailed with the lieutenant-general to leave major-general Lambert with a body of horse, till they could raise more forces to provide for their own safety.

The treaty with the king being pressed with more heat than ever, and a design visibly appearing to render all our victories useless thereby; by the advice of some friends I went down to the army, which lay at that time before Colchester; where attending upon the general Sir Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him with the state of affairs at London, I told him, that a design was driving on to betray the cause in which so much of the people's blood had been shed: that the king being under a restraint, would not account himself obliged by any thing he should promise under such circumstances; assuring him, that most of those who pushed on the treaty with the greatest vehemency, intended not that he should be bound to the performance of it, but designed principally to use his authority and favour in order to destroy the army; who, as they had assumed the power, ought to make the best use of it, and to prevent the ruin of themselves and the nation. He acknowledged what I said to be true, and declared himself resolved to use the power he had, to maintain the cause of the publick, upon a clear and evident call, looking upon himself to be obliged to pursue the work which he was about. Perceiving by such a general an-

ſwer, that he was irreſolute, I went to commiſſary-general Ireton, who had a great influence upon him, and having found him, we diſcourſed together upon the ſame ſubject, wherein we both agreed that it was neceſſary for the army to interpoſe in this matter, but differed about the time; he being of opinion, that it was beſt to permit the king and the parliament to make an agreement, and to wait till they had made a full diſcovery of their intentions, whereby the people becoming ſenſible of their own danger, would willingly join to oppoſe them. My opinion was, that it would be much eaſier for the army to keep them from a conjunction, than to oppoſe them when united; it being highly probable, that the firſt things they would fall upon after their union, would be ſuch as were moſt taking with the people, in order to oblige them to aſſiſt in the diſbanding of the army, under pretence of leſſening their taxes: and then if the army ſhould in any manner ſignify a diſlike of their proceedings, they would be eſteemed by the majority of the people, to be diſturbers of the publick peace, and accuſed of deſigning nothing ſave their own particular advantages.

THE king's party in Colcheſter, expecting to be included in the peace which was treating between him and the parliament, held out to the utmoſt; but being in extreme want of proviſions, and deſtitute of all hopes of relief ſince the defeat of the Scots, they were forced to ſurrender on the 28th of Auguſt, 1648. upon articles, whereby ſome of the principal of them being priſoners at diſcretion, the court martial aſſembled and condemned Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, and Sir Barnard Gaſcoin, to die; the laſt of whom being a foreigner, was pardoned, and the other two were ſhot to death, according to the ſentence. The lord Goring and the lord Capel were ſent priſoners to London, and committed to the Tower, by an order of the parliament.

THE two houſes finding things in this poſture, haſtened the departure of their commiſſioners to the Iſle of Wight, with powers and inſtructions to treat with the king, who principally inſiſted on that article concerning biſhops, whom he accounted to be by divine right, or rather eſſentially neceſſary to the ſupport of arbitrary power; whereupon miniſters of each ſide were appointed to diſpute touching that ſubject, in order to ſatisfy the king's conſcience. But the army having now wonderfully diſperſed their enemies on every part, began to conſider how to ſecure themſelves and the common cauſe, againſt thoſe counſels that were carried on in oppoſition to them, under pretext of making peace with the king, and to that end drew up a declaration at St. Albans, dated the 16th of November, 1648. ſhewing that the grounds of their firſt engagement was to bring delinquents to juſtice; that the king was guilty of the blood ſhed in the firſt and ſecond war; and that therefore they could not truſt him with the government. This remonſtrance they preſented to the parliament on the 20th of November, 1648. The king and parliament ſeeing this cloud beginning to gather, endeavoured by all means poſſible to haſten their treaty to a concluſion. The army alſo were not wanting to fortify themſelves againſt that ſhock, ſending ſome of their own number to thoſe members of parliament, whom they eſteemed moſt faithful to the common cauſe, to invite them down to the army, after they ſhould in a publick manner have expreſſed their diſſatisfaction to the proceedings of thoſe who had betrayed the truſt repoſed in them by the good people of England; and declared, that finding it impoſſible to be any farther ſerviceable in parliament, they had reſolved to repair to the army, in order to procure their

aſſiſtance

assistance in settling the government of the nation upon a just foundation. At a meeting of some members of parliament with the said officers from the army, it was resolved, That tho' the way proposed by them might be taken, in case all other means failed, yet seeing there was more than a sufficient number of members in the parliament to make a house, who were most affectionate to the publick cause, it would be more proper for the army to relieve them from those who rendered them useless to the publick service, thereby preserving the name and place of the parliament, than for the members thereof to quit their stations wherein they were appointed to serve, and to leave the civil authority in the hands of those who would be ready to fall in with any power that would attempt to frustrate what should be agreed on by them and the army. In prosecution of this result the army drew to Colebrook, from whence commissary-general Ireton sent me word, that now he hoped they should please me; which I must acknowledge they did by the way which they were taking; not from any particular advantages that I expected from it, except an equal share of security with other men; but that the people of England might be preserved in their just rights, from the oppressions of violent men; the question in dispute between the king's party and us being, as I apprehended, "Whether the king should govern as a God by his will, and the nation be governed by force like beasts: or whether the people should be governed by laws made by themselves, and live under a government derived from their own consent." Being fully perswaded that an accommodation with the king was unsafe for the people of England, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it. The former, besides that it was obvious to all men, the king himself had proved, by the duplicity of his dealing with the parliament, which manifestly appeared in his own papers taken at the battle of Naseby, and elsewhere. Of the latter I was convinced by the express words of God's law; "That blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." Numb. xxxv. 33. And therefore I could not consent to the counsels of those who were contented to leave the guilt of so much blood upon the nation, and thereby to draw down the just vengeance of God upon us all; when it was most evident that the war had been occasioned by the invasion of our rights, and open breach of our laws and constitution, on the king's part.

The commissioners that were appointed to manage the treaty with the king, returned with the king's answer, containing neither a positive grant, nor an absolute denial. As to the bishops, he still retained his principle of their divine right, and therefore declared that he would not dispense with the abolition of them; but for present satisfaction, hoping by giving ground to gain a better opportunity to serve them, he consented that those who had bought their lands should have a lease of them for some years: and for satisfaction for the blood that had been shed, he was willing that six should be excepted; but withal care was taken, that they should be such as were far enough from the reach of justice. By another article, the militia was to remain in the parliament for ten years: thereby implying, if I mistake not, that the right of granting it was in the king, and consequently that we had done him wrong in contending with him for it. By such ways and means did some men endeavour to abuse the nation.

Some of our commissioners who had been with the king, pleaded in the house for a concurrence with him, as if they had been imployed by him; tho' others with more ingenuity acknowledged that they would not

adviſe an agreement upon thoſe terms, were it not to prevent a greater evil that was like to enſue upon the refuſal of them. But Sir Henry Vane ſo truly ſtated the matter of fact relating to the treaty, and ſo evidently diſcovered the deſign and deceit of the king's anſwer, that he made it clear to us, that by it the juſtice of our cauſe was not aſſerted, nor our rights ſecured for the future; concluding, that if they ſhould accept of theſe terms, without the concurrence of the army, it would prove but a feather in their caps: notwithſtanding which, the corrupt party in the houſe having bargained for their own and the nation's liberty, reſolved to break through all hazards and inconveniencies to make good their contract, and after twenty-four hours debate, reſolved by the plurality of votes, "That the king's conceſſions were ground for a future ſettlement." At which ſome of us expreſſing our diſſatisfaction, deſired that our proteſtation might be entered; but that being denied, as againſt the orders of the houſe, I contented myſelf to declare publickly, that being convinced that they had deſerted the common cauſe and intereſt of the nation, I could no longer join with them; the reſt of thoſe who diſſented alſo expreſſing themſelves much to the ſame purpoſe. The day following ſome of the principal officers of the army came to London, with expectation that things would be brought to this iſſue; and conſulting with ſome members of parliament and others, it was concluded, after a full and free debate, that the meaſures taken by the parliament were contrary to the truſt repoſed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been ſhed upon themſelves, and the nation: that it was therefore the duty of the army to endeavour to put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings; having engaged in the war, not ſimply as mercenaries, but out of judgment and conſcience, being convinced that the cauſe in which they were engaged was juſt, and that the good of the people was involved in it. Being come to this reſolution, three of the members of the houſe, and three of the officers of the army withdrew into a private room, to conſider of the beſt means to attain the ends of our ſaid reſolution, where we agreed, that the army ſhould be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Weſtminſter-hall, the court of requeſts, and the lobby; that none might be permitted to paſs into the houſe but ſuch as had continued faithful to the publick intereſt. To this end we went over the names of all the members one by one, giving the trueſt characters we could of their inclinations, wherein I preſume we were not miſtaken in many; for the parliament was fallen into ſuch factions and diviſions, that any one who uſually attended and obſerved the buſineſs of the houſe, could, after a debate upon any queſtion, eaſily number the votes that would be on each ſide, before the queſtion was put. Commiſſary-general Ireton went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and acquainted him with the neceſſity of this extraordinary way of proceeding, having taken care to have the army drawn up the next morning by ſeven of the clock. Colonel Pride commanded the guard that attended at the parliament doors, having a liſt of thoſe members who were to be excluded, preventing them from entering into the houſe, and ſecuring ſome of the moſt ſuſpected under a guard provided for that end; in which he was aſſiſted by the lord Grey of Grooby and others, who knew the members. To juſtify theſe proceedings the army ſent a meſſage to the houſe, repreſenting, "That whereas divers members had been expelled the houſe upon account of the violence done to the parliament by the city of London, and others, in 1647. yet upon the abſence of many well-affected members, by reaſon of their

employments in the army and elsewhere against the enemy, the said persons were re-admitted without any trial or satisfaction in the things whereof they were accused; whereby the Scots had been drawn to invade this kingdom, and the house prevented by the intruders and their accomplices from declaring against the invaders, who had made up the number of ninety odd votes to that purpose: and whereas, by the prevalency of the same corrupt counsels, justice had been obstructed, and a settlement of affairs hindered: and lastly, the king's concessions declared to be a ground for the settlement of peace, notwithstanding the insufficiency and defects of them; they therefore most humbly desired that all those members who are innocent in these things, would by a publick declaration acquit themselves from any guilt thereof, or concurrence therein; and that those who shall not so acquit themselves, may be excluded or suspended the house till they have given clear satisfaction therein; that those who have faithfully performed their trust, may proceed without interruption to the execution of justice, and to make speedy provision for an equal succession of representatives, wherein differences may be composed, and all men comfortably acquiesce, as they for their parts thereby engaged and assured them they would. The house, wherein there was about six score, was moved to send for those members who were thus excluded by the army; which they did, as I presume, rather upon the account of decency, than from any desire they had that their message should be obeyed; and that it might clearly appear that this interruption proceeded from the army, and not from any advice of the parliament; to the end that what they should act separately, might be esteemed to be only in order to prevent such inconveniencies as might otherwise fall upon the nation, if the whole power should be left in the hands of an army; and that their actions appearing to be founded upon this necessity, they might the better secure the respect and obedience of the people. Upon such considerations, when the serjeant returned, and acquainted them that the excluded members were detained by the army, the house proceeded in the business before them.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell the night after the interruption of the house arrived from Scotland, and lay at Whitehall, where, and at other places, he declared that he had not been acquainted with this design; yet since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.

Major-general Harrison being sent by the army with a party of horse to bring the king from the Isle of Wight, colonel Hammond, who was entrusted with the custody of him by the parliament, disputed to deliver him; but finding that those about him inclined to comply, he thought it not convenient to make any farther opposition: so that the king was conducted from the island to Hurst-castle, and from thence to Windsor, by major-general Harrison. Being on his way, he dined at Mr. Leviston's, in Bagshot-park, who had provided a horse for him to make his escape; but this design also was discovered, and prevented. The king being at Windsor, it was debated what should be done with him: the army were for bringing him to a trial, for levying war against the parliament and people of England, and the common-council of the city of London presented a petition to the parliament, by the hands of colonel Titchburn, to that effect; but some of the common-wealth's-men desired that before they consented to that method, it might be resolved what government to establish, fearing a design of the army to set up some one of themselves, in his room: others endeavoured to perswade them that the execution of justice ought to be their first work, in respect of their duty to God and

the people; that the failure therein had been already the occaſion of a ſecond war, which was juſtly to be charged on the parliament for neglecting that duty; that thoſe who were truly common-wealth's-men, ought to be of that opinion, as the moſt probable means to attain their deſires in the eſtabliſhment of an equal and juſt government; and that the officers of the army, who were chiefly to be ſuſpected, could not be guilty of ſo much impudence and folly, to erect an arbitrary power in any one of themſelves, after they had in ſo publick a manner declared their deteſtation of it in another.

In order to the accompliſhment of the important work which the houſe of commons had now before them, they voted, "That by the fundamental laws of the land, it is treaſon for the king of England, for the time being, to levy war againſt the parliament and kingdom." To which the lords not concurring, they paſſed it the next day without their conſent; and the day after declared, "That the people are, under God, the original of all juſt power: that the houſe of commons being choſen by, and repreſenting the people, are the ſupreme power in the nation: that whatſoever is enacted or declared for law by the commons in parliament, hath the force of a law, and the people are concluded thereby, tho' the conſent of king and peers be not had thereto."

This obſtruction being removed, ſeveral petitions were brought to the parliament, (*for ſo the houſe of commons now ſtiled themſelves*) *from* the city of London, borough of Southwark, and moſt of the counties in England, requeſting that the king might be brought to juſtice; in order to which they paſſed an act, authorizing the perſons therein named, or any thirty of them, to proceed to the arraignment, condemnation, or acquittal of the king; with full power, in caſe of condemnation, to proceed to ſentence, and to cauſe the ſaid ſentence to be put in execution.

This high court of juſtice met on the 8th of January, 1648. in the painted chamber, to the number of about four-ſcore, conſiſting chiefly of members of parliament, officers of the army, and gentlemen of the country; where they choſe ſerjeant Aſke, ſerjeant Steel, and doctor Dorriſlaus to be their counſel; Mr. John Coke of Gray's-inn to be their ſolicitor, and Mr. Andrew Broughton their ſecretary; and ſent out a precept under their hands and ſeals for proclaiming the court to be held in Weſtminſter-hall, on the 10th of the ſaid month: which was performed accordingly by ſerjeant Dendy, attended by a party of horſe, in Cheapſide, before the Old-exchange, and in Weſtminſter-hall. On the 10th they choſe ſerjeant Bradſhaw to be their preſident, with Mr. Lille and Mr. Say to be his aſſiſtants; and a charge of high-treaſon being drawn up againſt the king, the court appointed a convenient place to be prepared at the upper end of Weſtminſter-hall for his publick trial, directing it to be covered with ſcarlet cloth, and ordered twenty halberdiers to attend the preſident, and thirty the king.

All things being thus prepared for the trial, the king was conducted from Windſor to St. James's: from whence on the 20th of January he was brought to the bar of the high court of juſtice, where the preſident acquainted the king with the cauſes of his being brought to that place: For that he, contrary to the truſt repoſed in him by the people, to govern by laws put in execution for their good, had made uſe of his power to subvert thoſe laws, and to ſet up his will and pleaſure as a law over them: that, in order to effect that deſign, he had endeavoured the deſtruction of parliament, the beſt defence of the people's liberties: that he had levied

war against the parliament and people of England, wherein great numbers of the good people had been slain, of which blood the parliament presuming him guilty, had appointed this high court of justice for the trial of him for the same. Then turning to Mr. Broughton clerk of the court, he commanded him to read the charge against the king; who as the clerk was reading the charge, interrupted him, saying, "I am not intrusted by the people, they are mine by inheritance;" demanding by what authority they brought him thither. The president answered, That they derived their authority from an act made by the commons of England assembled in parliament. The king said the commons could not give an oath; that they were no court, and therefore could make no act for the trial of any man, much less of him their sovereign. It was replied, That the commons assembled in parliament could acknowledge no other sovereign but God, for that upon his and the people's appeal to the sword for the decision of their respective pretensions, judgment had been given for the people; who conceiving it to be their duty not to bear the sword in vain, had appointed the court to make inquisition for the blood that had been shed in that dispute. Whereupon the president being moved by Mr. solicitor Coke in the name, and on the behalf of the good people of England, commanded the clerk of the court to proceed in the reading of the charge against him: which being done, the king was required to give his answer to it, and to plead guilty, or not guilty. The king demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, affirming that no man, nor body of men had power to call him to an account, being not intrusted by man; and therefore accountable only to God for his actions; entering upon a large discourse of his being in treaty with the parliament's commissioners at the Isle of Wight, and his being taken from thence he knew not how, when he thought he was come to a conclusion with them. This discourse seeming not to the purpose, the president told him, that as to his plea of not being accountable to man, seeing God by his providence had over-ruled it, the court had resolved to do so also; and that if he would give no other answer, that which he had given should be registered, and they would proceed as if he had confessed the charge: in order to which the president commanded his answer to be entered, directing serjeant Dendy, who attended the court, to withdraw the prisoner; which as he was doing, many persons cried out in the hall, "Justice, Justice." The king being withdrawn, the court adjourned into the painted chamber, to consider what farther was fit to be done; and being desirous to prevent all objections tending to accuse them of haste and surprize, they resolved to convene him before them publickly twice more; after which, if he persisted in his demurrer to the jurisdiction of the court, then to give judgment against him. And that nothing might be wanting, in case he should resolve to plead, they appointed witnesses to be examined to every article of the charge. At the king's second appearance before the court, which was on the 22d of January, he carried himself in the same manner as before; whereupon his refusal being again entered, and he withdrawn, the court adjourned to the painted chamber. On the 23d of January, the king was brought a third time before the commissioners, where refusing to plead, as he had done before, his refusal was entered, and witnesses examined publickly, to prove the charge of his levying war against the parliament: after which, solicitor-general Coke demanded of the court that they would proceed to the pronouncing of sentence against the prisoner at the bar: whereupon the court adjourned into the painted chamber, and

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upon ſerious conſideration, declared the king to be a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a publick enemy to the common-wealth.: that his condemnation extend unto death, by ſevering his head from his body, and that a ſentence grounded upon thoſe votes be prepared; which being agreed upon, the king ſhould be ordered on the next day following to receive it. The ſentence being engroſſed, was read on the 27th of January; and thereupon the court reſolved, that the ſame ſhould be the ſentence, which ſhould be read and publiſhed in Weſtminſter-hall the ſame day; that the preſident ſhould not permit the king to ſpeak after the ſentence pronounced; that he ſhould openly declare it to be the ſenſe and judgment of the court, and that the commiſſioners ſhould ſignify their conſent by ſtanding up. In the afternoon the king was brought to the bar, and deſired that he might be permitted to make one propoſition before they proceeded to ſentence; which he earneſtly preſſing, as that which he thought would tend to the reconciling of all parties, and to the peace of the three kingdoms, they permitted him to offer it: the effect of which was, that he might meet the two houſes in the painted chamber, to whom he doubted not to offer that which ſhould ſatisfy and ſecure all intereſts; deſigning, as I have been ſince informed, to propoſe his own reſignation, and the admiſſion of his ſon to the throne, upon ſuch terms as ſhould have been agreed upon. This motion being new and unexpected to the court, who were not willing to deny or grant any thing without ſerious deliberation, they withdrew to conſider of it into the inner court of wards; and being ſatisfied upon debate, that nothing but loſs of time would be the conſequence of it, they returned into the court with a negative to his demand, telling him, that they met there as a court of juſtice, commiſſioned by the parliament, of whoſe authority they were fully ſatisfied: that by their commiſſion they were not authorized to receive any propoſals from him, but to proceed to the trial of him; and in order thereto, his charge had been read to him, to which if he would have pleaded, the counſel for the common-wealth were ready to have proved it againſt him: that he had thrice demurred to the juriſdiction of the court, which demurrer the court had over-ruled and regiſtered, ordering to proceed againſt him, as if he had confeſſed the charge; and that if he had any propoſition to make, it was proper for him to addreſs it to the parliament, and not to them. Then the preſident enlarged upon the horrid nature of thoſe crimes of which he had been accuſed, and was now convicted; declaring, "That the only juſt power of kings was derived from the conſent of the people: that whereas the people had intruſted him to ſee their laws put in execution, he had endeavoured throughout the whole courſe of his reign to ſubvert thoſe good laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government in the room of them: that to cut off all hopes of redreſs, he had attempted from the beginning of his reign, either wholly to deſtroy parliaments, or to render them only ſubſervient to his own corrupt deſigns: that tho' he had conſented, the publick neceſſities ſo requiring, that this parliament ſhould not be diſſolved but by an act of themſelves, he had levied war againſt them, that he might not only diſſolve them, but by the terror of his power for ever diſcourage ſuch aſſemblies from doing their duty: that in this war many thouſands of the good people of England had loſt their lives: that in obedience to what God commanded, and the nation expected, the parliament had appointed this court to make inquiſition for this blood, and to try him for the ſame: that his charge had been read to him, and he required to give

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an anſwer to it; which he having thrice refuſed to do, he acquainted him, that the court had reſolved to pronounce ſentence againſt him; and thereupon commanded the clerk to read it, which he did, being to this effect: "That the king, for the crimes contained in the charge, ſhould be carried back to the place from whence he came, and thence to the place of execution, where his head ſhould be ſevered from his body:" which ſentence being read, the commiſſioners teſtified their unanimous aſſent by their ſtanding up. The king would have ſpoken ſomething before he was withdrawn; but being accounted dead in law immediately after ſentence pronounced, it was not permitted. The court withdrew alſo, and agreed that the ſentence ſhould be put in execution on the Tueſday following, which would be the 30th of January, 1648. The king having refuſed ſuch miniſters as the court appointed to attend him, deſired that Dr. Juxton late biſhop of London might be permitted to come to him; which being granted, and adjutant-general Allen ſent to acquaint the doctor with the king's condition and deſires, he being altogether unprepared for ſuch a work, broke out into theſe expreſſions, "God ſave me, what a trick is this, that I ſhould have no more warning, and I have nothing ready!" But recollecting himſelf a little, he put on his ſcarf and his other furniture, and went with him to the king; where having read the common prayer, and one of his old ſermons, he adminiſtred the ſacrament to him; not forgetting to uſe the words of the confeſſion ſet down in the liturgy, inviting all thoſe that truly repent to make their confeſſion before the congregation then gathered together; tho' there was none preſent but the king and himſelf.

The high court of juſtice appointed a committee to inſpect the parts about Whitehall for a convenient place for the execution of the king, who having made their report, it was agreed that a ſcaffold ſhould be erected to that purpoſe near the banqueting-houſe, and order given to cover it with black: the ſame day, being the 29th of January, they ſigned a warrant for his execution, to which about threeſcore of the commiſſioners ſet their hands and ſeals, directing it to colonel Hacker, colonel Hunks, and colonel Phaier, or either of them. The duke of Gloceſter and the lady Elizabeth waited on the king the ſame day, to take their leave of him. An extraordinary ambaſſador from the united provinces had his audience in the parliament; his buſineſs was to intercede with them for the life of the king, and to preſerve a fair correſpondence between England and the ſtates. The next day about eight in the morning the king, attended by a guard, was brought from St. James's through the Park to Whitehall, where having drank a glaſs or two of red wine, and ſtaid about two hours in a private room, he was conducted to the ſcaffold out of a window of the banqueting-houſe; and having made a ſpeech, and taken off his george, he kneeled down at the block, and the executioner performed his office. The body was ordered to be interred at Windſor: the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindſey, with ſome others having leave from the parliament, attended it to the grave.

A report of the proceedings of the high court of juſtice being made to the parliament, they declared, "That the perſons imployed in that important ſervice had diſcharged their truſt with courage and fidelity; that the parliament was well ſatisfied with the account of their proceedings, ordering them to be engroſſed, and recorded amongſt the parliament-rolls, in order to tranſmit the memory thereof to poſterity; and reſolved

that the commiſſioners of the great ſeal ſhould iſſue a Certiorari to their clerk to record thoſe proceedings in the chancery; and that the ſame ſhould be ſent to the other courts at Weſtminſter, and to the Cuſtos Rotulorum of each county." Judge Jenkins, Sir John Stowel, and divers other perſons, who were priſoners, and had carried themſelves very inſolently, now finding the parliament to be in earneſt, began to come to a better temper. Colonel Middleton, who was alſo a priſoner at Newcaſtle upon parole, ran away to Scotland; and being required to return, anſwered, "That his life was dearer to him than his honour." Sir Marmaduke Langdale made his eſcape alſo; and Sir Lewis Dives through a houſe of office in Whitehall. The lord Capel got out of the Tower; but being diſcovered by a waterman as he croſſed the Thames, he was ſeized in a houſe at Lambeth. Duke Hamilton alſo eſcaped out of Windſorcaſtle, and came to Southwark; where knocking at the door of an inn, he was ſeized by a ſoldier, who knew him, and was paſſing by that way; whereupon he was committed to the Tower. The houſe of lords becoming now the ſubject of the conſideration and debate of the parliament, lieutenant-general Cromwell appeared for them, having already had a cloſe correſpondence with many of them; and, it may be, preſuming he might have farther uſe of them in thoſe deſigns he had reſolved to carry on: but they not meeting in their houſe at the time to which they had adjourned, much facilitated their removal; ſo that the queſtion being put, Whether the houſe of commons ſhould take advice of the houſe of lords, in the exerciſe of the legiſlative power, it was carried in the negative, and thereupon reſolved, "That the houſe of peers was uſeleſs and dangerous, and ought to be aboliſhed;" and an act was ſoon after paſſed to that effect. After this they proceeded to declare, "That the office of a king in this nation is unneceſſary, burdenſome and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety, and public intereſt of the people; and therefore ought to be aboliſhed; and that they will ſettle the government of the nation in the way of a commonwealth." To this end they ordered a declaration to be publiſhed, whereby it was declared treaſon for any perſon to endeavour to promote Charles Stuart to be king of England, or any other ſingle perſon to be chief governour thereof: they alſo ordered the great ſeal, and other ſeals, which had the image of the late king on them, to be defaced; and appointed new ones to be made, with the ſtamp of the houſe of commons on one ſide, accompanied with this inſcription, "The great ſeal of the parliament of the commonwealth of England:" On the other ſide was engraven the croſs and the harp, being the arms of England and Ireland, with this inſcription, "God with us:" Ordering all writs formerly running in the king's name, to be iſſued out "in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England." A high court of juſtice was conſtituted by act of parliament for the trying of duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen. Duke Hamilton pleaded that he entered into England as an enemy, being of another nation, and born before the act of union, and conſequently not to be tried by the laws of this; beſides he had ſurrendred himſelf upon conditions. The reſt of the lords pleaded articles alſo, and ſo did Sir John Owen: but that allegation appeared to be of no weight, by the teſtimony of the general, in relation to the lords Goring and Capel, and by the evidence of colonel Wayte touching duke Hamilton; the like being affirmed by other witneſſes againſt the earl of Holland and Sir John Owen: for if there had been any promiſe made to any of them, either implicitly or by word of mouth, it could only

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extend to protect them from the military, not the civil sword: and as to the plea for duke Hamilton, that he was born before the two nations were united, it was answered, that they tried him not as duke Hamilton, but as earl of Cambridge, in which capacity he had sate as a peer of England, and therefore a subject thereof: so that, upon full evidence, they were all sentenced by the court, to have their heads struck off for high treason, in levying war against the parliament of England. Earnest solicitations and petitions were made for them to the parliament; but they thought not fit to reprieve the duke, the earl of Holland, or the lord Capel. Touching the lord Goring the house was equally divided, and the speaker having upon such occasions the determining voice, gave it for his reprieve. Commissary-general Ireton observing no motion made for Sir John Owen, moved the house to consider that he was a commoner; and therefore more properly to have been tried in another way by a jury: whereupon the house reprieved him also. The other three were executed a day or two after, in New Palace-yard, before Westminster-Hall, in pursuance of a warrant signed by the court to that purpose, the parliament refusing to hearken to the earl of Denbigh, who proposed, on the behalf of duke Hamilton his brother-in-law, to give them a blank signed by the said duke, to answer faithfully to such questions as should be there inserted. The parliament having resolved to constitute a council of state, the better to carry on the executive part of the government, authorized five of their members to agree upon the number and persons of such as they thought fit to be proposed to the parliament for their approbation. The five impowered to this end by the parliament, were Mr. John Lisle, Mr. Cornelius Holland, Mr. Luke Robinson, Mr. Thomas Scot, and me, who tho' sensible of my unfitness for so great a work, and of the envy it would be attended with, yet being required by my country to assist in this service, I resolved to use the best of my endeavours therein. The number agreed upon was thirty five, which we filled up with such persons as we thought best qualified with integrity and abilities suitable to so important a station. Four of them were lords, and the rest commoners. The house agreed to our report, only they were pleased to add us five to the number proposed by us. The parliament being desirous to exclude from their places those who were likely to undo what they had done, and yet unwilling to lose the assistance of many honest men, who had been in the country during the late transactions, passed an order, that such members as had not sate since the trial of the king, should not be admitted to sit till the house should be particularly satisfied concerning them; appointing the former five, or any three of them, to be a committee to receive satisfaction touching the affections of the publick interest, of every member who had not sate since the time aforesaid, and the reasons of his absence; and to make their report to the parliament concerning them.

PRINCE Charles finding his affairs in England to be in a desperate condition, concluded an agreement with the Irish rebels, granting them full indemnity for what they had hitherto acted, and encouraging them to carry on their cruelties against the English by his commission. The lord Inchequin had already declared for him, and joined with the Irish rebels. The earl of Ormond was dispatched to Ireland for the same purpose; and as a pledge that prince Charles would follow, his baggage and horses were sent thither before.

THE Scots, fearing their clergy would not be permitted long to insult over the people, expressed themselves highly dissatisfied with our proceed-

ings in England, and choſe rather to eſpouſe the intereſt of prince Charles than to enjoy the fruit of what they had contended for againſt his father, publickly declaring, that they were obliged by the covenant to promote the government of a king, lords and commons; which government the parliament of England had thought fit to alter. We endeavoured to ſatisfy their commiſſioners, by ſhewing them the reaſons of our late reſolutions; but they refuſing to hear them, returned home to their own country, where they found things diſpoſed to an accommodation with prince Charles, upon preſumption that when by his aſſiſtance they had deſtroyed the ſectarian party, as they called them, they ſhould be able to govern him well enough; but he ſuppoſing he had an eaſier part to act with the Iriſh, whoſe principles were more ſuitable to his inclinations, refuſed to hearken to them at that time.

COLONEL Edward Popham, colonel Richard Dean, and colonel Robert Blake, were appointed by the parliament to command the fleet; the latter being deſigned with a ſquadron to cruize upon the Iriſh coaſt, in order to meet and fight the ſhips commanded by prince Rupert. Colonel Popham was ſent towards Liſbon, to intercept the Portugal fleet coming home from their iſlands, becauſe they had protected ſome ſhips that had revolted from us, and ſheltered them from our fleet that was in purſuit of them, and had offered ſome affronts to our agent Mr. Vane, who was ſent thither to endeavour a right underſtanding between the two nations. General Dean with another ſquadron was ordered to remain for the ſervice of the channel. This they did, well underſtanding how great reputation a conſiderable fleet would give to their affairs, and of what importance it is to this nation always to guard the ſeas, and more particularly in that conjuncture.

THE parliament much inclining to preſerve a good correſpondence with the ſtates general of the united provinces, ſent Dr. Doriſlaus into Holland to be their agent there, who, a little after his arrival at the Hague, was aſſaulted by about ten aſſaſſins, Engliſh and Scots, who broke into his lodgings and murdered him: And tho' this action was ſo infamous, and contrary to the right of nations, yet the Dutch were not very forward to find out the criminals, in order to bring them to juſtice.

MR. Aſcham, who was ſent into Spain with a publick character alſo, was uſed in the like manner, by three perſons coming to his houſe at Madrid, where pretending to be Engliſh merchants, they were admitted; and as he ſaluted the firſt of them, was ſtruck into the head by him with a poniard; and his ſecretary endeavouring to make his eſcape, was killed with him. The murderers took ſanctuary in a church; but by an order of ſtate they were forced from thence, and committed to priſon; of which the church-men loudly complained, after their uſual manner, as an injurious violation of their immunities. The ſquadron commanded by colonel Blake being firſt ready, ſet ſail for the Iriſh coaſts, where prince Rupert thinking himſelf not in a condition to fight him, retired with his ſhips into the harbour of Kingſale, under the protection of the fort. Colonel Popham was next diſpatched with his ſquadron for Portugal, and was pleaſed to employ a brother of mine as lieutenant of that ſhip which was commanded by himſelf. The Spaniſh ambaſſador was the firſt that made application to us from any foreign ſtate. But the parliament not being ſatisfied with the addreſs of his credentials, refuſed to receive them till it ſhould be directed "to the parliament of the commonwealth of England:" declaring, that tho' they did not affect any flattering titles,

titles, yet they resolved to have their authority owned by all those who made their addresses to them. With which the court of Spain being made acquainted, the ambassador received instructions from the king his master to that end, and framed the direction according to our desires.

Our affairs beginning to acquire reputation, and to carry a fair probability of success, divers members of parliament who had been long absent, addressed themselves to the committee before-mentioned, in order to their admission to sit in parliament, and some of them would not scruple to give any satisfaction that was desired to the questions proposed unto them; which were, "Whether they joined in, or approved that vote, declaring the king's concessions a ground for a future settlement? Whether they approved of the proceedings against the king? and, Whether they would engage to be true to a commonwealth government?" But we apprehending such extraordinary expulsions as had been lately used, to be extremely hazardous to the publick safety, made it our endeavour to keep those from a re-admission, who might necessitate another occasion of using the like remedy. And therefore, tho' all possible satisfaction were given in words, we did, by weighing the former deportment of every particular member who presented himself, desire to be in some measure assured, that they would be true to what they promised, in case the commonwealth interest should come to be disputed, before we would report their condition to the house. Some of the house of lords having procured themselves to be chosen by the people, sate in parliament upon the foot of their election: in which number was Philip earl of Pembroke, who being chosen by the freeholders of the county of Berks, upon his admission to the house, signed the engagement, as the rest of the members who sat there had done; the contents of which was, "To be true and faithful to the commonwealth, as it was established without a king or house of lords." The same engagement was taken by the earl of Salisbury and the lord Edward Howard, when they took their places in parliament, after they had been elected to serve there.

Whilst we were thus providing for our security in England, our affairs in Ireland had not the same success, the earl of Ormond having reconciled the English in Munster to the supreme council of the Irish rebels, the Scots also in the north falling in with them against us: with whom some gentlemen of those parts joined, tho' they had engaged themselves to the contrary. Yet one thing happened tending very much to the preservation of Dublin, and those few places that were kept for the parliament, which was, that Owen Roe O Neal who was general of the old Irish, as they were termed, could by no means be brought to a conjunction with the English. Sir Charles Coote being besieged in London-derry, agreed to supply the besiegers with powder, upon their engaging to furnish him with such provisions as he wanted, which was performed on both sides: and the lord Inchequin who was besieging Dundalk promised to do the like for colonel Monk, who then commanded in that place, upon the same conditions; which was performed on Monk's part; but as his men were carrying off the ammunition, they were fallen upon by a party of Inchequin's horse, the ammunition taken away, and many of them killed. The Scots drawing about Dundalk, most of the garison revolted to them; whereupon Monk delivered up the place, upon condition that he should be permitted to return into England; where being arrived, he met with a cold reception from the parliament, upon suggestion, that he had corresponded with the Irish rebels.

About this time an agent from Owen Roe O Neal came privately to London, and found out a way to acquaint the council of ſtate, that if they thought fit to grant him a ſafe conduct, he would make ſome propoſitions to them that would be for their ſervice. The council, to avoid any miſconſtruction of their actions, refuſed to hear him; but appointed a committee to ſpeak with him, of which I was one, ordering us to report to them what he ſhould propoſe. His propoſition was, that the party commanded by O Neil ſhould ſubmit to, and act for the parliament, if they might obtain indemnity for what was paſſed, and aſſurance of the enjoyment of their religion and eſtates for the time to come. We aſked him, why they made application to us, after they had refuſed to join with thoſe who had been in treaty with the king? He anſwered, that the king had broken his word with them; for tho' they had deſerved well of him, and he had made them many fair promiſes, yet when he could make better terms with any other party, he had been always ready to ſacrifice them. We aſked him farther, Why they had not made their application ſooner? He told us, becauſe ſuch men had been poſſeſſed of the power, who had ſworn their extirpation; but that now it was believed to be the intereſt of thoſe in authority to grant liberty of conſcience; promiſing, that if ſuch liberty might be extended to them, they would be as zealous for a common-wealth as any other party, inſtancing in many countries where they were ſo. We informed him, that it was our opinion that the council would not promiſe indemnity to all that party, they being eſteemed to have been the principal actors in the bloody maſſacre at the beginning of the rebellion; neither did we think that they would grant them the liberty of their religion, believing it might prove dangerous to the publick peace. The council, upon our report of what had paſſed at the conference, concurred with our opinion; ſo that having no more to do with the agent, he was required to depart within a limited time. The earl of Ormond, general Preſton, and the lord Inchequin, beginning to draw their forces towards Dublin, reſolved firſt to reduce Tredah: in order to which they ſent colonel Worden thither with a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot, who attempting to take it by aſſault, entered with moſt of his men, but was beat out again by an inconſiderable number of ours. Notwithſtanding which the gariſon wanting men to defend their works, their proviſions alſo being almoſt conſumed, was obliged to capitulate, and ſurrender upon condition that the ſoldiers ſhould have liberty to march to Dublin, the reſt to return home, and to enjoy protection there.

Dundalk and Tredagh being ſurrendered to the enemy, and Dublin threatened with a ſpeedy ſiege by the forces of the royaliſts and Iriſh, combined together for the deſtruction of the Engliſh, the parliament taking into their ſerious conſideration the deplorable ſtate of their diſtreſſed friends, reſolved to ſend them relief with all expedition: in the mean time the enemy marched towards Dublin, having ſent a party of horſe before to inveſt the place, and to prevent any relief from Meath ſide; upon whoſe approach colonel Jones, with the forces he had with him, was obliged to retire to Kilcullen. A party of horſe from the town made a ſally upon the enemy, and were repulſed with ſome loſs; but being reinforced from England by a regiment of horſe commanded by colonel Reynolds, and two regiments of foot, colonel Jones being alſo come into the town, they reſolved upon a vigorous defence. Immediately after the landing of theſe ſupplies, Dublin was formally beſieged by

by the enemy, who had a great army provided with all neceſſaries for the carrying on of the ſiege, and furniſhed by the country with proviſions in great abundance, their head-quarters being at Rathmims, a mile from Dublin towards Wicklow. They took Rathfarnham by ſtorm, and ſent fifteen hundred men to fortify Baggatrath, in order to hinder our army from landing at Ringſend, being within a quarter of a mile of it, and lying triangular with it and Dublin. Baggatrath had a rampart of earth about it, and the enemy had wrought upon it, to augment its ſtrength, a whole night before they were diſcovered. But the next morning colonel Jones perceiving their deſign, concluded it abſolutely neceſſary to endeavour to remove them from thence before their works were finiſhed. To that end he drew all his forces both horſe and foot to the works that faced the enemy; and leaving as many as he thought neceſſary for the defence of the town, ſallied out with the reſt, being between four and five thouſand, and falling upon them, beat them from their works, killing Sir William Vaughan who commanded them, and moſt of the men that were with him, cloſely purſuing the reſt who fled towards their main army, where the earl of Ormond thought fit at laſt to throw down his cards, which he had before refuſed to do, in contempt of our forces; and with his royal army, as it was called, retreated in great diſorder towards Rathmims: colonel Jones purſued him cloſe, finding little oppoſition, except from a party of the lord Inchequin's horſe that had formerly ſerved the parliament, who defended a paſs for ſome time, but were after ſome diſpute broken and forced to fly. Having routed theſe, he marched with all diligence up to the walls of Rathmims, which were about ſixteen foot high, and contained about ten acres of ground, where many of the enemy's foot had ſhut up themſelves; but perceiving their army to be entirely routed, and their general fled, they yielded themſelves priſoners. After this our men continuing their purſuit, found a party of about two thouſand foot of the lord Inchequin's, in a grove belonging to Rathgar, who after ſome defence obtained conditions for their lives, and the next day moſt of them took up arms in our ſervice. This ſucceſs was the more remarkable, becauſe unexpected on both ſides, our handful of men being led ſtep by ſtep to an abſolute victory, whereas their utmoſt deſign at the beginning of the action was only to beat the enemy from Baggatrath; and ſo ſurprizing to our enemies, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at Rathfarnham for the paying of their army, where colonel Jones ſeized four thouſand pounds very ſeaſonably for the payment of his men.

The parliament having an army ready to ſend to Ireland, a formidable fleet to put to ſea, another army to keep at home for their own defence, and a conſiderable force to guard the north againſt the Scots, who had declared themſelves enemies, and waited only an opportunity of ſhewing it with advantage, thought themſelves obliged to expoſe to ſale ſuch lands as had been formerly poſſeſſed by deans and chapters, that they might be enabled thereby to defray ſome part of the great charge that lay upon the nation. To this end they authorized truſtees to ſell the ſaid lands, provided they could do it at ten years purchaſe, at the leaſt; but ſuch was the good opinion that the people had conceived of the parliament, that moſt of the lands were ſold at the clear income of fifteen, ſixteen, and ſeventeen years; one half of the ſums contracted for being paid down in ready money: beſides which the woods were valued diſtinctly, and to be paid for according to the valuation. All impropriations belonging to the ſaid deans

deans and chapters, as well as thoſe of the biſhops, either in poſſeſſion or reverſion, were reſerved from ſale to enlarge the maintenance of poor miniſters. Yet this was not ſufficient to reſtrain that generation of men from inveighing againſt the parliament, and conſpiring with their enemies both at home and abroad, to weaken their hands, and if poſſible to render them unable to carry on the publick ſervice. The fee-farm rents, formerly belonging to the crown, were alſo ſold; and yet ſuch was the neceſſity of affairs, that notwithſtanding all this, the parliament found themſelves obliged to lay a tax of a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a month upon the nation; which burden they bore for the moſt part without regret, being convinced that it was wholly applied to the uſe of the publick, and eſpecially becauſe thoſe who impoſed it, paid an equal proportion with the reſt. The crown-lands were aſſigned to pay the arrears of thoſe ſoldiers who were in arms in the year 647. which was done by the influence of the officers of the army that were in the preſent ſervice, whereby they made proviſion for themſelves, and neglected thoſe who had appeared for the parliament at the firſt, and had endured the heat and burden of the day.

In the month of September, 1649, the army embarked and ſet ſail for Ireland; commiſſary-general Ireton with one part of them deſigning for Munſter, and lieutenant-general Cromwell, being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, with the reſt, for Dublin: but the wind blowing a ſtrong gale from the ſouth, they were both put into the bay of Dublin, where they were received with great joy: for tho' the enemy's army had been beaten from the ſiege of that place, and colonel Jones, with the ſmall forces he had with him, had made the beſt improvement he could of that advantage, by reducing ſome gariſons that lay neareſt to him; yet the enemy was ſtill in poſſeſſion of nine parts in ten of that nation, and had fortified the moſt conſiderable places therein. After our army had refreſhed themſelves, and were joined by the forces of colonel Jones, they muſtered in all between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand horſe and foot. Upon their arrival the enemy withdrew, and put moſt of their army into their gariſons, having placed three or four thouſand of the beſt of their men, being moſt Engliſh, in the town of Tredah, and made Sir Arthur Aſhton governour thereof. A reſolution being taken to beſiege that place, our army ſat down before it, and the lieutenant-general cauſed a battery to be erected againſt an angle of the wall, near to a fort, which was within, called the Windmill-fort, by which he made a breach in the wall; but the enemy having a half-moon on the out-ſide, which was deſigned to flank the angle of the wall, he thought fit to endeavour to poſſeſs himſelf of it, which he did by ſtorm, putting moſt of thoſe that were in it to the ſword. The enemy defended the breach againſt ours from behind an earth-work, which they had caſt up within, and where they had drawn up two or three troops of horſe which they had within the town, for the encouragement and ſupport of their foot: the fort alſo was not unſerviceable to them in the defence of the breach. The lieutenant-general well knowing the importance of this action, reſolved to put all upon it; and having commanded ſome guns to be loaded with bullets of half a pound, and fired upon the enemy's horſe, who were drawn up ſomewhat in view; himſelf with a reſerve of foot marched up to the breach, which giving freſh courage to our men, they made a ſecond attack with more vigour than before: whereupon the enemy's foot being abandoned by their horſe, whom our ſhot had forced to retire, began

gan to break and shift for themselves; which ours perceiving, followed them so close, that they overtook them at the bridge that lay cross the river, and separated that part where the action was from the principal part of the town; and preventing them from drawing up the bridge, entered pell-mell with them into the place, where they put all they met with to the sword, having positive orders from the lieutenant-general to give no quarter to any soldier. Their works and fort were also stormed and taken, and those that defended them put to the sword also, and amongst them Sir Arthur Ashton, governour of the place. A great dispute there was amongst the soldiers for his artificial leg, which was reported to be of gold, but it proved to be but of wood, his girdle being found to be the better booty, wherein two hundred pieces of gold were found quilted. The slaughter was continued all that day and the next; which extraordinary severity I presume was used to discourage others from making opposition. After that the army besieged Wexford, and having erected a battery against the castle, which stood near the wall of the town, and fired from it most part of the day, whereby a small breach was made; commissioners were sent in the evening from the enemy to treat about the surrender of it. In the mean time our guns continued firing, there being no cessation agreed, whereby the breach in the castle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it quitted their post, and thereupon some of our men entered the castle, and set up their colours at the top of it, which the enemy having observed, left their stations in all parts: so that ours getting over the walls, possessed themselves of the town without opposition, and opened the gates that the horse might enter, tho' they could do but little service, all the streets being barred with cables: but our foot pressed the enemy so close, that crowding to escape over the water, they so over-loaded the boats with their numbers, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being accounted by the enemy a place of strength; and some ships were seized in the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coast. Commissioners were appointed by the lieutenant-general to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the rebels, that they might be improved to the best advantage of the publick. After these successes the army grew sickly, many dying of the flux, which they contracted by hard service, and such provisions as they were not accustomed to. The plague also, which had been for some time amongst the inhabitants of the country, and the Irish army, now began to seize upon ours. Of one or both these distempers, colonel Michael Jones, who by his courage and conduct in the service of his country, had justly deserved the applause of all, and had been lately made lieutenant-general of the horse by the parliament, fell so desperately sick, that being no longer able to continue in the army, he was carried, not without reluctance, to Wexford, where in a few days he died, much lamented by the army, and by all that desired the prosperity of the English interest. In the mean time the parliament was careful to send money, recruits, and all manner of supplies necessary to Ireland; which they were the better enabled to do by those great sums of money daily brought in by the purchasers of the lands of deans and chapters, which they thought fit for the reasons before-mentioned to expose to sale; which as it was an advantage to the nation in general, by easing them of some part of their contributions, so was it no detriment to any of those purchasers who were heartily engaged in the publick service; since if the tide should turn, and our enemies become

prevalent, ſuch perſons were likely to have no better ſecurity for the enjoyment of their own paternal eſtates. Upon this conſideration, I contracted with the truſtees commiſſionated by the parliament, for the mannors of Eaſtknoel and Upton in the county of Wilts, wherein I employed that portion which I had received with my wife, and a greater ſum ariſing from the ſale of a part of my patrimonial eſtate.

THE winter approaching, and the ſeaſon being very tempeſtuous, general Blake was obliged to enter into harbour, by which means prince Rupert, with the ſhips that were with him, having an opportunity to eſcape, ſet ſail for Liſbon, where they were received and protected; but general Popham, who had waited ſome time for the Portugal fleet bound thither from the iſlands, took eighteen of them loaden with ſugars and other valuable merchandizes, which he ſent to England under a convoy, entruſting the conduct thereof to my brother, who, as I ſaid before, was his lieutenant, and died in his voyage homewards. With the reſt he continued cruizing on the coaſt of Portugal, attending prince Rupert's fleet, which being drawn up under the protection of their guns, and moſt of the men on ſhore, ours took that occaſion to ſeize one of their frigates, by ſurprizing the watch, and keeping the reſt of the men under deck; by which means they brought her off ſafe to the fleet.

OUR army in Ireland, tho' much diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and haraſſed by hard duty, continued their reſolution to march into the enemy's quarters, where they reduced Roſs with little oppoſition: Goran alſo was ſurrendered to them, together with the officers of that place, by the ſoldiers of the gariſon, upon promiſe of quarter for themſelves; their officers being delivered at diſcretion, were ſhot to death. The next town they beſieged was Kilkenny, where there was a ſtrong caſtle, and the walls of the town were indifferent good: having erected a battery on the eaſt ſide of the wall, our artillery fired upon it for a whole day without making any conſiderable breach; on the other ſide our men were much annoyed by the enemy's ſhot from the walls and caſtle. But the gariſon being admoniſhed by the examples made of their friends at Tredah and Wexford, thought fit to ſurrender the town timely, upon ſuch conditions as they could obtain, which was done accordingly. Youghall, Cork, and Kinſale were delivered to the forces of the parliament, by the contrivance of ſome officers and well-affected perſons in thoſe places; and thereupon the lieutenant-general ſent a detachment under the command of the lord Broghil to their aſſiſtance, in caſe any thing ſhould be attempted by Inchequin, or any other, to their diſturbance; whilſt he with the reſt of the army marched towards Clonmel. Being upon his march thither, he was met by the corporation of Feather, with a tender of their ſubmiſſion, wherewith the lieutenant-general was ſo ſatisfied, the army being far advanced into the enemy's quarters, and having no place of refreſhment, that he promiſed to maintain them in the enjoyment of their privileges. Having left our ſick men here, he marched and ſat down before Clonmel, one ſide of which was ſecured by a river, and the reſt of the town encompaſſed with a wall that was well furniſhed with men to defend it. Our guns having made a breach in the wall, a detachment of our men was ordered to ſtorm; but the enemy by the means of ſome houſes that ſtood near, and earth-works caſt up within the wall, made good their breach till night parted the diſpute, when the enemy perceiving ours reſolved to reduce the place, beat a parley, and ſent out commiſſioners to treat. Articles were agreed and ſigned on both

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sides, whereby it was concluded, that the town, with all the arms and ammunition therein, should be delivered up the next morning, to such of our forces as should be appointed to receive the same. After this agreement was made and signed, the general was informed, that colonel Hugh O Neal, governour of the place, with all the garison, had marched out at the beginning of the night towards Waterford, before the commissioners came out to treat. It something troubled the commanders to be thus over-reached; but conditions being granted, they thought it their duty to keep them with the town. Dungarvan and Carrick were next reduced, where colonel Reynolds being left with his regiment of horse, the lieutenant-general with the army marched towards the county of Waterford. The enemy having observed ours marching on the other side of the river, took that advantage to draw together a considerable body of horse and foot, with which they marched with all diligence to Carrick, and stormed it, not at all doubting to carry the place, wherein there was nothing but horse, armed only with swords and pistols, to defend a wall of great compass. Yet did our men manage their defence so well, making use of stones and whatsoever might be serviceable to them, that the enemy was beaten off with loss; so that tho' forces were sent from the army to relieve their friends upon the first notice of their danger, yet they found the work done at their arrival.

The army began now to prepare for the siege of Waterford, but by the hard service of this winter, and other accidents, being much diminished, and those that remained being but in a sickly condition, it was thought fit to send orders to Dublin, requiring the forces there, who were in better health, to march towards Wexford, in order to reinforce the army before Waterford. The lord Inchequin, who had notice of their march, having formed a body of two thousand five hundred horse, and some foot, resolved to fall upon them, which he did between Arclo and Wexford, our forces not amounting to more than fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse. The enemy charged our horse with such fury and numbers, that they were forced to retreat to their foot; after which falling upon our foot, they obliged them to retire to the rocks that were on the shore in great disorder: but some of our horse, with part of our foot, rallying again, charged a body of their horse with such vigour, that they broke them, and killed many of them, amongst whom were divers considerable persons; which so discouraged the rest, that tho' they were the choicest of the enemy's men, and many of ours so distempered with the flux, that they were forced to fight with their breeches down, yet durst they not make any farther attempt against them, but drew off and permitted ours to march to their designed rendezvous, without any farther interruption. By which it eminently appeared of what importance it is towards the obtaining success, to fight in the cause of our country; for these very men, as long as they were engaged with us, performed wonders against the rebels; and now being engaged with them, were almost as easily overcome, as they had beaten the Irish before: and this was so visible even to the Irish themselves, that some time after at a consultation of the chief officers of Leinster, where it was debated what course to take, in order to destroy our army, some advising to draw into a body and fight us, others to betake themselves to the woods and bogs, and from thence to break our forces by parties; the lord of Glanmaleiro assured them of a way, which, if taken, would certainly effect it, and that was to induce us to make peace with them; for, said he, they are a

ſucceſsful army, and our men are diſpirited, and not likely to get any thing by fighting with them; and to weary them out by our ſurprizes and depredations is impoſſible, as long as the way from England is open for their ſupplies; but the other way propoſed will infallibly ruin them: for did not our anceſtors by the ſame means render the conqueſts of queen Elizabeth fruitleſs to England? And have we not thereby ruined the earl of Ormond and Inchequin already, who having been always ſucceſsful when againſt us, have been famous for nothing ſince their conjunction with us, but the loſſes and repulſes which they have ſuſtained? So that if we can perſwade this army to make a truce or league with us, they will become as unfortunate as the former.

WHILST the lieutenant-general was making preparations for the ſiege of Waterford, a letter was brought to him from the parliament, requiring his attendance in England: in order to which he left the command of the army with commiſſary-general Ireton, to carry on the remaining part of the work; going himſelf to viſit thoſe places in Munſter which had lately ſubmitted to the parliament, with intention to ſettle the civil as well as military affairs of that province. To this end, he impowered John Coke, Eſq; to be chief juſtice of Munſter; and having accompliſhed ſuch things as he deſigned, embarked for England, and ſoon after landed at Briſtol. In the mean time the treaty between prince Charles and the preſbyterian party in Scotland haſtening towards a concluſion, the forces which they had raiſed by the encouragement of our army, after they had reſcued them from the power of the Hamiltonian party, fell upon Montroſe, killed many of his men, and took him, with divers other officers, priſoners, and amongſt them major-general Hurry, and captain Spotiſwood, who was ſaid to have been concerned in the aſſaſſination of doctor Doriſlaus our agent in Holland. They were all three condemned to death, and hanged; Montroſe being carried to the place of execution in an ignominious manner, with the declarations iſſued out by him for the king tied about his neck, where he was executed on a gibbet of thirty foot high. His quarters were placed upon the gate through which their king was to paſs at his coming to Edinburgh, which could not but move his indignation, if he had the leaſt ſenſe of honour, becauſe he had acted by his commiſſion, and in order to veſt him with that abſolute and uncontroulable power which kings think to be moſt for their advantage: but the king being inſtructed with other maxims, ſtruck up the bargain with the preſbyterians, and engaged to take the covenant, whereupon they cried him up for a great convert.

SOME ſycophants in the Engliſh parliament, a race of men never wanting in great councils, preſſed earneſtly for ſettling two thouſand five hundred pounds a year upon the lieutenant-general, according to a vote formerly paſſed in the houſe; or that it might at leaſt be read once or twice before his arrival at Weſtminſter, he being then upon his way from Briſtol. Upon this motion I took the liberty to acquaint the houſe, that tho' I would not oppoſe that motion, yet it was but reaſonable to make good their promiſes alſo, to perſons that had ſerved them uſefully in their former occaſions, deſiring them to remember the paſt ſervices of thoſe that they knew continued ſtill to be faithful to them, tho' not then in actual employment; and particularly not to forget the important ſervices of major-general Skippon, nor the vote they had paſſed to ſettle one thouſand pounds a year upon him, which hitherto had been inſignificant to him. Upon this motion the parliament ordered that the

ſaid

said sum should be paid yearly to him out of the receipt at Gold-smiths-hall, till so much should be settled upon him out of the forfeited lands in Ireland, by act of parliament. In consideration of this piece of justice, the major-general did me ever after the honour to call me his real friend.

And now the parliament, being desirous to let the people see, that they designed not to perpetuate themselves after they should be able to make a compleat settlement of affairs, and provide for the security of the nation, from enemies both abroad and at home, whom they had yet in great numbers to contend with, resolved that the house would upon every Wednesday turn themselves into a grand committee, to debate concerning the manner of assembling, and power of future successive parliaments; the number of persons to be appointed to serve for each county, that the nation might be more equally represented than hitherto had been practised; and touching the qualifications of the electors as well as those to be elected: which order was constantly observed, and considerable progress from time to time made therein.

The lieutenant-general being arrived, and having resumed his place in the house, the parliament ordered their speaker to give him thanks in their name, for the services he had done for the common-wealth in the nation of Ireland. And now the council of state concluding it highly necessary to make some preparations against the storm which threatened us from the north, and knowing that the satisfaction of their general was of great importance to that service, desired the lord Fairfax, to declare his resolution concerning the same, who after a day or two's consideration, at the instigation chiefly (as was thought) of his wife, upon whom the presbyterian clergy had no small influence, seemed unwilling to march into Scotland; but declared, that in case the Scots should attempt to invade England, he would be ready to lay down his life in opposing them. We laboured to perswade him of the reasonableness and justice of our resolution to march into Scotland, they having already declared themselves our enemies, and by publick protestation bound themselves to impose that government upon us, which we had found necessary to abolish; and to that end had made their terms with prince Charles, waiting only an opportunity, as soon as they had strengthened themselves by foreign assistance, which they expected, to put their design in execution, after we should be reduced to great difficulties, incident to the keeping up of an army in expectation of being invaded by them; assuring him, that we thought ourselves indispensably obliged in duty to our country, and as we tendered the peace and prosperity of it, as well as to prevent the effusion of the blood of those who had been, and we hoped, upon better information, would be our friends, to march into Scotland, and either to understand from them that they are our friends, or to endeavour to make them so; chusing rather to make that country the seat of the war than our own. But the lord Fairfax was unwilling to alter his resolution, in consideration of any thing that could be said. Upon this lieutenant-general Cromwell pressed, that notwithstanding the unwillingness of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; professing for himself, that he would rather chuse to serve under him in his post, than to command the greatest army in Europe. But the council of state not approving that advice, appointed a committee of some of themselves to confer farther with the general, in order to his satisfaction. This committee was appointed upon the motion of the lieu-

tenant-general, who acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest; which obliged me to step to him, as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the council-chamber, and to desire him, that he would not in compliment and humility obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal; but the consequence made it sufficiently evident, that he had no such intention. The committee having spent some time in debate with the lord Fairfax, without any success, returned to the council of state, whereupon they ordered the report of this affair to be made to the parliament. Which being done, and some of the general's friends informing them, that tho' he had shewed some unwillingness to be employed in the expedition himself, yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had sent his secretary, who attended at the door, to surrender his commission, if they thought fit to receive it; the secretary was called in, and delivered the commission, which the parliament having received, they proceeded to settle an annual revenue of five thousand pounds upon the lord Fairfax, in consideration of his former services, and then voted lieutenant-general Cromwell to be captain-general of all their land forces, ordering a commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the council of state to hasten the preparations for the northern expedition. A little after, as I sat in the house near general Cromwell, he told me, that having observed an alteration in my looks and carriage towards him, he apprehended that I had entertained some suspicions of him; and that being perswaded of the tendency of the designs of us both to the advancement of the publick service, he desired that a meeting might be appointed, wherein we might with freedom discover the grounds of our mistakes and misapprehensions, and create a good understanding between us for the future. I answered, that he had discovered in me what I had never perceived in myself; and that if I troubled him not so frequently as formerly, it was either because I was conscious of that weight of business that lay upon him, or that I had nothing to importune him withal, upon my own or any other account; yet since he was pleased to do me the honour to desire a free conversation with me, I assured him of my readiness therein. Whereupon we resolved to meet that afternoon in the council of state, and from thence to withdraw to a private room, which we did accordingly in the queen's guard-chamber, where he endeavoured to perswade me of the necessity incumbent upon him, to do several things that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who in opposition to him took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publick cause, affirming his intentions to be directed entirely to the good of the people, and professing his readiness to sacrifice his life in their service. I freely acknowledged my former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the army, when they were in treaty with the king, whom I looked upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous at Ware, where they shot a soldier to death, and imprisoned divers others upon the account of that treaty, which I conceived to have been done without authority, and for sinister ends: yet since they had manifested themselves convinced of those errors, and declared their adherence to the commonwealth, tho' too partial a hand was carried, both by the parliament and themselves, in distribution of preferments and gratuities, and too much severity exercised against some who had formerly been their friends, and as I hoped would be so still, with other things that I could not entirely approve,

approve, I was contented patiently to wait for the accompliſhment of thoſe good things which I expected, till they had overcome the difficulties they now laboured under, and ſuppreſſed their enemies that appeared both at home and abroad againſt them; hoping that then their principles and intereſt would lead them to do what was moſt agreeable to the conſtitution of a common-wealth, and the good of mankind. He owned my diſſatisfaction with the army, whilſt they were in treaty with the king, to be founded upon good reaſons, and excuſed the execution done upon the ſoldier at the rendezvous, as abſolutely neceſſary to keep things from falling into confuſion; which muſt have enſued upon that diviſion, if it had not been timely prevented. He profeſſed to deſire nothing more than that the government of the nation might be ſettled in a free and equal common-wealth, acknowledging that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon us; declaring, that he looked upon the deſign of the Lord in this day to be the freeing of his people from every burden, and that he was now accompliſhing what was propheſied in the 110th pſalm; from the conſideration of which he was often encouraged to attend the effecting thoſe ends, ſpending at leaſt an hour in the expoſition of that pſalm; adding to this, that it was his intention to contribute the utmoſt of his endeavours to make a thorough reformation of the clergy and law: but, ſaid he, the ſons of Zerviah are yet too ſtrong for us; and we cannot mention the reformation of the law, but they preſently cry out, "We deſign to deſtroy propriety:" whereas the law, as it is now conſtituted, ſerves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppreſs the poor; affirming that Mr. Coke, then juſtice of Ireland, by proceeding in a ſummary and expeditious way, determined more cauſes in a week, than Weſtminſter-hall in a year; ſaying farther, that Ireland was as a clean paper in that particular, and capable of being governed by ſuch laws as ſhould be found moſt agreeable to juſtice; which may be ſo impartially adminiſtered, as to be a good precedent even to England itſelf; where when they once perceive propriety preſerved at an eaſy and cheap rate in Ireland, they will never permit themſelves to be ſo cheated and abuſed as now they are. At laſt he fell into the conſideration of the military government of Ireland, complaining that the whole weight of it lay upon major-general Ireton; and that if he ſhould by death or any other accident be removed from that ſtation, the conduct of that part would probably fall into the hands of ſuch men, as either by principle or intereſt, were not proper for that truſt, and of whom he had no certain aſſurance. He therefore propoſed that ſome perſon of reputation and known fidelity might be ſent over to command the horſe there, and to aſſiſt the major-general in the ſervice of the publick, that employment being next in order to his own, deſiring me to propoſe one whom I thought ſufficiently qualified for that ſtation. I told him, that in my opinion a fitter man could not be found than colonel Algernon Sidney; but he excepted againſt him by reaſon of his relation to ſome who were in the king's intereſt, propoſing colonel Norton and colonel Hammond, yet making objections againſt them at the ſame time: that againſt colonel Hammond I remember was, that by his late deportment with relation to the king, he had ſo diſobliged the army, that he apprehended he would not be acceptable to them. After this he entered upon a large commendation of the country, and preſſed me earneſtly to think of ſome perſon capable of that employment. By this time I perceived ſomething of his intentions concerning me; but the con-

dition of my affairs was ſuch, having lately married, and by purchaſing ſome lands contracted a great debt, that I reſolved not to accept of it.

THE time for the general's departure for the expedition of Scotland drawing near, he moved the council of ſtate, that ſince they had employed him about a work which would require all his care, they would be pleaſed to eaſe him of the affairs of Ireland; which they refuſing to do, he then moved, that they would at leaſt ſend over ſome commiſſioners for the management of the civil affairs, aſſuring them alſo that the military being more than major-general Ireton could poſſibly carry on, without the aſſiſtance of ſome general-officer to command the horſe, which employment was become vacant by the death of the brave lieutenant-general Jones, it was abſolutely neceſſary to commiſſionate ſome perſon of worth to that employment, and to authorize him to be one of their commiſſioners for the civil government; telling them, that he had endeavoured to find out a perſon proper for that ſervice, and to that end had conſulted with one there preſent, deſiring him to recommend one fit for the ſame; but that neither of them had propoſed any that he could approve ſo well as the perſon himſelf, and therefore moved that he might be appointed to that employment; acquainting them, that tho' he himſelf was impowered by virtue of his commiſſion from the parliament, to nominate the lieutenant-general of the horſe, yet becauſe the gentleman he propoſed, upon which he named me, was a member of parliament, and of the council of ſtate, he deſired for the better ſecuring the obedience of the army to me, that the parliament might be moved to nominate and appoint me to that charge. I endeavoured as well as I could to make the council ſenſible of my unfitneſs for an employment of ſo great importance, acquainting them, that upon the general's deſire I had recommended one to him of ſuch abilities, as I doubted not they would judge better qualified for it than my ſelf, who beſides my want of experience ſufficient for that ſervice, was ſo incumbred with debts and engagements at that time, that I could not poſſibly undertake it without hazarding the ruin of my family and eſtate. But the council refuſed to allow my excuſe, which indeed was real and unfeigned; telling me, that it would be more proper to repreſent thoſe things to the parliament, when the report ſhould be made to them from the council; which was agreed upon to this effect; " That the houſe ſhould be moved to appoint me lieutenant-general of the horſe in Ireland; and that general Cromwell, major-general Ireton, my ſelf, colonel John Jones, and major Richard Salloway, or any three of us, ſhould be authorized by act of parliament to be commiſſioners for the adminiſtration of the civil affairs in that nation. The news of this tranſaction was unwelcome to ſome of my neareſt relations and beſt friends, not only for the reaſons above-mentioned, but upon ſuſpicion that this opportunity was taken by the general to remove me out of the way, leſt I ſhould prove an obſtruction to his deſigns. But I could not think myſelf ſo conſiderable, and therefore could not concur with them in that opinion. Yet I endeavoured to clear myſelf of this employment, and knowing that this affair was carried on chiefly by the general's influence, I applied my ſelf to him, acquainting him with my preſent circumſtances, and aſſuring him that it was altogether inconvenient, and might prove very prejudicial to me. He replied, that mens private affairs muſt give place to thoſe of the publick; that he had ſeriouſly conſidered the matter, and that he could not find a perſon ſo fit for thoſe employments as my ſelf, deſiring me therefore to acquieſce. It was not many days

days before the council of state made their report of this affair to the parliament, where I again pressed the reasons I had used before to the council with as much earnestness as I could: but they would not hearken to me, and without any debate, presently concurred with the council therein, with the addition only of Mr. John Weaver, a member of the house, to be one of the commissioners appointed to manage the civil government.

In the mean time our army proceeded successfully in Ireland, where they reduced Waterford after a siege of some weeks; which place the enemy had considerably fortified: but their provisions failing they were forced to surrender it upon articles. During this siege the army was supplied with all necessaries by some of our ships that came into the harbour to that end. After the reduction of Waterford a detachment was made from our army to besiege Duncannon, a place of considerable strength, having seven hundred men within to defend it, tho' one third of their number had been sufficient for that purpose. This or some other cause produced the plague amongst them, which lessened their number, and made their provisions to hold out the longer: yet at last they were constrained to deliver up the place with all the arms and ammunition to our men. The lord of Esmond had been governour of this place for the English at the beginning of the war, and held it out for the space of six or seven months against the rebels, of whom he killed great numbers before it during the siege that he sustained; but being driven to great extremities, he was obliged to surrender it to them; which went so near the gallant old gentleman's heart, that he soon after departed this life.

The next place our army attempted was Carlo, an inland garison, distant from Dublin about thirty miles, and lying upon the river Barrow. The place was esteemed by the enemy to be of great importance, and therefore fortified by them with divers works; besides, it had a small castle at the foot of the bridge, and a river running under the walls of the castle. The country beyond it were also their friends, and furnished them with provisions in great abundance. To prevent which, major-general Ireton found it necessary to employ the principal part of his forces on the other side of the river Barrow; yet by what means to secure a communication between the two parts of his army, was a great difficulty, they having neither boats nor casks sufficient for that purpose. In the end they fell upon this expedient, to bring together great quantities of the biggest reeds, and tying them up in many little bundles with small cords, they fastned them to two cables that were fixed in the ground on each side of the river, at the distance of about eight or ten yards from each other: these being covered with wattles, bore troops of horse and companies of foot as well as a bridge arched with stone.

Whilst these things were doing, most of the earl of Ormond's forces retired into Connaught, and those of the lord Muskerry into Kerry: the lord Castlehaven also, after he had fired most of the small castles in Leinster and Munster, marched out of those parts.

But the enemy which most threatned the disturbance of the parliament, was that of Scotland, where all interests were united in opposition to the present authority in England. They had also many who favoured their design in our nation, as well presbyterians as cavaliers: the former of these were most bold and active, upon presumption of more favour in case of ill success. The parliament being sensible of these things, published a declaration, shewing, that they had no design to impose upon the nation of

Scotland any thing contrary to their inclinations: that they would leave them to chooſe what government they thought moſt convenient for themſelves, provided they would ſuffer the Engliſh nation to live under that eſtabliſhment which they had choſen: that it evidently appeared that the Scots were acted by a ſpirit of domination and rule; and that nothing might be wanting to compel us to ſubmit to their impoſitions, they had eſpouſed the intereſts of that family, which they themſelves had declared guilty of much precious blood, and reſolved to force the ſame upon England: that theſe and other things there mentioned had obliged them to ſend an army into Scotland for their own preſervation, and to keep the Scots from deſtroying themſelves, which they were about to do; reſolving notwithſtanding to extend all poſſible favour to ſuch as were ſeduced through weakneſs, and miſled by the malice of others. After this general Cromwell haſtned to the army, which conſiſted of about twenty thouſand horſe and foot, where having removed a colonel or two, with ſome inferiour officers, who were unwilling to be employed in that ſervice, and made up a regiment for colonel Monk, with ſix companies out of Sr. Arthur Haſlerig's, and ſix out of colonel Fenwick's regiment, he marched into Scotland without any oppoſition, moſt of the people being fled from their habitations towards Edinburgh, whither all the enemy's ſtrength was drawn together. The Engliſh army drew up within ſight of the town, but the Scots would not hazard all by the deciſion of a battle, hoping to tire us out with frequent ſkirmiſhes and haraſſing our men, relying much upon the unſuitableneſs of the climate to our conſtitutions, eſpecially if they ſhould detain us in the field till winter. Their counſels ſucceeded according to their deſires, and our army through hard duty, ſcarcity of proviſions, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, grew very ſickly, and diminiſhed daily, ſo that they were neceſſitated to draw off to receive ſupplies from our ſhipping, which could not come nearer to them than Dunbar, diſtant from Edinburgh about twenty miles. The enemy obſerving our army to retire, followed them cloſe; and falling upon our rear-guard of horſe in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to our rear-guard of foot. Which alarm coming ſuddenly upon our men, put them into ſome diſorder; but a thick cloud interpoſing in that very moment, and intercepting the light of the moon for about an hour, our army took that opportunity to ſecure themſelves, and arrived without any further diſturbance at Dunbar, where having ſhipped their heavy baggage and ſick men, they deſigned to return into England. But the enemy, upon confidence of ſucceſs, had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the paſſes, having in their army about thirty thouſand horſe and foot, and ours being reduced to ten thouſand at the moſt. There was now no way left, but to yield themſelves priſoners, or to fight upon theſe unequal terms. In this extremity a council of war was called, and after ſome diſpute it was agreed to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day, and accordingly the ſeveral regiments were ordered to their reſpective poſts. Upon the firſt ſhock our forlorn of horſe was ſomewhat diſordered by their lanciers; but two of our regiments of foot that were in the van behaved themſelves ſo well, that they not only ſuſtained the charge of the enemy's horſe, but beat them back upon their own foot, and following them cloſe, forced both horſe and foot to retreat up the hill from whence they had attacked us. The body of the enemy's army finding their vanguard, which conſiſted of their choiceſt men, thus driven back upon them, began to ſhift for themſelves, which they did with ſuch precipitation

and disorder, that few of them ventured to look behind them till they arrived at Edinburgh, taking no care of their king, who made use of the the same means to secure himself as his new subjects had done. One party of their horse made a stand till some of ours came up to them, and then ran away after the rest of their companions. Many were killed upon the place, and many more in the pursuit: all their baggage, arms, artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of our army: many also were taken and sent prisoners into England. When the first news of this great victory was brought to London by Sir John Hipsley, it was my fortune, with others of the parliament, to be with the lord Fairfax at Hampton-court, who seemed much to rejoice at it. But the victory it self was not more welcome to me than the contents of the general's letter to the parliament; wherein amongst many other expressions savouring of a publick spirit, there was one to this effect; That seeing the Lord, upon this solemn appeal made to him by the Scots and us, had so signally given judgment on our side, when all hopes of deliverance seemed to be cut off, it became us not to do his work negligently; and from thence took occasion to put us in mind, not to content ourselves with the name of a commonwealth, but to do real things for the common good, and not to permit any interest for their particular advantage to prevail with us to the contrary. Our army in Scotland having received some recruits, advanced toward Edinburgh; but the enemy being informed of their march, withdrew out of the town, and leaving a strong garison in the castle, retreated towards Sterling. The parliament being very careful to supply their armies with all things necessary, caused great quantities of hay to be bought up in Norfolk and Suffolk, which they sent by sea to Scotland, where it was absolutely necessary, for the Scots army had so strongly intrenched themselves by the advantage of a wood, that ours could not possibly attack them without great hazard; and they were furnished with provisions from Fife and the adjacent parts, which are the most fruitful in that nation, by means of the bridge at Sterling: whereas our army, which lay encamped near them, had no other country from whence they might draw provisions, but such as had been already in the possession of the enemy: besides that, hay is generally scarce in Scotland; and that a great part of our forces consisted of horse.

Owen Roe O Neal, who commanded the old northern Irish in Ulster, that had been principally concerned in the massacre of the protestants, being dead, the popish bishop of Cloghar undertook the conduct of them, and being grown considerably strong, necessitated Sir Charles Coote to draw his forces together to defend his quarters, which they designed to invade, desperately resolving to put it to the issue of a battle. Their foot was more numerous than ours, but Sir Charles exceeded them in horse. The dispute was hot for some time; but at last the Irish were beaten, tho' not without loss on our side: amongst others colonel Fenwick, a brave and gallant man, was mortally wounded. The enemy's baggage and train of artillery was taken, tho' not many made prisoners, being for the most part put to the sword, with the bishop of Cloghar their general, whose head was cut off and set upon one of the gates of London-derry. The news of this defeat being brought to those in Carlo, who had held out in hopes of relief from their friends in Ulster, together with a great scarcity of provisions in the place, besides the beating down of the little castle that stood at the foot of the bridge on the other side of the river, which happened about the same time, so discouraged those within, that they

they ſurrendred the place to the lord deputy Ireton upon articles; which he cauſed punctually to be executed, as his conſtant manner was.

PURSUANT to the order of parliament, appointing me lieutenant-general of the horſe in Ireland, the general, as he was directed by the ſaid order, ſent me a commiſſion to that end; which I received, and gave him an account of the reception, acquainting him alſo how ſenſible I was of my want of experience to manage ſo weighty an employment; but that on the other hand I would not fail to endeavour to diſcharge my duty with the utmoſt fidelity. He replied, " That I might rely upon that God to carry me through the work, who had called me to it;" and in the cloſe of his letter recommended the procuring from the parliament a ſettlement upon Sir Hardreſs Waller of the inheritance of ſome lands which he then held by leaſe from the earl of Ormond, and for which he paid two hundred pounds annual rent, as a thing that might be proper for me to do before my departure for Ireland. I was afterwards informed that Sir Hardreſs Waller had earneſtly ſolicited for this employment of lieutenant-general of the horſe in Ireland, and that the general not thinking it convenient to entruſt him with it, yet unwilling he ſhould know ſo much, perſuaded him to believe that the parliament had over-ruled him therein.

THE parliament then paſſed an act, conſtituting commiſſioners for the adminiſtration of civil affairs in Ireland, and agreed upon inſtructions of ſufficient latitude for them to act by, in particular to lay a tax on that nation not exceeding the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds; to give order for the diſtribution of juſtice, as near to the rules of the law, as the neceſſity of the times would permit; and to conſider of a method of proceeding in the courts of juſtice there, to be offered to the parliament for their approbation. The commiſſioners were thoſe that I mentioned before, only major Salloway deſiring to be excuſed from that ſervice, Mr. Miles Corbet, a member of parliament, was inſerted in his room.

SOME ſuſpicions there were at this time that the preſbyterian party in England, eſpecially thoſe about London, entertained a private correſpondence with their brethren in Scotland: where tho' that nation had received a great blow at Dunbar, yet it was reſolved that their king ſhould be crowned upon his taking the ſolemn league and covenant, and obliging himſelf thereby to endeavour the extirpation of popery and epiſcopacy. This action was performed with all the circumſtances and ſolemnities that could be uſed in the condition of their affairs. The nobility ſwore fidelity to him, and the marquis of Argile put the crown upon his head with his own hands. And now having a king like other nations, and a covenanting king too, they doubted not of ſucceſs under his conduct, preſuming by this means moſt certainly to retrieve all their loſſes and reputation. But the parliament who had removed one king, was not frighted with the ſetting up of another, and therefore proceeded in the ſettlement of their affairs both military and civil; and to that end ordered a thouſand pounds to be advanced to the commiſſioners of the civil affairs in Ireland, directing them to receive alſo a thouſand pounds yearly. They likewiſe gave orders for the payment of a thouſand pounds to me by way of advance upon my pay as lieutenant-general of the horſe, that I might be enabled to furniſh myſelf with tents, horſes, and other things neceſſary for that ſervice. The committee of Iriſh affairs raiſed alſo a troop conſiſting of a hundred horſe to accompany me, and armed them with back, breaſt, head-

head-pieces, pistols, and musquetoons, with two months pay advanced. The lord-deputy Ireton's lady, daughter to general Cromwell, prepared to go over with us to her husband, who had removed his head-quarters to Waterford, partly because he thought that place most convenient for the service, as the enemy then lay; and partly from some disgust conceived against Dublin, where the inhabitants had extorted unreasonable rates for their provisions and other necessaries sold to our army at their arrival there for the relief of Ireland. Therefore resolving to pass through South-Wales, I hastened out of town before the rest of my company, in order to take leave of my friends in the west; and from thence going to Glamorganshire, I stayed there with some relations of my wife, till the rest of the company came down.

Before I left the parliament, some difference happening between the countess of Rutland and the lord Edward Howard of Escrick, colonel Gell, who was a great servant of the countess, informed major-general Harrison, that the lord Edward Howard being a member of parliament, and one of the committee of Haberdasher's-hall, had taken divers bribes for the excusing delinquents from sequestration, and easing them in their compositions; and that in particular he had received a diamond hat-band, valued at eight hundred pounds, from one Mr. Compton of Sussex; concerning which he could not prevail with any to inform the parliament. Major-general Harrison being a man of severe principles, and zealous for justice, especially against such as betrayed the publick trust reposed in them, assured him, that if he could satisfy him that the fact was as he affirmed, he would not fail to inform the parliament of it: and upon satisfaction received from the colonel touching that matter, said in parliament, That tho' the honour of every member was dear to him, and of that gentleman in particular, naming the lord Howard, because he had so openly owned the interest of the common-wealth, as to decline his peerage, and to sit upon the foot of his election by the people; yet he loved justice before all other things, looking upon it to be the honour of the parliament, and the image of God upon them; that therefore he durst not refuse to lay this matter before them, tho' he was very desirous that the said lord might clear himself of the accusation. The parliament having received his information, referred the consideration of the matter to a committee, where it was fully examined; and notwithstanding all the art of counsel learned in the law, who are very skilful at putting a good appearance upon a bad cause, and all the friends the lord Howard could make, so just and equitable a spirit then governed, that the committee having represented the matter to the parliament as they found it to be, they discharged him from being a member of parliament, sent him to the Tower, and fined him ten thousand pounds.

About the beginning of January the commissioners of parliament, the lady Ireton, and myself, met at Milford, in order to embark for Ireland, three men of war lying ready for us in the harbour, with several ships for the transportation of my troop, with our goods and horses. We came to Milford on Saturday, and on Monday following, the lady Ireton and the commissioners set sail with a fair wind, leaving the Guinea-frigate for me, and to be convoy to those vessels that were appointed to transport the horse and other things, of which but one could be ready time enough to set sail with them, my troop being not yet mustered. The next day Mr. Lort, by order of the committee of parliament, mustered my troop, so that I began to ship them on Wednesday in the afternoon; and on Thurs-

day morning they being all embarked, we ſet ſail, and tho' the weather proved very calm, we arrived the next day under the fort of Duncannon, near Waterford; where I underſtood that the lady Ireton and the commiſſioners had landed there the day before, and were gone to the lord deputy at Waterford.

IMMEDIATELY after my arrival I went to wait on the lord deputy Ireton, who was much ſurprized at my landing ſo ſoon after the reſt of the company, and ordered good quarters to be aſſigned to my troop, that they might be refreſhed before they entered upon duty: for it was obſerved, that the Engliſh horſes were not ſo fit for ſervice, till they had been ſeaſoned for ſome time with the air and proviſions of that country. Having received advice that the enemy was marched out of Connaught and Limerick towards our quarters in Munſter, he drew a party of horſe and foot out of their winter-quarters, to which they had been lately ſent, and with them endeavoured to find out the enemy; who upon his advance retreated into their own quarters. The deputy being returned, was very careful to prepare all things that were neceſſary for the army, that they might be ready to march into the field early the next ſpring; making proviſion of tents, arms, cloaths, and bread for the ſoldiers; ſending cannon and ammunition of all ſorts up the Shannon towards Limerick, by veſſels provided to that end; that being the firſt place which he deſigned to attack the following year, having in his laſt march, by putting gariſons into Caſtle-Conel, Kilmallock, and other places, blocked them up in ſome meaſure.

THE commiſſioners of parliament, of whom the deputy was one, ſpent a conſiderable time in debating and reſolving in what manner juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered for the preſent in each precinct, till the ſtate of affairs could be reduced into a more exact order; and accounting it moſt juſt, that thoſe who had the moſt immediate advantage by the war, ſhould bear the principal burden of it, they laid upon the nation of Ireland a tax proportionable to their ability; for the raiſing of which, together with the exciſe and cuſtoms that by our authority from the parliament we were impowered to impoſe, we appointed commiſſioners for the precincts of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Ulſter, who were to proceed according to ſuch rules, as they ſhould receive from time to time from the parliament's commiſſioners. The governour of each precinct was appointed one of the commiſſioners of that precinct, colonel Hewetſon being for Dublin, Sir Charles Coote and colonel Venables for Ulſter, colonel Daniel Axtel for Kilkenny, colonel Zanchey for Clonmel, colonel Phaier for the county of Cork, and colonel Laurence for the county of Waterford: they appointed colonel Thomas Herbert and colonel Markham to be inſpectors over the reſt, and to go from place to place to ſee that their inſtructions were put in execution. Commiſſioners were alſo appointed in the ſeveral precincts, for the more equal diſtribution of juſtice; and a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding the killing of lambs or calves for the year next enſuing, that the country might recover a ſtock again, which had been ſo exhauſted by the wars, that many of the natives who had committed all manner of waſte upon the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh, were driven to ſuch extremities that they ſtarved with hunger; and I have been informed by perſons deſerving credit, that the ſame calamity fell upon them even in the firſt year of the rebellion, through the depredations of the Iriſh; and that they roaſted men, and eat them, to ſupply their neceſſities. In conjunction

with this evil, they were also afflicted with the plague, which was supposed to have been brought amongst them by a ship from Spain, and bound to Galway, from whence the infection spread itself through most parts of the country, and amongst others had reached Waterford, where several died of it, and particularly a kinswoman of mine, who having been driven out of Ireland with her husband and children at the breaking out of the rebellion, took the opportunity to return thither with me, and died there, with one of her children, very suddenly, having dined with me the day before. The spring approaching, we removed to Kilkenny, that place lying most convenient for the distribution of tents, cloaths, and all other things necessary for the use of the army: it was also near the enemy's quarters, and thereby thought most proper to favour any attempt against them from thence. Colonel Reynolds, who returned from England with us, being made commissary-general of the horse in Ireland, was sent with a party into the King and Queen's county, and put a garison into Marriborough, appointing major Owen to be governour of the place. At his return, it was agreed that a detachment from Nenagh, where colonel Abbot commanded, another from Cashil and those parts, and a third from Kilkenny, should march from their respective garisons, and to contrive it so as to fall upon the quarters of colonel Fitzpatrick at the same time, which were advantageously situated, encompassed with woods and bogs, and inaccessible, except by three very narrow and difficult ways, by which they were ordered to attack him separately. This enterprize was so well effected, that the place was taken, with many of the enemy's horse, besides a great number of men killed or made prisoners. At this time it happened that colonel Axtell, than whom no man was better acquainted with the country of Ireland, was accused for not performing some conditions said to have been promised to the enemy, who pretended that after they had surrendered upon assurance of mercy, they were all put to the sword, except a few that made their escape. The colonel endeavoured to prove, that no conditions had been granted; that they were taken by force, and that they who had shewed no mercy, could not deserve to receive any. Tho' the proof was not clear that he had promised them their lives, yet because it appeared that some of the soldiers had thrown out some expressions tending that way to the enemy, the deputy was so great a friend to justice, even where an enemy was concerned, that tho' colonel Axtell was a person extraordinarily qualified for the service of that conjuncture; he, together with the council of war, at which the commissioners of the parliament were also present, suspended him from his employment.

The lord Broghil, who had conceived great hopes of obtaining the command of the horse, or at least to be made a general officer, well knowing his own merit, and thereupon thinking himself neglected, made his complaint to the deputy in a letter directed to him, and sent unsealed in another to adjutant-general Allen; wherein enumerating the services he had done, the losses he had sustained, and the slender encouragements he had received, he declared his resolution not to obey the commands of any other but of general Cromwell and him. In answer to this, the deputy by another letter acquainted him, that he was sorry to find such a spirit in him; and particularly, that he should discover it at such a time, when the season for action was drawing on, desiring him to come to the head-quarters, that they might confer together touching this matter. At his coming, the deputy consulted with the commissioners what course to take

take in this affair. I excuſed myſelf to them from giving my advice, (his principal objection being againſt me) telling them, I was convinced that he had ſome ground for his diſſatisfaction, by reaſon of his intereſt and experience in the country; I being in thoſe reſpects much inferior to him, and ſhould not have had the confidence to have undertaken the employment I poſſeſſed, but in pure obedience to thoſe who were in authority. The deputy aſſured me, that they were abundantly ſatisfied with the clearneſs of my proceeding, and no leſs of my abilities to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in me, and to perform the duties of my employments, of which he was pleaſed to ſay, I had given ſufficient demonſtration, as well as of a conſtant and hearty affection to the publick intereſt. In concluſion, the debate concerning the lord Broghill was brought to this queſtion; Whether he ſhould be wholly laid aſide, or whether ſomething ſhould be done in order to content him for the preſent, by conferring upon him ſome office of profit, and the title of a general officer. The latter was agreed upon, and he declared lieutenant-general of the ordinance in Ireland.

The commiſſioners having ſettled affairs as well as they could, and finding the deputy to be employed in making all neceſſary preparations for the enſuing ſervice, took that opportunity to go to regulate affairs at Dublin, where after they had diſpatched the publick buſineſs, in which they ſpent about a week, and provided houſes to receive their families when they ſhould arrive from England, they returned to Kilkenny. The enemy, who had a party of horſe in thoſe parts, had deſigned to ſurprize them in their way to Dublin, and again in their return to us; but finding them attended by a ſtrong guard, they durſt not venture to attempt it.

The enemy's forces being retreated into Connaught, which province was covered by the Shannon, and keeping ſtrong guards upon the bridges and fords of that river, the reduction of Limerick could not well be expected till we had blocked them up on both ſides. In order to which it was reſolved, that Sir Charles Coote, who had with him between four and five thouſand horſe and foot, ſhould march into Connaught by the way of Ballyſhannon, a paſſage on the other ſide of Ulſter, not far diſtant from the ſea; and commiſſary-general Reynolds was ſent with his regiment of horſe to his aſſiſtance.

Colonel Axtell and ſome others about this time going for England, were taken by a pyrate belonging to Scilly, whither they were all carried priſoners: the Iriſh who were many in the iſland, againſt whom colonel Axtell had been very active, and who had heard of the charge lately exhibited againſt him, preſſed hard for the taking away his life. But upon conſideration of the preparations making by the parliament to ſend a fleet with ſoldiers to reduce that iſland, it was not thought convenient to attempt any thing againſt him, tho' they had a ſtrong inclination to it, for fear of an exemplary retaliation.

In the mean time the parliament ſent a fleet with ſome land forces to reduce the iſle of Jerſey, with the caſtle, which was kept by Sir Philip Carteret for Prince Charles. Colonel Haines who commanded them, met with ſome oppoſition at his landing; but having brought his men a-ſhore, the iſland generally ſubmitted to the parliament. The caſtle having made ſome reſiſtance, was ſoon after ſurrendered alſo.

The affairs of the common-wealth being thus ſucceſsful, and their authority acknowledged by the applications of agents and ambaſſadors from foreign nations to them, it was reſolved to ſend ſome miniſters abroad to

entertain a good correspondence with our neighbours, and to preserve the interests of the subjects of this nation in those parts. To that effect, the lord chief justice St. Johns was dispatched, with the character of ambassador extraordinary to the states of the United Netherlands, with whom Mr. Walter Strickland, our resident there, was joined in commission; and to prevent such another attempt as had been made upon our former agent, forty gentlemen were appointed to attend him for his security and honour, ten thousand pounds being delivered to the lord ambassador's steward for the expence of the embassy. Yet this great equipage was not sufficient to prevent a publick affront which was offered him by prince Edward, one of the Palatine family, as he was passing the streets. But the prince immediately retiring to some place out of the jurisdiction of the states, secured himself from any prosecution, tho' they pretended, upon the complaint of our ambassadors, that they were ready to do them what right they could. The negotiation of our ministers, which was designed to procure a nearer conjunction and coalition between the two states, proved also ineffectual, the province of Holland being not so much inclined to consent to it as was expected, and Frizeland, with most of the rest of the provinces, entirely against it; presuming that such a conjunction as was demanded would be no less than rendering those countries a province to England: so that our ambassadors having used all possible means to succeed in their business, and finding the Dutch unwilling to conclude with us whilst the king had an army in the field, returned to England without effecting any thing but the expence of a great sum of money. This disappointment sat so heavy upon the haughty spirit of the lord chief justice St. Johns, that he reported these transactions with the highest aggravations against the states, and thereby was a principal instrument to prevail with the council of state to move the parliament to pass an act, prohibiting foreign ships from bringing any merchandizes into England, except such as should be of the growth or manufacture of that country to which the said ships did belong. This law, tho' just in itself, and very advantageous to the English nation, was so highly resented by the Dutch, who had for a long time driven the trade of Europe by the great number of their ships, that it soon proved to be the ball of contention between the two nations.

During these transactions, the deputy of Ireland labouring with all diligence to carry on the publick service, ordered the army to rendezvous at Cashil; from whence he marched by the way of Nenagh to that part of the river Shannon which lies over-against Killalo, where the earl of Castle-haven lay with about two thousand horse and foot, disposed along the side of the river, and defended by breast-works cast up for their security, resolving to endeavour to obstruct our passage into Connaught. The deputy, as if he had intended to divert the course of the river, set the soldiers and pioneers at work to make the ground lower on our side, that the water venting itself into the passage, the river might become fordable; which so alarmed the enemy, that they drew out most of their men to oppose us. Whilst they were thus amused, the deputy taking me with him, and a guard of horse, marched privately by the side of the Shannon, in order to find a convenient place to pass that river. The ways were almost impassable by reason of the bogs, tho' colonel Reeves and others who commanded in those parts had repaired them with hurdles as well as they could. Being advanced about half way from Killalo to Castle-Conel, we found a place that answered our desires, where a bridge

had formerly been, with an old caſtle ſtill ſtanding at the foot of it on the other ſide of the river. We took only a ſhort view of the place, leſt we ſhould give occaſion to the enemy to ſuſpect our deſign. The way hither from our camp was ſo full of bogs, that neither horſe nor man could paſs without great danger; ſo that we were neceſſitated to mend them, by laying hurdles and great pieces of timber a-croſs, in order to bear our carriages: which we did under pretence of making a paſſable way between our camp and Caſtle-Conel, a gariſon of ours, where proviſions were laid up for the army. It was about ten days before all things neceſſary to this deſign could be prepared, and then colonel Reeves was commanded to bring three boats which he had, to a place appointed for that purpoſe, by one o' clock in the morning. At the beginning of the night three regiments of foot, and one of horſe, with four pieces of cannon, marched ſilently towards the place were the boats were ordered to lie, and arrived there an hour before day. They found but two boats waiting for them, yet they ſerved to carry over three files of muſqueteers and ſix troopers, who having unſaddled their horſes, cauſed them to ſwim by the boat, and were ſafely landed on the other ſide. Two ſentinels of the enemy were in the caſtle, of whom one was killed by our men, and the other made his eſcape. Our boats had tranſported about ſixty foot and twenty horſe before any enemy appeared; but then ſome of their horſe coming up ſkirmiſhed with ours, wherein one Mr. How, a hopeful daring young gentleman, who had accompanied me into Ireland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf. About a thouſand of the enemy's foot advancing, our horſe was commanded to retire, which they did, not without ſome reluctance; but the haſty march of their foot was retarded by our guns, which we had planted on a hill on our ſide of the river, from whence we fired ſo thick upon them, that they were forced to retreat under the ſhelter of a riſing-ground; where after they had been a while, and conſidered what to do, finding ours coming over a-pace to them, inſtead of attacking us, they began to think it high time to provide againſt our falling upon them; and having ſent to all their guards upon the river to draw off, they retreated farther through the woods into their own quarters. We were no ſooner got over the river, but we received advice that Sir Charles Coote and commiſſary-general Reynolds were entered into Connaught, and advanced as far as Athenree. Our ſhips were alſo come up the river of Limerick, with our artillery, ammunition, proviſions, and all things neceſſary for the ſiege of Limerick. And now the deputy thinking himſelf abundantly provided for the reduction of that important place, and not knowing what neceſſities the party with Sir Charles Coote might be driven to, the chief of the enemy's ſtrength being drawn that way, he reſolved to ſend a party of horſe to him. But not being able to ſpare above a thouſand horſe for that ſervice, he was unwilling to deſire me to command them, tho' he had no perſon with him that he could conveniently make uſe of therein, moſt of the colonels of horſe being employed in their reſpective precincts, to ſecure them from the incurſions of the enemy. This I perceived, and offered to march with them: whereupon the deputy furniſhed me with three majors, who were major Warden of my own regiment of horſe, major Owen of the regiment of commiſſary-general Reynolds, and major Bolton of a regiment of dragoons, a brave and diligent officer. We began our march about five in the afternoon, and by twelve at night having marched between ſixteen and ſeventeen miles, we diſmounted, to forage our horſes, and reſt ourſelves. Before

day we mounted, and continued our march through a desolate country, the people being fled, and no provisions to be had but what we carried with us. About ten in the morning our forlorn perceived a creaght, as the country people call it, where half a dozen families with their cattle were got together. Some of those who saw them first, presuming all the Irish in that country to be enemies, began to kill them; of which having notice, I put a stop to it, and took a share with them of a pot of sower milk, which seemed to me the most pleasant liquor that ever I drank. In the afternoon we found the ways exceeding bad, and almost impassable, many of the hurdles which had been laid upon them being drawn away, as we supposed, by the enemy: yet in a little more than twenty four hours we had marched about forty miles, and were informed that Sir Charles Coote was besieging Portumna, a house of the earl of Clanrickard, and that the enemy were about Athenree. Upon this notice, leaving my party advantageously posted, in a place furnished with provisions for themselves and horses, I took with me sixty horse, and went to Portumna, to be informed more particularly concerning the state of affairs. At my arrival I understood that an attempt had been made upon the place, wherein our men had been repulsed; but that the enemy, having a large line to keep, and many poor people within, fearing to hazard another assault, had agreed to surrender upon articles next morning; which was done accordingly. And now having found Sir Charles Coote's party in good condition, and able to deal with the enemy on that side, I returned to my body of horse, with which and five hundred more that joined me, commanded by commissary-general Reynolds, I followed, and endeavoured to find out the enemy; but they removed from one place to another with such expedition, that we could not overtake them, having left their carriages, in order to march the lighter, at a castle belonging to one Mr. Brabston, situated upon a considerable pass. This place I endeavoured to reduce; and tho' it was indifferently strong, and we very ill provided for such an attempt, yet after some resistance the enemy delivered it upon articles, whereby they were permitted to carry off whatsoever belonged properly to them; the tents and draught-oxen remaining in our possession, with several other things belonging to the earl of Clanrickard, whom the earl of Ormond had constituted his deputy in those parts. Having put a garison into this place, and sent back commissary-general Reynolds with his party to Portumna, I marched with my horse towards Limerick, and came to Gourtenshegore, a castle belonging to Sir Dermot O Shortness, who was then gone to Galway, but had left his tenants with some soldiers, and one Foliot, an Englishman, to command them, in the castle. At my coming before it I summoned them to submit, offering them, that in case they would dismiss their soldiers, and promise to live quietly in the obedience of the parliament, I would leave no garison in the place, nor suffer any prejudice to be done to them. They pretending they had already submitted to Sir Charles Coote, refused to deliver the castle to any other. Tho' I took this to be only a pretence, yet to leave them without excuse, and to prevent all exceptions, I sent to Sir Charles Coote, to desire him to let me know how the matter stood, and to direct them to deliver the place to me. Having received an answer to my letter from Sir Charles Coote, I sent it to them, telling them, that now I expected their obedience; but instead of that, they sent me a defiance, and sounded their bagpipes, in contempt of us; to which they were chiefly encouraged by *one* of the country, whom I had sent to bring in to me some iron-bars,

*sledges,*

ſledges, and pickaxes, and who under colour of going to fetch them, ran away to the enemy, and acquainted them with our want of artillery and inſtruments to force them. I gave orders to take up all the horſes from graſs, to bridle and ſaddle them, and to tie them to the tents of their reſpective troops, commanding two troops to mount the guard, and to ſend out ſcouts to diſcover if the enemy were near. The reſt of the men I drew into ſeveral parties, and aſſigned them their particular attacks: every ſoldier carried a faggot before him, as well to defend himſelf, as to fill up the enemy's trenches, or to fire the gates, as there ſhould be occaſion. On one ſide of the wall there was an earth-work about eleven foot high, with a trench of equal breadth without. The wall of the court was about twelve foot high, well flanked. On the other ſide the place was ſecured by a river. Upon our firſt approach the enemy ſhot very thick upon us, and killed two of our men, which ſo enraged the reſt, that they ran up to the works, and helping one another to the top of them, beat off the enemy, following them ſo cloſe, that by means of ſome ladders which thoſe within had made uſe of, they got into the court, and put to the ſword moſt of thoſe they found there, the enemy not daring to open the gate to receive their friends. Thoſe of ours who had entered the court, having no inſtruments to force the houſe, made uſe of a wooden bar which they found, and with which they wreſted out the iron bars of a ſtrong ſtone window about ſix foot from the ground, and forced the enemy by their ſhot out of that room, where being entered, they put to the ſword thoſe that were there. Lieutenant Foliot finding his caſe deſperate, reſolved to ſell his life at as dear a rate as he could, and charged our men, who were nine or ten in number, with a tuck in one hand, and a ſtilletto in the other, defending himſelf ſo well with the one, and preſſing them ſo hard with the other, that they all gave ground; but he cloſing with one of them whom he had wounded, and probably might have killed, gave an opportunity to another to run him through the body, by which wound he fell, and the houſe was quickly cleared of the reſt. Moſt of the principal of the enemy being got into the caſtle, our men fired a great number of faggots at the gates, which burned ſo furiouſly, that the flame took hold of the floors and other timber within, through the iron grate, which being perceived by thoſe in the caſtle, they hung out a white flag, begging earneſtly for mercy, and that we would take away the fire. I commanded my men to leave ſhooting, and acquainted the beſieged, that if they expected any ſavour from us, they muſt throw down their arms; which they preſently did: whereupon I ordered the fire to be taken away, and gave a ſoldier twenty ſhillings to fetch out two barrels of powder that was near the fire, which continued to burn ſo fiercely, that we could not put it out, but were obliged to throw up ſkains of match into the chambers, by which thoſe in the caſtle deſcended to us, being about fourſcore in number, beſides many women and children. We ſecured the men till the next morning, when I called a council of war; and being preſſed by the officers, that ſome of the principal of them might be puniſhed with death for their obſtinacy, I conſented to their demand, provided it might not extend to ſuch as had been drawn in by the malice of others. Thoſe who were tenants to Sir Dermot O Shortneſs, and countrymen, I diſmiſſed to their habitations, upon promiſe to behave themſelves peaceably, and to engage againſt us no more: the reſt of them we carried away with us. Whilſt we were ſpending our time in ſending to Sir Charles Coote, and expecting his anſwer, I had ſent a party

party of horse to find out some of the enemies that were marched towards the barony of Burren; and tho' they could not overtake them, yet they met with four or five hundred head of cattle, and seized them, which proved a great refreshment to our party, and to the army that was besieging Limerick, whither we returned and gave an account of our proceedings to the deputy, who expressed himself well satisfied with the same.

At my return I found that our army had possessed themselves of one of the enemy's forts that stood in the midst of the Shannon upon the Fishing Ware, in this manner. A small battery of two guns being erected against it, one of them was fired into a room, and breaking the leg of a soldier there, so frighted the rest, that betaking themselves to their boats, they abandoned the place; which ours perceiving, fired so thick upon them with their shot, that all those who were in one of the boats, whether moved by fear or promise of life I know not, surrendered to our men; yet some of them were put to the sword, at which the deputy was much troubled, judging that they would not have quitted the means they had in their hands for their preservation, but upon terms of advantage, and therefore referred the matter to be examined by a court martial.

Those in the town having considered of the summons sent to them by the deputy for the surrender of the place, agreed to treat concerning articles, supposing that they might obtain more favourable conditions than when they should be driven to extremities. Accordingly six commissioners were appointed on each side. Those for the enemy were major-general Purcel, Mr. Stockdale recorder of the town, colonel Butler, Jeffrey Barrow, who had been one of their supreme council, Mr. Baggot, and one more, whose name I do not remember. The commissioners nominated by the deputy were major-general Waller, colonel Cromwell, major Smith, adjutant-general Allen, my self, and one more, whom I have also forgot. We met them in a tent placed between the town and our camp, where we dined together, and treated of conditions for several days; but they having great expectations of relief, either by the king's success against us in Scotland, or by the drawing together of their own parties in Ireland, who were able to form an army more numerous than ours, insisted upon such excessive terms, that the treaty was broken up without coming to any conclusion. The fort which we were preparing in order to block them up on one side of the town being almost finished, and materials ready for building a bridge to be laid over the Shannon to preserve a communication between our forces on each side, we resolved to endeavour the reduction of a castle possessed by the enemy, and standing beyond their bridge. To that end a battery was erected, and a breach being made, the deputy remembring the vigour of the troopers in the action at Gourtenshegore, desired that one might be drawn out of each troop to be an example to the foot that were to storm: which being done, they were armed with back, breast, and head-piece, and furnished with hand-granadoes. One Mr. Hacket, a stout gentleman of the guard, was made choice of to lead them on, who were in all not above twenty. This design succeeded beyond expectation; for our men having thrown in their granadoes, marched up to the breach, and entered with Mr. Hacket at the head of them, being followed by those who were ordered to sustain them. The enemy not being able to stand before them, quitted the place, and retired by the bridge into the town. The castle was immediately searched, and four or five barrels of powder were found in a vault ready to take fire by a lighted match left there by the enemy on purpose to blow up our men.

The deputy gave Mr. Hacket and the reſt of the troopers a gratuity for their good ſervice, and upon the encouragement of this ſucceſs, formed a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of an iſland that lay near the town, containing about forty or fifty acres of ground, and encompaſſed by the river: In order to which boats were prepared, and floats ſufficient to tranſport three hundred men at once, and orders given to fall down the river about midnight. Three regiments of foot and one of horſe were appointed to be wafted over. The firſt three hundred, being all foot, were commanded by lieutenant-colonel Walker, who being landed on the iſland with his men, marched up to the enemy's breaſt-work, which they had caſt up quite round the place; but they having diſcovered our men before their landing, had drawn moſt of their forces together to oppoſe them; ſo that being oppreſſed by the enemies numbers, they were moſt of them forced into the water, and all either killed or drowned, except two or three only who came back to the camp. Our bridge being finiſhed, and a ſmall fort to defend it erected at the foot of it, the deputy, with moſt part of the army, marched over to the other ſide of the river, where he marked out ground for three bodies of men to encamp ſeparately, each to conſiſt of about two thouſand, giving orders for the fortifying of thoſe places, aſſigning to each regiment their proportion, and quartering them by brigades in the moſt convenient manner he could, either to defend themſelves, to relieve each other, or to annoy the enemy: and as ſoon as the great fort on which our men had been long working was rendered defenſible, he drew off all our forces from this ſide of the river, except a thouſand foot and about three hundred horſe.

In the mean time the enemy was endeavouring to draw their forces together to relieve the place, well knowing of what importance it was to their affairs. To that end the lord Muſkerry had brought together about five thouſand horſe and foot in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and David Rock between two or three thouſand more in the county of Clare. The lord Broghil and major Wallis were ſent to oppoſe the lord Muſkerry, whilſt I with another detachment was ordered to look after the other. The lord Broghil ſoon met with the lord Muſkerry, and after ſome diſpute entirely defeated him, killing many of the Iriſh, and taking others priſoners, with little loſs on our ſide. I paſſed the river at Inchecroghnan, of which the enemy having advice, drew off their forces from Caricgoholt, a gariſon of ours, which they were beſieging, whereby captain Lucas, who had been governour of the place, wanting proviſions, took that opportunity to quit it; and being joined by captain Taff's dragoons, came ſafe to us. Whilſt I was endeavouring to find out the enemy, advice was brought to me, that they, to the number of three thouſand horſe and foot, were marching with all diligence to poſſeſs themſelves of the paſs at Inchecroghnan, thereby deſigning to obſtruct our return to the army before Limerick: which being confirmed by a letter we intercepted, I drew out two hundred and fifty horſe with ſixty dragoons, and ſent them before, with orders to take poſſeſſion of the paſs, marching after them with the reſt of my party. When I was almoſt come to the paſs, I was informed by thoſe ſent before, that they had found a ſmall number of the enemy's horſe there, who immediately retreated upon the advance of our men, ſome of whom were in purſuit of them. Preſently after advice was brought, that the enemy made good a paſs leading to ſome woods and bogs which they uſed for a retreat; whereupon I went to take a view of their poſture, that if it were neceſſary I might order a greater force to ſuccour our men. Being come up to the place where the

diſpute

dispute was, I found that Connor O Brian, deputed by the lord Inchequin to command in the county of Clare, had been shot from his horse, and carried away by his party. The enemy retreated to a pass, and fired thick upon us; but we advancing within pistol-shot of them, they quitted their ground, and betook themselves to their woods and bogs. Divers of them were killed in the pursuit; yet the ground was so advantagious to them, and their heels so good, that tho' we pursued them with all possible diligence, and sent out parties several ways, yet we could not take above two or three of them prisoners. Having dispersed this party, and relieved the garison of Caricgoholt, I returned to the army before Limerick, where I found a considerable progress made in our works on the other side of the town, and a reinforcement from England of between three and four thousand foot, whose arrival was very seasonable and welcome to us, having lost many men by hard service, change of food, and alteration of the climate. The deputy fearing that the plague, which raged fiercely in Limerick, might reach our army; and to the end that care might be taken of our sick and wounded men, caused an hospital to be prepared, and furnished with all things necessary; and whilst the works were finishing against the town, he went to visit the garison of Killalo, and to order a bridge to be made over the river at that place, for the better communication of the counties of Tipperary and Clare. I accompanied him in this journey, and having passed all places of danger, he left his guard to refresh themselves, and rode so hard that he spoiled many horses, and hazarded some of the men; but he was so diligent in the public service, and so careless of every thing that belonged to himself, that he never regarded what cloaths or food he used, what hour he went to rest, or what horse he mounted.

In the mean time our army in Scotland lying near the enemy's camp at Torwood, who were plentifully furnished with provisions from the county of Fife, it was resolved that a party of ours, commanded by colonel Overton, should be sent in boats from Leith and Edinburgh into that county, to contrive some way to prevent the enemies supplies from thence. This party was followed by four regiments of horse and foot commanded by major-general Lambert. Of which the enemy having notice, sent Sir John Brown, who was esteemed to be a person of courage and conduct, with part of their army to oppose them. It was not long before the two parties came to an engagement, wherein the enemy was totally routed; Sir John Brown who commanded them, with about two thousand of his men killed, many made prisoners, and all their baggage taken. The Scots being deprived of their usual supplies from Fife, and not expecting any from foreign parts, by reason of the number of our ships cruizing on their coast, resolved to march into England, having received encouragement so to do from their old and new friends there. They passed the river Tweed near Carlisle, there being a strong garison in Berwick for the parliament, and were considerably advanced on their march before our army in Scotland were acquainted with their design. Major-general Harrison, with about four thousand horse and foot, somewhat obstructed their march, tho' he was not considerable enough to fight them; and being joined by major-general Lambert with a party of horse from the army, they observed the enemy so closely as to keep them from excursions, and to prevent others from joining with them. The Scots who were in great expectation of assistance from Wales, and relied much upon colonel Massey's interest in Glocestershire, advanced that way. Few of the country came in to them; but on the other side,

ſo affectionate were the people to the commonwealth, that they brought in horſe and foot from all parts to aſſiſt the parliament: inſomuch that their number was by many thought ſufficient to have beaten the enemy without the aſſiſtance of the army; ſome even of the excluded members appearing in arms, and leading regiments againſt the common enemy.

At the ſame time, upon notice that the earl of Derby was at the head of fifteen hundred horſe and foot in Lancaſhire, colonel Lilburn was ſent that way with about eight hundred men, who meeting with the earl's forces near Wigan, after a ſharp diſpute for about an hour, totally routed them. The number of the ſlain was conſiderable on the enemy's ſide: The lord Widdrington, with other perſons of quality, were killed. All their baggage was taken, and three or four hundred made priſoners, with the loſs only of one officer, and about ten private ſoldiers of colonel Lilburn's. The earl of Derby himſelf was wounded, and eſcaped to Worceſter; but bringing not above thirty tired horſe with him, the townſmen began to repent their revolt from the parliament.

The Scots having poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Worceſter, and fortified it as well as they could in ſo ſhort a time, reſolved to attack our army, which was now advanced to that place, and poſted on each ſide of the Severn, ready to receive them, with general Cromwell at their head. Their firſt attack was made upon lieutenant general Fleetwood's quarters that were on the other ſide of the river, who with ſome forces of the army, and a reinforcement of the militia made a vigorous reſiſtance. The general fearing he might be overpower'd, diſpatch'd ſome troops to his aſſiſtance by a bridge laid over the river, commanding major-general Lambert to ſend another detachment to the ſame purpoſe; but he deſired to be excuſed, alledging, that if the enemy ſhould alter their courſe, and fall upon thoſe on this ſide, they might probably cut off all that remained: which was not unlikely, for ſoon after moſt of the enemy's ſtrength fell upon that part of the army where the general and major-general Lambert were. The battle was fought with various ſucceſs for a conſiderable time; but at length the Scots army was broken, and quitting their ground, retreated in great diſorder to the town, where they endeavoured to defend themſelves. Major-general Harriſon, colonel Croxton, and the forces of Cheſhire, entered the place at their heels; and being followed by the reſt of the army, ſoon finiſhed the diſpute, and totally defeated the enemy. Three Engliſh earls, ſeven Scots lords, and above ſix hundred officers, beſides ten thouſand private ſoldiers, were made priſoners. The king's ſtandard, and a hundred fifty eight colours, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage, was alſo taken. On our ſide, quarter-maſter-general Moſely, and captain Jones, with above a hundred private ſoldiers, were killed, and captain Howard, with one captain more, and about three hundred ſoldiers wounded. This victory was obtained by the parliament's forces on the 3d of September, being the ſame day of the ſame month that the Scots had been defeated at Dunbar the preceding year. Colonel Maſſey eſcaped into Leiceſterſhire, but being dangerouſly wounded, found himſelf not able to continue his way, and fearing to be knock'd on the head by the country, delivered himſelf to the counteſs of Stamford, mother to the lord Grey of Grooby, who cauſed his wounds to be carefully dreſſed, and ſent notice of his ſurrender to the army. Whereupon a party was diſpatched with orders to conduct him from thence to London, as ſoon as he ſhould be fit to travel, which was done, and he committed

priſoner to the Tower. The Scots king, with the lord Wilmot, were concealed by three countrymen, till they could furniſh him with a horſe, with which he croſſed the country to one Mr. Gunter's near Shoreham in Suſſex, carrying one Mrs. Lane behind him, from whence in a ſmall bark he eſcaped to France.

The general after this action, which he called the crowning victory, took upon him a more ſtately behaviour, and choſe new friends; neither muſt it be omitted, that inſtead of acknowledging the ſervices of thoſe who came from all parts to aſſiſt againſt the common enemy, tho' he knew they had deſerved as much honour as himſelf and the ſtanding army, he frowned upon them, and the very next day after the fight, diſmiſſed and ſent them home, well knowing, that a uſeful and experienced militia was more likely to obſtruct than to ſecond him in his ambitious deſigns. Being on his way to London, many members of the parliament, attended by the city, and great numbers of perſons of all orders and conditions, went ſome miles out of the town to meet him, which tended not a little to heighten the ſpirit of this haughty gentleman.

Lieutenant-general Monk, whom the general had raiſed to that employment, and ordered to command in Scotland during his abſence, took Stirling-caſtle; and then marched with about four thouſand horſe and foot before Dundee. But being adviſed that general Leſley, the earl of Crawford, and others, were met at Elliot, to conſult of means to relieve that town, he ſent a party of horſe and dragoons, commanded by colonel Alured and colonel Morgan, to ſurprize them, which they did; and the principal of them being taken, were ſent priſoners to London, where they were committed to the Tower. After this he ſummoned the town of Dundee; but the place being well fortified, and provided with a numerous gariſon, refuſed to ſurrender; whereupon he ſtormed it, and being entered, put five or ſix hundred to the ſword, and commanded the governour, with divers others, to be killed in cold blood.

Tho' the news of theſe ſucceſſes much diſcouraged our enemies in Ireland, yet thoſe in Limerick were not without ſome hopes, that either the plague, or ſcarcity of proviſions, together with the badneſs of the weather, might conſtrain us to raiſe the ſiege; and therefore refuſed to accept ſuch conditions as we were willing to grant. The line which we had made about the town, and the forts being in a condition of defence, the deputy reſolved to look after the enemy in the county of Clare, and if poſſible, to get ſome proviſions from thence for the relief of the army. He took me with him, knowing I had been in thoſe parts before, and between three and four thouſand horſe and foot. At our approach to the places where the enemy uſually were, we divided our body, the deputy being at the head of one, and I at the head of the other party; hoping by this means ſo to encompaſs the enemy, that they ſhould not eſcape us: but tho' we ſometimes came within ſight of them, and uſed our utmoſt endeavours to engage them, yet by reaſon of the advantages they made of the woods, rocks, hills, and bogs, for their retreat, we could do them little hurt, ſave by ſeizing their horſes and cattle. In the abſence of this party from the army, the enemy with two thouſand foot made a ſally out of Limerick, ſo unexpectedly upon our men, that they had almoſt ſurprized our guard of horſe; but ours immediately mounting, and being not accuſtomed to be beaten, charged them, and notwithſtanding the inequality of the forces, they being much ſuperior to us in number, put them to a ſtand, till a party of horſe and foot came to their relief, and

forced the enemy to retreat under the walls of the town, from whence their men fired ſo thick upon ours, that their own men had time to get into the town.

When this account was brought from Sir Hardreſs Waller to the deputy, he was upon his return to the army before Limerick, having left me with about two thouſand horſe and foot, as well to eaſe our quarters about the town, not knowing how long we might lie before it, as to endeavour to perſwade the gariſon of Clare-caſtle, a ſtrong place, and ſituated upon the river, to ſurrender. To that end, being arrived in the army, he ſent one lieutenant-colonel White, who had ſerved the enemy, and now had a commiſſion to raiſe forces for the king of Spain, with an order to me, to permit him to go to the ſaid gariſon, that he might inform them of the impoſſibility of their receiving any relief, and of the neceſſities to which Limerick was already reduced, and thereby prevail with them to make ſpeedy proviſion for themſelves, and to liſt under him: but his deſign proving ineffectual, I found myſelf obliged to return to the camp before Limerick, where we made proviſion for a winter-ſiege.

Great numbers of people endeavoured to get out of the town, ſent out by the gariſon, either as uſeleſs perſons, or to ſpread the contagion amongſt us. The deputy commanded them to return, and threatened to ſhoot any that ſhould attempt to come out for the future: but this not being ſufficient to make them deſiſt, he cauſed two or three to be taken out in order to be executed, and the reſt to be whipped back into the town. One of thoſe that were to be hanged was the daughter of an old man, who was in that number which was to be ſent back: he deſired that he might be hanged in the room of his daughter, but that was refuſed, and he with the reſt driven back into the town. After which a gibbet was erected in the ſight of the town-walls, and one or two perſons hanged up, who had been condemned for other crimes, that thoſe within might ſuppoſe that execution to be for coming out; and by this means they were ſo terrified, that we were no farther diſturbed on that account.

The deputy, upon information received, that ſome in the town were deſirous to ſurrender, and that others did violently oppoſe them, endeavoured by letters and meſſages to foment the diviſion, declaring againſt ſeveral perſons by name, that were moſt active and obſtinate for holding out, that they ſhould have no benefit by the articles to be agreed upon, ſeverely inveighing againſt a generation of men, whom he called ſoldiers of fortune, that made a trade of the war, and valued not the lives or happineſs of the people. This wrought the deſired effect, and ſo encouraged the complying party, that it was carried for a treaty, and commiſſioners again appointed on each ſide. We inſiſted that about ſeventeen of the principal perſons in the place ſhould be excepted out of the articles, of which number were colonel Hugh O Neal the governour, the mayor of the city, the biſhops of Limerick and Emmene, major-general Purcel, Sir Geoffrey Galloway, Sir Jeffrey Barrow, one Wolf a prieſt, Sir Richard Everard, and others. But theſe made ſo ſtrong a party that the treaty was broke up without any agreement, and no other way left to reduce them but by force. In order to which the deputy cauſed the great guns to be landed from the ſhips, and others to be brought from the adjacent gariſons. With theſe he erected a battery againſt the town, in the moſt convenient place that could poſſibly have been found, being againſt

a part of the wall, which tho' it was of the same height and thickness with the rest of it, and also as well flanked; yet it proved not to be lined with earth within, as all other parts were, nor had any counterscarp without.

In the mean time the parliament seeing a period put to the war in England and Scotland, and that of Ireland drawing towards a conclusion, resolved to gratify such officers as the general recommended to their favour; and thereupon settled a thousand pounds yearly on major-general Lambert, three hundred on major-general Overton, the same on colonel Pride and colonel Whalley; five hundred pounds annually on commissary-general Reynolds; a thousand pounds per annum on the lord Broghill. They also settled four thousand pounds a year on the lord-general himself, out of the estates of the duke of Buckingham and marquis of Worcester, besides the two thousand five hundred pounds a year formerly granted. This they did to oblige him by all means possible to the performance of his duty, or to leave him without excuse if he should depart from it. They ordered also an act to be brought in for settling two thousand pounds per annum on the lord-deputy Ireton; the news of which being brought over, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, "They had many just debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the publick treasure." And truly I believe he was in earnest; for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the state to the best advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own purse and person in the publick service.

Our battery being now in order, and the regiments that were appointed to storm, disposed to their several posts, we began to fire; directing all our shot to one particular part of the wall, wherein we made such a breach, that the enemy not daring to run any farther hazard, beat a parley, and soon came to a resolution to surrender upon the articles we had offered before, delivering up the east-gate of the out-town, which was separated by a river, having a draw-bridge over it from the other town. The deputy ordered all the arms and ammunition to be carefully preserved, and the soldiers who were not of the town, to be drawn up between the place and our army, that such as desired it might have convoys to conduct them to their respective parties; and that those who would return to their habitations, might have passes granted to that effect. The governour colonel Hugh O Neal met the deputy at the gate; where he presented him with the keys of the city, and gave order for the marching out of the soldiers, who were not townsmen, according to the articles. They were in number about two thousand five hundred men. As they were marching out, two or three of them fell down dead of the plague. Several of them also lay unburied in the church-yard. The governour waited on the deputy to shew him the stores of arms, ammunition and provisions, which were sufficient to have lasted near three months longer. He shewed him also the fortifications, and whatsoever else he desired of him, withal acquainting him, that nine or ten of those who were exempted from the benefit of the articles had surrendered themselves to his mercy, and were waiting his orders in a certain house which he named: upon which the deputy commanded a guard to be set upon them, and committed the governour also to their custody. The bishop

of

of Emmene and major-general Purcel, with Wolf the prieſt, were taken in the peſt-houſe, where they had hid themſelves. Jeffrey Barrow and Sir Geoffrey Galloway ſurrendered themſelves. Two days after the delivery of the town, the mayor came to the place of worſhip, where our court of guard met; and whether by his words or actions he gave cauſe of ſuſpicion, I cannot tell, but they ſeized him, and upon examination found who he was; whereupon they commanded him to priſon. The biſhop of Limerick was the only perſon excepted that was yet undiſcovered; but we afterwards underſtood him to be one of a more peaceable ſpirit than the reſt. A court-martial was aſſembled, and the biſhop of Emmene, with major-general Purcel, required to acquaint them, if they had any thing to ſay, why they ſhould not die according to the ſentence paſſed upon them. The biſhop ſaid, that having many ſins to confeſs, he deſired time to prepare himſelf to that purpoſe, which was granted. Major-general Purcel fell upon his knees, and begged earneſtly for his life, but that was denied. This poor man was of ſo low a ſpirit, that wanting courage at the time of his execution, he ſtood in need of two muſqueteers to ſupport him. The biſhop died with more reſolution, and Wolf the prieſt was alſo executed. The governour and Jeffrey Barrow were alſo condemned to die; but the deputy reſolving to hear them, demanded of the governour what he had to ſay for himſelf: who anſwered, that the war had been long on foot before he came over; that he came upon the invitation of his countrymen; that he had always demeaned himſelf as a fair enemy; and that the ground of his exception from the articles, being his encouraging to hold out, tho' there was no hope of relief, was not applicable to him, who had always moved them to a timely ſurrender, as indeed he made it appear: and therefore hoped, that he ſhould enjoy the benefit of the articles, in confidence of which he had faithfully delivered up the keys of the town, with all the arms, ammunition and proviſions, without embezlement, and his own perſon alſo to the deputy. But the blood formerly ſhed at Clonmel, where this colonel O Neal was governour, had made ſuch an impreſſion on the deputy, that his judgment, which was of great weight with the court, moved them a ſecond time to vote him to die, tho' ſome of us earneſtly oppoſed it, for the reaſons before mentioned by himſelf; and becauſe whatſoever he had been guilty of before, had no relation to theſe articles, which did not at all exempt him from being called to an account by the civil magiſtrate for the ſame. The court having paſſed ſentence of death a ſecond time againſt him, the deputy, who was now entirely freed from his former manner of adhering to his own opinion, which had been obſerved to be his greateſt infirmity, obſerving ſome of the officers to be unſatisfied with this judgment, referred it again to the conſideration of the court, who by their third vote conſented to ſave his life. Jeffrey Barrow having the ſame queſtion put to him with the reſt, anſwered, That it was not juſt to exclude him from mercy, becauſe he had been engaged in the ſame cauſe as we pretended to fight for, which was for the liberty and religion of his country. The deputy replied, That Ireland being a conquered country, the Engliſh nation might with juſtice aſſert their right of conqueſt: that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reaſon; notwithſtanding which they had barbarouſly murdered all the Engliſh that fell into their hands, robbed them of their goods which they had gained by their induſtry, and taken away the lands which they had purchaſed with their money: that touch-

ing the point of religion, there was a wide difference also between us, we only contending to preserve our natural right therein, without imposing our opinions upon other men; whereas they would not be contented unless they might have power to compel all others to submit to their impositions upon pain of death. The council of war looking upon what he had said for himself to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die, as they did the mayor also; and the sentence was executed accordingly.

Limerick being taken, it was debated in a council of war, whether we should march to Galway in order to reduce that place, which had been besieged for some time by Sir Charles Coote and commissary-general Reynolds. I concurred with the deputy, that the garison being under a great consternation by the loss of Limerick, would probably be soon brought to reason; but most of the officers complaining of the ill condition of their men through sickness and hard service, representing also the near approach of winter, we being already entered into the month of November, the deputy contented himself to send only a summons to general Preston governour of Galway, with offers of such conditions as were first tendered to those of Limerick, assuring him at the same time, that if he refused them, he should have no better than they had been lately obliged to submit to. This proposition he rejected; but being unwilling to hazard the event, took shipping soon after, and went beyond sea.

Whilst the deputy was settling affairs at Limerick, he ordered me with a party to march into the county of Clare, to reduce some places in those parts. Accordingly I marched with about two thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse to Inchecroghnan, fifteen miles from Limerick; but it being late before we began our march, and night overtaking us before we could reach that place, as we were passing the bridge, one of my horses that carried my waters and medicines fell into the river, which proved a great loss to me, as things fell out afterwards. The next day I came before Clare-castle, and summoned it, whereupon they sent out commissioners to treat, tho' the place was of very great strength; and after three or four hours debate, we came to an agreement, by which the castle was to be delivered to me the next morning, the enemy leaving hostages with us for the performance of their part. That night I lay in my tent upon a hill, where the weather being very tempestuous, and the season far advanced, I took a very dangerous cold. The next morning the enemy marched out of the castle, and received passes from me to return home, according to the articles. After which having appointed colonel Foulk and a garison to defend it, I marched towards Carickgoholt. That night my cold increased, and the next morning I found myself so much discomposed, that adjutant-general Allen, who was then with us, earnestly pressed me to go a-board one of the vessels that attended our party with ammunition, artillery and provisions, and to appoint a person to command them in my absence. But being unwilling to quit the charge committed to my care, I cloathed myself as warm as I could, putting on a fur coat over my buff, and an oiled one over that; by which means I prevented the farther increase of my distemper, and so ordered our quarters that night, that I lay in my own bed set up in an Irish cabin, where about break of day I fell into so violent a sweat, that I was obliged to keep with me two troops of horse for my guard, after I had given orders for the rest of the men to march. In this condition I continued about two hours, and tho' my sweating had not ceased, I mounted in

order to overtake my party, who had a bitter day to march in, the wind and the hail beating ſo violently in our faces, that the horſes being not able to endure it, often turned about. Yet in this extremity of weather the poor foot were neceſſitated to wade through a branch of the ſea, near a quarter of a mile over, up to the waſte in water. At night we arrived within view of Carickgoholt, my diſtemper being but little abated, and my body in a continual ſweat. The next day I ſummoned the gariſon to ſurrender the caſtle: in anſwer to which they ſent out commiſſioners to treat, who at firſt inſiſted upon very high terms; but finding us reſolved not to grant their propoſitions, they complied with ours, and the next day ſurrendered the place. Liberty was given by the articles to ſuch as deſired it, to go and join the lord Muſkerry's party in the county of Kerry: the reſt to return home, with promiſe of protection as long as they behaved themſelves peaceably, excepting only ſuch who ſhould appear to have been guilty of murder in the firſt year of the war, or afterwards. Having placed a gariſon in Carickgoholt, I returned towards Limerick, and being on my march thither, I was met by an officer of the guard, with orders from the deputy for my return; who thinking it impoſſible to reduce this gariſon by force in ſuch a ſeaſon, was unwilling that the ſoldiers ſhould remain longer in the field, expoſed to ſuch cruel and ſharp weather. The meſſenger alſo acquainted me, that the deputy was coming towards us, which he did, as well to view the country, in order to the more equal diſtribution of winter-quarters and gariſons, as to let us ſee that he would not command any ſervice, but ſuch as he was willing to take a ſhare of himſelf. Upon this advice I haſtened with a party to meet him, giving orders for the reſt to follow as faſt as they could conveniently. At our meeting I gave him an account of what I had done, with which he was very well ſatisfied. After two days march, without any thing remarkable but bad quarters, we entered into the barony of Burren, of which it is ſaid, that it is a country where there is not water enough to drown a man, wood enough to hang one, nor earth enough to bury him; which laſt is ſo ſcarce, that the inhabitants ſteal it from one another, and yet their cattle are very fat; for the graſs growing in turfs of earth, of two or three foot ſquare, that lie between the rocks, which are of limeſtone, is very ſweet and nouriſhing. Being in theſe parts we went to Lemmene, a houſe of that Connor O Bryan whom we had killed near Inchecroghnan; and finding it indifferent ſtrong, being built with ſtone, and having a good wall about it, we put a gariſon into it, and furniſhed it with all things neceſſary. The next day the deputy, with a party of horſe, went to view ſome other places where he deſigned to appoint gariſons, in order to prevent the ſending of proviſions into Galway, to which this country lies contiguous. I was very deſirous to attend him according to my duty, but he having obſerved my diſtemper to continue upon me, would not permit it; and when I preſſed it more earneſtly, he poſitively commanded me to ſtay. That day there fell abundance of rain and ſnow, which was accompanied with a very high wind, whereby the deputy took a very great cold that diſcovered itſelf immediately upon his return; but we could not perſwade him to go to bed, till he had determined a cauſe that was before him and the court-martial, touching an officer of the army, who was accuſed of ſome violence done to the Iriſh; and as in all caſes he carried himſelf with the utmoſt impartiality, ſo he did in this, diſmiſſing the officer, tho' otherwiſe an uſeful man, from his command for the ſame. The next day we marched towards

towards Clare-castle, and found the way so rocky, that we rode near three miles together upon one of them, whereby most of our horses cast their shoes; so that tho' every troop came provided with horse-shoes, which were delivered to them out of the stores, yet before a day's march was over, a horse-shoe was sold for five shillings.

The next morning the lady Honoria Obryan, daughter to the late earl of Thomond, being accused of protecting the goods and cattle of the enemy, under pretence that they belonged to her, and thereby abusing the favour of the deputy's safeguard, which he had granted to her, came to him; and being charged by him with it, and told, that he expected a more ingenuous carriage from her; she burst out into tears, and assured him, if he would forgive her, that she would never do the like again, desiring me, after the deputy was withdrawn, to intercede with him for the continuance of his favour to her: which when I acquainted him with, he said, "As much a Cynick as I am, the tears of this woman moved me;" and therefore gave order that his protection should be continued to her. From thence I would have attended him to Limerick; but so much more care did he take of me than of himself, that he would not suffer it; desiring me to go that day, being Saturday, and quarter at Bonratto, a house of the earl of Thomond's, in order to recover my health, and to come to him on Monday morning at Limerick. Accordingly I came, and found the deputy grown worse, having been let blood, and sweating exceedingly, with a burning fever at the same time. Yet for all this he ceased not to apply himself to the publick business, settling garisons and distributing winter-quarters, which was all that remained to be done of the military service for that year. I endeavoured to perswade him, as I had often done before, that his immoderate labours for his country would much impair, if not utterly destroy him; but he had so totally neglected himself during the siege of Limerick, not putting off his cloaths all that time, except to change his linen, that the malignant humours which he had contracted, wanting room to perspire, became confined to his body, and rendered him more liable to be infected by the contagion. I was unwilling to leave him till I saw the event of his distemper; but he supposing my family was by this time come to Dublin, would not permit me to stay, and I finding I could in no way be serviceable to him, submitted to his desires. I found the commissioners of parliament at Dublin, and acquainted them with the state of affairs in those parts from whence I came, and with the resolutions taken by the deputy at Limerick; but soon after my arrival, the sad news of his death was brought to us, which was universally lamented by all good men, more especially because the publick was thereby deprived of a most faithful, able, and useful servant.

The commissioners of parliament taking into their consideration what method to observe in that conjuncture, and presuming that my command in the army was next to that of the deputy, resolved by a letter to acquaint the officers of our forces in Ireland with their judgment, and to require them to yield obedience to me accordingly. I earnestly desired them to forbear sending any such letter, which I did, not out of a feigned modesty, but from a real sense of the weight of such an undertaking, and my own inability to perform the duty of that important station: for tho' the work seemed to be almost finished, yet there remained great difficulties behind, the enemy possessing some strong places and islands, and having many thousands yet in the field; there being also in the parliament's

liament's pay between ſeven and eight thouſand horſe and dragoons, with above two and twenty thouſand foot. For theſe and other reaſons, I deſired them that they would reſerve the power to themſelves, till the parliament ſhould ſend over ſome perſon to undertake that employment, which they might do ſoon enough; the ſeaſon of action being already paſt, the troops diſperſed into their winter-quarters, and nothing of importance likely to be done before the next ſpring; acquainting them, that being one of their number, I could be as ſerviceable in their deliberations and reſolutions, as if I were entruſted with the ſole power. But all that I could ſay was not ſufficient to diſſuade them from ſending the letter before-mentioned; and tho' it met with a general ſubmiſſion, yet I reſolved not to undertake any thing without their advice and conſent, which they readily promiſed to afford me.

SOME of general Cromwell's relations, who were not ignorant of his vaſt deſigns now on foot, cauſed the body of the lord-deputy Ireton to be tranſported into England, and ſolemnly interred at Weſtminſter in a magnificent monument at the publick charge: who, if he could have foreſeen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his deſire, that his body might have found a grave where his ſoul left it, ſo much did he deſpiſe thoſe pompous and expenſive vanities; having erected for himſelf a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial juſtice, his diligence in the publick ſervice, and his other virtues, which were a far greater honour to his memory, than a dormitory amongſt the aſhes of kings, who, for the moſt part, as they had governed others by their paſſions, ſo were they themſelves as much governed by them.

THE iſles of Scilly and Man were reduced to the obedience of the commonwealth; but nothing extraordinary happening at their reduction, at leaſt not coming to my knowledge, I purpoſely omit the relation of thoſe actions.

ABOUT this time we were informed that Sir George Ayſcue, who had been ſent by the parliament to the weſtern iſlands, which ſtill continued in arms againſt them, arrived at the Barbadoes on the 26th of October, 1651. and having opened a paſſage into the harbour by firing ſome great ſhot, ſeized upon twelve of their ſhips without oppoſition. The next morning he ſent a ſummons to the lord Willoughby to ſubmit to the authority of the parliament of England; but he not acknowledging any ſuch power, declared his reſolution to keep the iſland for the king's ſervice. But the news of the defeat of the Scots and their king at Worceſter being brought to Sir George Ayſcue, together with an intercepted letter from the lady Willoughby, containing the ſame account; he ſummoned him a ſecond time, and accompanied his ſummons with his lady's letter, to aſſure him of the truth of that report. But the lord Willoughby relying upon his numbers, and the fewneſs of thoſe that were ſent to reduce them, being in all but fifteen ſail, returned an anſwer of the like ſubſtance with the former. Whereupon Sir George Ayſcue ſent two hundred men on ſhore, commanded by captain Morrice, to attack a quarter of the enemy that lay by the harbour, which they executed ſucceſsfully by taking the fort and about forty priſoners, with four pieces of cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board again. At this time the Virginia fleet arriving at the Barbadoes, it was thought fit to ſend a third ſummons to the lord Willoughby; but finding that neither this, nor the declarations ſent to them by the commiſſioners of parliament to the ſame

purpoſe, produced any effect, Sir George Ayſcue landed ſeven hundred men from his own and the Virginia fleet, giving the command of them to the ſame captain Morrice, who fell upon thirteen hundred of the enemy's foot and three troops of their horſe, and beat them from their works, killing many of their men, and taking about a hundred priſoners, with all their guns. The loſs on our ſide was inconſiderable, few of ours being killed upon the place, and not above thirty wounded. Yet theſe ſucceſſes were not ſufficient to accompliſh the work, there being above five thouſand horſe and foot in the iſland, and our Virginia fleet preparing to depart for want of proviſions. In this conjuncture colonel Muddiford, who commanded a regiment in the iſland, by the means of a friend that he had in our fleet, made his terms, and declared for the parliament. Many of his friends following his example, did the like, and in conjunction with him encamped under the protection of our fleet. Upon this the moſt part of the iſland were inclined to join us; but the lord Willoughby prevented them by placing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and deſigned to charge our men with his body of horſe, wherein he was much ſuperior to them, had not a cannon-ball that was fired at random, beat open the door of a room, where he and his council of war were ſitting; which taking off the head of the ſentinel who was placed at the door, ſo alarmed them all, that he changed his deſign, and retreated to a place two miles diſtant from the harbour. Our party, conſiſting of two thouſand foot and one hundred horſe, advancing towards him, he deſired to treat; which being accepted, colonel Muddiford, colonel Collyton, Mr. Searl and captain Pack, were appointed commiſſioners by Sir George Ayſcue; and by the lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Pierce, Mr. Charles Pym, colonel Elis and major Byham. By theſe it was concluded, that the iſlands of Barbadoes, Mevis, 'Antego and St. Chriſtophers ſhould be ſurrendred to the parliament of England: that the lord Willoughby, colonel Walrond, and ſome others, ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates; and that the inhabitants of the ſaid iſles ſhould be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what they poſſeſſed, on condition to do nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. This news being brought to Virginia, they ſubmitted alſo, where one Mr. George Ludlow, a relation of mine, ſerved the parliament in the like manner, as colonel Muddiford had done at the Barbadoes.

THE parliament of England being deſirous after all theſe ſucceſſes, to convince even their enemies, that their principal deſign was to procure the happineſs and proſperity of all that were under their government, ſent commiſſioners to Scotland to treat concerning an union of that nation with England in one commonwealth; directing them to take care, till that could be effected, that obedience ſhould be given to the authority of the parliament of the commonwealth of England. The commiſſioners appointed to this end on the part of the parliament, were Sir Henry Vane, the chief-juſtice St. Johns, Mr. Fenwick, major Salloway, major-general Lambert, colonel Titchborn, major-general Dean and colonel Monk. This propoſition of union was chearfully accepted by the moſt judicious amongſt the Scots, who well underſtood how great a condeſcenſion it was in the parliament of England, to permit a people they had conquered, to have a part in the legiſlative power.

THE ſtates-general being highly diſpleaſed with the late act of navigation paſſed by the parliament, which they accounted to be a great obſtruction to their trade, reſolved to leave no means unattempted to procure it to be repealed. To this end they ſent three ambaſſadors to England, who

pretending a desire to finish the treaty begun formerly between the two states, requested that things might be as they were at the time of our ambassador's departure from Holland, designing thereby that the act lately passed for the encouragement of our seamen should be suspended, and all such merchandizes restored as had been seized from the Dutch by virtue of the said act. The parliament refusing to consent to this proposal, the states-general gave orders for the equipping a considerable fleet, consisting of about a hundred ships of war, giving notice to the parliament by their ambassadors of these preparations, and assuring them that they were not design'd to offend the English nation, with whom they desired to maintain a friendly correspondence, and that they were provided to no other end, than to protect their own subjects in their trade and navigation. But the parliament being unwilling to rely upon the promises of those, who by their past and present actions had manifested little friendship to us, resolved to make what preparations they could to defend themselves.

This alarm awakened us to a diligent performance of our duty in Ireland, fearing that the Hollanders might transport some foreign forces by their fleet, to the assistance of the Irish, who were not only still numerous in the field, but had also divers places of strength to retreat to. Our suspicions were farther increased by the advices we received of a treaty on foot between the duke of Lorain and Theobald viscount Taff, with other Irish, to bring the forces of that duke into Ireland against us, in order to extirpate all hereticks out of that nation, to re-establish the Romish religion in all parts of it, and to restore the Irish to their possessions; all which being performed, he should deliver up the authority to the king of Great Britain, and assist him against his rebellious subjects in England: that all Ireland should be engaged for his re-imbursement: that Galway, Limerick, Athenree, Athlone, Waterford, and the fort of Duncannon, should be put into his hands as cautionary places, with other things of the same nature. The report of this agreement being spread amongst the Irish, encouraged them to make all possible opposition against us, in expectation of the promised succours. The commissioners of the parliament, on the other hand, laboured with all diligence to dispose their affairs in the best manner they could for the publick service; in order to which they sent to the several commanders of our army to excite them to the discharge of their duty, making provision of arms, ammunition, cloaths, tents, and all things necessary to the carrying on the war in the ensuing spring. A general meeting of officers was also appointed to be held at Kilkenny to consult about the best method of employing our arms against the enemy: and because the propositions offered by the late lord deputy to those of Galway, had been no farther prosecuted by reason of his death, orders were dispatched to Sir Charles Coote, authorizing him to conclude with them, in case they should accept the conditions at, or before the ninth of the next January. According to their orders the officers met at Kilkenny, by whom being informed of what they thought necessary for the ensuing service, we acquainted the parliament and council of state with the particulars of such things as were requisite, desiring them to send them over with all convenient speed, that no time might be lost, when the season of the year should permit us to take the field. We published two proclamations to prevent the country from supplying the enemy with arms and other necessaries; wherein drawing a line as it were about the Irish

quarters, we required all persons to withdraw themselves and their goods from the places of their resort within a limited time; which if they refused to do, we declared them enemies, and ordered all officers and soldiers to treat them accordingly: commanding also all smiths, armourers and sadlers that lived in the country to retire in twenty days with all their families, forges and instruments, into some garison of the parliament; on pain of forfeiture of their goods and tools, besides six months imprisonment for the first offence, and of death for the second. We ordered also that all those who had withdrawn themselves out of our protection, and joined with the enemy, since the coming over of general Cromwel, should be deprived of the benefit of quarter. Having published these and other orders of the like tenour, we appointed the lord Broghil, commissary-general Reynolds, Sir Hardress Waller, colonel Axtel, and the rest of the officers, to cause them to be put in execution, as occasion should require.

HAVING finished our affairs at Kilkenny, and dismissed the officers to their respective quarters, I resolved to go to Portumna to make all things ready for the siege of Galway. Being on my march on the other side of Nenagh, an advanced party found two of the rebels; one of whom was killed by the guard before I came up to them; the other was saved; and being brought before me at Portumna, and I asking him if he had a mind to be hanged? he only answered, "If you please;" so insensibly stupid were many of these poor creatures. The commissioners having done their business in this place, and given directions for the carrying on the siege of Galway, with power to treat, as before mentioned, to Sir Charles Coote, we returned to Dublin, and at our arrival were informed, that the barony of Burren relying upon the security of their places of retreat, had refused to pay the contributions which they had promised; upon which Sir Hardress Waller had been obliged to lay the country waste, and to seize what he could find, that it might be no longer useful to the enemy. We had advice also from Ulster, that some of our troops had killed and drowned about a hundred and forty tories who infested that province with their robberies.

THE time limited by the proclamation, requiring the Irish to withdraw from the places mentioned therein, being expired, I marched with a party of horse and foot into the fastnesses of Wicklo, as well to make examples of such as had not obeyed the proclamation, as to place a garison there, to prevent the excursions of the enemy. Talbot's town was the place I thought fittest for that end; which having rendered defensible against any sudden attempt, and furnished with all things necessary, I marched farther into the country. The next morning I divided my men into three parties, sending away colonel Pretty with one of them to his own quarters, lest the enemy should fall upon them in his absence; with the other two we scoured by different ways, the passes and retreats of the Irish, but met not with many of them; our parties being so big, that the Irish, who had sentinels placed upon every hill, gave notice of our march to their friends: so that upon our approach, they still fled to their bogs and woods. When I came to Dundrum, a place lying in the heart of the enemy's quarters, I perceived the walls and roof of an old church standing, wherein I placed captain Jacob with his company; who was afterwards very serviceable against the enemy. The like methods being taken by the lord Broghil, colonel Zanchey, colonel Abbot and other officers, the Irish were reduced to great extremities.

ABOUT

About fourſcore of the inhabitants of Galway went privately out of the town, and ſeizing a hundred head of cattle, deſigned to drive them thither; but being upon their return, they were met by a party of ours, who killed threeſcore of them, and recovered all the cattle. This diſappointment was attended with another much greater; for two veſſels loaden with corn endeavouring to get into the harbour of Galway, being purſued by two of our frigats, one of them was taken, and the other forced upon the rocks near the iſle of Arran, where ſhe was loſt.

The parliament having received an account of the hopeful condition of their affairs in Ireland, and of the great appearance there was of a ſpeedy determination of that war, appointed a committee to ſummon before them thoſe adventurers, who in the year 1641 had advanced monies upon the lands in Ireland. The ſaid perſons being met at Grocers-Hall, choſe twenty eight deputies to manage the buſineſs with the committee in the names of all the reſt. In conformity to this proceeding the commiſſioners of parliament in Ireland began to conſider of qualifications and heads under which the Iriſh ſhould be brought, that the innocent might be freed from their fears and apprehenſions; that juſtice might be done, and the guilty puniſhed according to the different nature of their crimes: of which the Iriſh having notice, and conſidering the declining condition of their affairs in all parts, ſent a letter directed to the commiſſioners of the parliament of England from the principal, as they called themſelves, of the kingdom of Ireland, and ſubſcribed by Gerald Fitz-Gerald, on the behalf of their aſſembly held at Glanmaliero in the province of Leinſter; repreſenting, "That being adviſed that the commonwealth of England is in a condition to give honourable and ſure terms to them, they are in an entire diſpoſition to receive them; and to that effect deſire in the name of that and the reſt of the provinces, a ſafe conduct for every one of them, with blanks ſubſcribed to that end, that they may impower and ſend ſome of their members to preſent propoſitions to the commiſſioners that are or ſhould be authorized to that purpoſe." To this the commiſſioners anſwered in ſubſtance, "That tho' the letter was ſubſcribed by one, under the pretext of an authority which they could not own without prejudice to that of the parliament; yet for the ſatisfaction of thoſe concerned, they thought fit to declare, that the eſtabliſhment of this nation doth of right belong only to the parliament of England, who will diſtinguiſh thoſe who have always lived peaceably, or have already ſubmitted to their authority, and put themſelves under their protection, from ſuch as have committed and countenanced the murders and maſſacres of the proteſtants during the firſt year of the rebellion, as well as from thoſe who continue ſtill in arms to oppoſe their authority: that they cannot in juſtice conſent to an act ſo prejudicial to the peace of the country, as would involve quiet and peaceable people in the ſame proſecution with thoſe who are in open hoſtility: that they cannot grant ſafe conducts to ſuch as perſiſt in their oppoſition to the parliament, to aſſemble from all provinces, and to communicate their deſigns to each other: but that all thoſe who will lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the commonwealth, ſhall have as favourable conditions as they can juſtly expect.

This reſolution of the commiſſioners being made publick, the Iriſh fell upon another expedient: in purſuance of which the earl of Clanrickard, who had been left deputy by the earl of Ormond, ſent a letter directed to me, then commander in chief of the forces of the parliament in Ireland, in the words following.

SIR,

" againſt them with the higheſt ſeverity; which that you may prevent by " your timely ſubmiſſion, is the deſire of,

my lord,

your humble ſervant,

EDMUND LUDLOW.

THAT paſſage in my anſwer, touching their readineſs to accept ſuch terms as they had formerly rejected, was grounded upon notice ſent by Sir Charles Coote, that the town of Galway, ſince the time limited by the commiſſioners for their ſubmiſſion was expired, deſired a treaty: whereupon I had acquainted him, that ſeeing the beſieged had refuſed the conditions formerly offered, they ought not now to expect the like, after ſuch an addition of trouble and charge as they had lately put us upon; yet for all this caution Sir Charles Coote concluded a treaty with them, immediately after the return of my anſwer to the earl of Clanrickard, upon conditions much more advantageous to them than thoſe formerly propoſed, and very prejudicial to the publick, undertaking to get them ratified by the commiſſioners of parliament within twenty days, and in the mean time promiſing that they ſhould be inviolably obſerved. The commiſſioners of parliament having received the articles, and conceiving it to be unjuſt as well as imprudent to give the beſt terms to thoſe who made the longeſt oppoſition, and of what dangerous conſequence it might be, if that place were not fully ſecured to the Engliſh intereſt, ſpent the whole night in conſultation with the officers of the army, and in the end reſolved, That they could not conſent, that any ſhould receive the benefit of thoſe articles, who had been any way concerned in the murdering of the Engliſh in the firſt year of the war: that they would not oblige themſelves to permit any to live in Galway, whom they ſhould hereafter think fit to remove from thence for the ſecurity of the place: that they cannot conſent that the burgeſſes ſhall enjoy any more than two thirds of their eſtates lying near the town: that they will not ſuffer the habitations of ſuch as have been forced to quit the place, upon the account of their affection to the parliament, to be detained from them. With theſe and ſome other alterations, they declared their conſent to the reſt of the articles before-mentioned; which if thoſe of the town refuſed, they ordered that our men ſhould not enter; and if entered, that they ſhould reſtore the poſſeſſion of it to the gariſon: but notwithſtanding this expedition, the meſſenger that was diſpatched with the reſolutions of the commiſſioners, came too late, and all that could be obtained was a promiſe from Sir Charles Coote, to endeavour to perſwade thoſe of Galway to accept of the articles, with the amendments made by the commiſſioners.

THE parliament having reſolved upon the incorporation of Scotland with the nation of England into one free ſtate or commonwealth, and to reimburſe themſelves ſome part of that treaſure they had expended in their own defence againſt the invaſions of the Scots, declared the goods and lands formerly belonging to the crown of Scotland to be confiſcated, and alſo thoſe that were poſſeſſed by ſuch perſons as had aſſiſted in the invaſion of England by duke Hamilton, in the year 1648. or had appeared

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under their qualification ſhall be permitted to do: that the benefit of the articles ſhall not extend to ſuch as have murdered any of the Engliſh, or had been engaged in the rebellion during the firſt year; or to any Romiſh prieſts, or to thoſe who had been of the firſt general aſſembly; thoſe alſo who had taken away the life of any of ours after quarter given, and thoſe who had deſerted us and joined themſelves to the enemy, were excepted out of the treaty: all others to have liberty to live in our quarters, or to tranſport themſelves into the ſervice of any foreign ſtate in friendſhip with the commonwealth of England.

WHILST the ambaſſadors from Holland were in treaty with the commiſſioners appointed by the parliament to that end, the Dutch fleet conſiſting of forty three ſhips of war, commanded by the heer Van Tromp, came into the Downs. Major Bourn, having with him a ſquadron of eight men of war, perceiving two of the Dutch ſhips making ſail towards him, ſent to them to demand the reaſon of their approach; and an anſwer being returned, that they had a meſſage to deliver from admiral Van Tromp to the Engliſh commander of that ſquadron, they were permitted to come up to that purpoſe. The captains of the two Dutch ſhips, after they had ſaluted major Bourn by ſtriking the flag, went on board him, and acquainted him, that they were ſent by their admiral to let him know, that riding with his fleet near Dunkirk, he had loſt many cables and anchors by bad weather, and was now brought by a north wind more ſouthward than he deſigned, of which he thought himſelf obliged to give him notice to prevent any miſunderſtanding. Major Bourn told them, he was willing to believe what was ſaid, and that the truth of it would beſt appear by their ſpeedy retreat. With this anſwer the two captains returned to their fleet; which coming within cannon-ſhot of Dover-caſtle with their ſails up, and flag at the top-maſt, not ſaluting the fort according to cuſtom, the gariſon was conſtrained to fire three guns at the Hollanders, to put them in mind of their duty: but their admiral made no anſwer, and ſtill keeping up his flag, lay in the road till the next day about noon, at which time he weighed anchor, and ſet ſail towards Calais. The reſt of the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting only of thirteen men of war commanded by general Blake, who had been upon the coaſt of Suſſex, returning into the Downs ſoon after the departure of the Dutch, was joined by major Bourn, and thoſe eight ſhips he had with him. But admiral Van Tromp being obliged to take care of ſome rich merchant ſhips bound home to Holland from the Straits, returned towards the Downs; and being come within cannon-ſhot of our fleet without ſtriking their flag, general Blake commanded three ſeveral guns, one after the other, to be fired at him. Whereupon he anſwered with one gun, which ſhot through the Engliſh flag, and followed it with a whole broadſide, ſetting up the red ſtandard on his top-maſt, as a ſignal to the whole fleet to prepare to fight. The engagement began about four in the afternoon, and laſted till nine at night, with great loſs to the enemy, and little damage on our ſide, tho' their fleet was double our number. We took two of their men of war in the fight, one of which was brought away, and the other being very much ſhattered, ſunk down as our men were carrying her off. The council of ſtate having received an account of this action, made their report of it to the parliament, who paſſed a vote for the juſtification of general Blake; and reſolving to have ſatisfaction for this aſſault, placed a guard upon the Dutch ambaſſadors, at their lodgings in Chelſea, and ſent general Cromwell, and Mr. Denis Bond, a member of

of parliament, down to the fleet, with assurances that nothing should be wanting for their encouragement.

The event of this undertaking, not answering the expectations of the Hollanders, serving only to provoke the English nation, and to publish their own dishonour, they endeavoured to make the world as well as the parliament believe, that the quarrel was begun by general Blake, or at least that what had been done was not by their orders; and therefore desired that the treaty might go on, and that the prisoners taken in the late fight might be restored. To this end, they sent over the heer Paw of Heemsted to carry on the treaty in conjunction with the ambassadors they had sent before into England. This minister was received with all the usual demonstrations of honour, and being admitted to audience, pressed for an accommodation of all differences, and a cessation of all acts of hostility between the two nations; assuring the parliament that his masters had given orders to their ships to strike to the English flag, in the same manner as had been practised in former times: but being demanded to shew his powers, he produced nothing save letters of credence and passports, referring himself to the other ambassadors in that point, with whom he made some general propositions to the parliament, and desired them to declare their demands. By these proceedings of the Dutch, the parliament perceiving that this difference was not like to be decided by a treaty, contented themselves to require satisfaction for the injuries received, and assurance that nothing of that nature should be attempted for the future; which if the ambassadors would consent to, they declared themselves ready to proceed in the treaty, and to grant a cessation of arms. But so little were they disposed to give the satisfaction demanded, that they made no farther mention of the cessation which they had so earnestly pressed; and having taken their audience of leave, they broke off the treaty abruptly, and returned home.

In Ireland, tho' the number of those that submitted on condition to be transported into foreign service, was so great, that they became a great burden to us before we could procure shipping for their transportation; and tho' the enemy had received several defeats by our forces during the winter, wherein many of them had been killed and taken; yet they continued to make incursions into our quarters, carrying away cattle and other booty: and having lately seized upon the horses belonging to two troops of dragoons, they were so encouraged, that Sir Walter Dungan, commissary-general of the enemy's horse, and captain Scurlock a forward officer, and one who had done us much mischief, with five hundred foot and two hundred and fifty horse, marched into Wexford, with a design to plunder that county. Lieutenant-colonel Throgmorton, who commanded in those parts, having informed us of their march, we sent two troops of horse to his assistance, who with them and about four hundred foot charged the enemy upon their return, and after some dispute routed them, killing two hundred of them upon the place, and many more, with divers officers, in the pursuit; besides several of the Irish taken prisoners, with the loss of about twenty killed, and a hundred wounded on our side. The booty which the enemy had gotten, consisting chiefly in five hundred cows, was all recovered.

The season of action advancing, the commissioners of parliament went to Kilkenny, as well to confer with the officers from all parts of Ireland, as to make the necessary preparations for the ensuing service; of which the earl of Westmeath, who commanded the enemy's forces in Leinster,

having notice, ſent to deſire a ſafe conduct for commiſſioners to be named by them to treat with us at Kilkenny on their behalf; which being granted, they appointed commiſſary-general Dungan, Lewis viſcount of Glanmaliere, Sir Robert Talbot, Sir Richard Barnwel, colonel Walter Bagnol, colonel Lewis Moor, and colonel Thomas Tyrrell, to be their commiſſioners. And on our part, commiſſary-general Reynolds, colonel Hewetſon, colonel Lawrence, colonel Axtel, adjutant-general Allen, major Henry Owen, and Mr. James Standiſh, deputy-treaſurer of the army, were commiſſionated to treat and conclude with them, in conformity to ſuch inſtructions as they received from a general council; and after ſeveral days conference, the commiſſioners on each part came to an agreement, upon terms that were the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe formerly granted to colonel Edmund Odowyer and his party, with liberty left for the lord Muſkerry, major-general Taaf, and other commanders of the Iriſh, in the provinces of Munſter, Connaught, and Ulſter, yet in arms, to come in and accept of the ſame conditions within a limited time. The articles were approved by the earl of Weſtmeath on the behalf of the Iriſh, and on the part of the commonwealth of England by me, as commander in chief of their forces in Ireland.

In the mean time, the committee appointed by the parliament for the reformation of the law in England, made a conſiderable progreſs in that matter: judges were alſo ſent into Scotland for the adminiſtration of juſtice there, which they performed to the great ſatisfaction of that people. The parliament alſo appointed a committee, to conſider of means to ſet at work all the poor throughout the nation, and to make proviſion for ſuch as were not able to work, that there might be no beggar in England.

In Scotland our forces having reduced the caſtle of Dunotter, which was the laſt gariſon of that nation that held out againſt the parliament of England, it was reſolved to make four conſiderable forts, one at Inverneſs, another at Leith, a third at Ayre, and a fourth at St. Johnſtoun: and becauſe the enemy being entirely beaten out of the field, was retired to the mountainous parts, which to that time had been accounted inacceſſible by the Engliſh; it was agreed to endeavour to clear thoſe places of them alſo, being perſwaded that where any went before, others might follow after. To this end our men were divided into three parties: the firſt conſiſted of colonel Overton's regiment of foot, and a regiment of horſe, commanded by major Blackmore: the ſecond of colonel Hacker's regiment of horſe, and one of foot commanded by colonel Lilburn; and the third was compoſed of the regiment of horſe of major-general Dean, and of a regiment of foot belonging to lieutenant-general Monk. Each of theſe having a party of dragoons to attend them, rendezvouſed at Lochaber, and from thence fell ſeparately into the enemy's quarters, where they killed many of them, and burned their proviſions, purſuing them ſo cloſe, that as they fled from one party, they fell into the hands of another; by which means they were in a ſhort time entirely diſperſed.

The Iriſh that ſubmitted according to the articles, and delivered up their arms and horſes to the commiſſioners appointed by me to receive them, were in all about three thouſand. But many of them finding themſelves within that exception concerning the murders of the Engliſh, or hoping to obtain better conditions, or, it may be, taking pleaſure in their predatory life, continued ſtill in arms. Of this number was the lord Muſkerry, who commanded the Iriſh in Munſter, and at the time of

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our treaty with thoſe of Leinſter, had ſent one colonel Poor to Kilkenny, to acquaint us that he deſigned to come in upon the ſame conditions; but we ſuſpecting his ſincerity, by the means of ſome letters which we intercepted, were not wanting to prepare what was neceſſary in order to reduce him and his party by force; and having finiſhed our affairs at Kilkenny, I removed with the commiſſioners to Clonmel, and from thence to Youghal, and ſo to Cork.

The rebels in Connaught and Ulſter, inſtead of ſubmitting, as was expected, got together a body of about five thouſand men, under the conduct of the earl of Clanrickard and Sir Phelim O Neal, with which they beſieged and took the fort of Balliſhannon. Whereupon Sir Charles Coot and colonel Venables drew out what forces they could, and advanced towards them with ſuch expedition, that they were near the place before the enemy had notice of their march; who finding themſelves ſurprized, retreated to the bogs, leaving a ſmall gariſon in Balliſhannon: but being purſued by our men, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, in which number were thirty officers, and took from them ſeven or eight thouſand cows, upon whoſe milk they chiefly ſubſiſted, twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their arms: upon which the gariſon they had placed in Balliſhannon, ſurrendered upon articles.

Major-general Lambert making great preparations to come over to us, in quality of deputy to general Cromwell, the commiſſion of the ſaid general to be lieutenant of Ireland expired. Whereupon the parliament took that affair into conſideration; and tho' there were not wanting many amongſt them, who affirmed the title and office of lieutenant to be more ſuitable to a monarchy than a free commonwealth, yet it was likely to have been carried for the renewing his commiſſion under the ſame title. But he, having at that time another part to act, ſtood up, and declared his ſatisfaction with what had been ſaid againſt conſtituting a lieutenant in Ireland, deſiring that they would not continue him with that character. Upon which the queſtion being put, the parliament willing to believe him in earneſt, ordered it according to his motion. He farther moved, that tho' they had not thought fit to continue a lieutenant of Ireland, they would be pleaſed, in conſideration of the worthy perſon whom they had formerly approved to go over with the title of deputy, to continue that character to him. But the parliament having ſuppreſſed the title and office of a lieutenant in Ireland, thought it altogether improper to conſtitute a deputy, who was no more than the ſubſtitute of a lieutenant; and therefore refuſed to conſent to that propoſal, ordering that he ſhould be inſerted one of the commiſſioners for civil affairs, and conſtituted commander in chief of their forces in Ireland. In the management of this affair, Mr. Weaver, who was one of the commiſſioners of Ireland, but then at London, and ſitting in parliament, was very active, to the great diſcontent of general Cromwell, who endeavouring to perſwade the parliament that the army in Ireland would not be ſatisfied, unleſs their commander in chief came over qualified as deputy, Mr. Weaver aſſured them that upon his knowledge, all the ſober people of Ireland, and the whole army there, except a few factious perſons, were not only well ſatisfied with the preſent government both civil and military of that nation, but alſo with the governours who managed the ſame; and therefore moved that they would make no alteration in either, and renew their commiſſions for a longer time. This diſcourſe of Mr. Weaver tending to perſwade the parliament to continue me in the military command, increaſed the jealouſy which general Cromwell had conceived of me, that I might prove an obſtruction

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to the deſign he was carrying on to advance himſelf by the ruin of the commonwealth. And therefore, ſince major-general Lambert refuſed to go over with any character leſs than that of deputy, he reſolved by any means to place lieutenant-general Fleetwood at the head of affairs in Ireland. By which conduct he procured two great advantages to himſelf, thereby putting the army in Ireland into the hands of a perſon ſecured to his intereſt by the marriage of his daughter; and drawing major-general Lambert into an enmity towards the parliament, prepared him to join with him in oppoſition to them, when he ſhould find it convenient to put his deſign in execution.

In the mean time I was not wanting in my endeavours to reduce the enemy in Ireland, and to that end marched with about 4000 foot and 2000 horſe towards Roſs in Kerry; where the lord Muſkerry made his principal rendezvous, and which was the only place of ſtrength the Iriſh had left, except the woods, bogs and mountains; being a kind of an iſland, encompaſſed on every part by water, except on one ſide, upon which there was a bog not paſſable but by a cauſway which the enemy had fortified. In this expedition I was accompanied by the lord Broghil, and Sir Hardreſs Waller, major-general of the foot. Being arrived at this place, I was informed that the enemy received continual ſupplies from thoſe parts that lay on the other ſide, and were covered with woods and mountains; whereupon I ſent a party of two thouſand foot to clear thoſe woods, and to find out ſome convenient place for the erecting a fort, if there ſhould be occaſion. Theſe forces met with ſome oppoſition; but at laſt they routed the enemy, killing ſome, and taking others priſoners; the reſt ſaved themſelves by their good footmanſhip. Whilſt this was doing, I employed that part of the army which was with me in fortifying a neck of land, where I deſigned to leave a party to keep in the Iriſh on this ſide, that I might be at liberty with the greateſt part of the horſe and foot to look after the enemy abroad, and to receive and convoy ſuch boats and other things neceſſary as the commiſſioners ſent to us by ſea. When we had received our boats, each of which was capable of containing a hundred and twenty men, I ordered one of them to be rowed about the water in order to find out the moſt convenient place for landing upon the enemy: which they perceiving, thought fit, by a timely ſubmiſſion, to prevent the danger that threatned them; and having expreſſed their deſires to that purpoſe, commiſſioners were appointed on both parts to treat. The articles were the ſame in effect with thoſe granted to the Iriſh in Leinſter and other places. But much time was ſpent in the diſcuſſion of ſome particulars, eſpecially that concerning the murder of the Engliſh, which was an exception we never failed to make; ſo that the Iriſh commiſſioners ſeeming doubtful whether by the wording that article they were not all included, deſired that it might be explained; to which we conſented, and it was accordingly done. They alſo made it their requeſt, that inſtead of that article relating to their real eſtates, whereby they were to enjoy ſuch a part as ſhould be alotted to them by the qualifications to be agreed upon, it might be expreſſed, that they wholly ſubmitted to the mercy of the parliament therein. The exerciſe alſo of their religion was earneſtly inſiſted upon by them; but we refuſed to oblige ourſelves to any thing in that particular, declaring only, that it was neither the principle or practice of the authority which we ſerved, to impoſe their way of worſhip upon any by violent means. With theſe explanations the commiſſioners, after a fortnight's debate, concluded the agreement, the lord Muſkerry and myſelf

self confirming it; his son with Sir Daniel Obryan were delivered to me as hostages for the performance of the articles: in consequence of which about five thousand horse and foot laid down their arms, and surrendred their horses.

Whilst this was doing in Munster, colonel Grace with some forces that had not submitted, passed the Shannon, and being joined by many of the Irish of Connaught and Galway, began to grow considerable, being about three thousand, most of them foot. Colonel Ingoldsby having notice of them, drew together a party about Limerick, and marching with them to find out the enemy, attacked them at a pass, which they disputed for some time; but our horse breaking in upon some of their foot, and encouraging the rest to fall on, the Irish quitted their post, and shifted for themselves. In this action many of them were killed and taken prisoners, the rest escaping to the bogs and woods. After this defeat colonel Grace and his party was forced to submit, and to that end treated with colonel Zanchey, but found that his obstinate resistance so long had done him no service; for colonel Zanchey upon the surrender of Inch to him, and the submission of colonel Grace's forces, caused a captain, a lieutenant, and a serjeant, with other officers, to be shot to death, for revolting at Carrick to the enemy, according to the liberty he had reserved to himself in that case by the capitulation. In the north of Ireland colonel Theophilus Jones being sent out with seven troops of horse, one of dragoons, and three hundred foot, to get provisions for the relief of those parts, met with a party of the enemy, consisting of sixteen hundred foot and three hundred horse, whom he charged, and after a sharp dispute routed, and put to flight, killing many of their officers, and three hundred soldiers upon the place. All the arms of their foot were taken, and a hundred and fifty horse, with the loss only of six of our men killed, and about twenty wounded. The earl of Clanrickard finding the Irish affairs in a desperate condition, with what forces he had left retired into the isle of Carrick, where being encompassed by our men on all sides, he submitted, and obtained liberty to transport himself with three thousand men to any foreign country in friendship with the commonwealth, within the space of three months.

The parliament having already sent over to us five companies of foot under the command of lieutenant-colonel Finch, who had done very good service at the battel of Worcester, resolved to send eight hundred more out of the regiment of major-general Lambert, and an intire regiment commanded by colonel Clark; which forces were procured rather to promote the designs of general Cromwel, than from any need we had of them; our military service in Ireland, by the blessing of God, drawing towards a conclusion, most of the Irish forces having submitted and laid down their arms, no garison of any strength holding out against us, and many thousands of the enemy sent into foreign service. The soldiers of Lambert's regiment were countermanded, upon his refusal to go to Ireland without the character of deputy; but the regiment of colonel Clark being throughly principled for Cromwel's design, continued their march by order of the parliament, who were persuaded to constitute lieutenant-general Fleetwood commander in chief of their forces in Ireland, and one of their commissioners for the civil affairs in that nation.

The states-general, upon the return of their ambassadors from England, dispatched orders to their admiral to take all advantages against the English, and solicited the king of Denmark to break with us also, en-

couraging him to detain twenty two Engliſh merchant ſhips which he had formerly ſeized coming through the Sound. The parliament, to prevent the dangers that might enſue by farther delay, gave orders to general Blake to fall upon the ſubjects of Holland whereſoever he ſhould meet them, and particularly to interrupt their fiſhery upon the northern coaſt, ſending the regiments of colonel Ingoldſby and colonel Goff on board the fleet. General Blake having received theſe inſtructions, ſet ſail for the north, where meeting with about ſix hundred herring-buſſes, under a convoy of twelve men of war, he took and ſunk the whole convoy; and having ſeized the fiſh that the buſſes had taken, he releaſed all the veſſels with the ſeamen belonging to them. Which action was blamed by ſome, who thought that by the help of thoſe ſhips we might have been enabled to erect a fiſhery, and thereby have made ſome reparation to the Engliſh nation for the damages which they had ſuſtained from the Dutch; and that by detaining their mariners we might have weakned and diſtreſſed them conſiderably, they wanting men for the management of their ſhipping. In the mean time Sir George Ayſcue, who was lately returned from the reduction of Barbadoes, and had convoyed into the river five merchant ſhips richly laden from the Eaſt Indies, fell upon a fleet of Hollanders conſiſting of forty merchant-men under the convoy of four men of war. Of this fleet he took ſeven, forced divers on ſhore, and the reſt narrowly eſcaped. About the ſame time a ſhip from Guinea, valued at forty thouſand pounds, was by ſome of ours taken from the Dutch, with many other rich ſhips, to the great prejudice and interruption of their trade. To apply ſome remedy to this, the Dutch admiral with his fleet came into the Downs, and anchored by Sir George Ayſcue, who was retired under Dover-caſtle, being much inferiour in number to the enemy; but the Hollanders after a ſhort ſtay left our fleet, and ſet ſail without attempting any thing againſt us. At Leghorn ſome of their men of war preparing to ſeize ſuch Engliſh merchant ſhips as lay in that port, the grand duke ſent a meſſage to the Dutch, to let them know, that if they committed any acts of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh nation in that harbour, their goods in the town ſhould be reſponſible for it. Admiral Blake returned to the Downs, and being informed that a French fleet was going to relieve Dunkirk, then beſieged by the Spaniards, called a council of war, and by their advice ſent a ſquadron after them, which coming up with the French, took divers of their ſhips, and diſperſed the reſt; by which means chiefly the town was ſoon after ſurrendred.

The Iriſh being reduced to extremity, and moſt of the country in the hands of the Engliſh, the parliament reſolved to give the adventurers poſſeſſion of lands proportionable to the ſeveral ſums they had advanced, and alſo to ſatisfy the arrears of the army out of the ſame, as they had formerly promiſed: which that they might be enabled to perform, they paſſed an act, confiſcating ſo much of the eſtates of thoſe who had acted againſt the Engliſh, as they judged the quality of their crimes to require, and extending their clemency to thoſe who had carried themſelves peaceably. In the mean time that I might bring ſuch as remained yet in arms againſt us to a neceſſity of ſubmitting, I marched with a party of about four thouſand horſe and foot; and having ſcoured the counties of Wexford and Wicklo, placing gariſons where I thought convenient, I went to Tredagh, where I met the reſt of the parliament's commiſſioners; and having ſtaid eight days in that place to ſettle affairs, I continued my march into the county of Meath, and coming to Carrick Mac Roſs, a houſe belonging

to

to the earl of Essex, where the rebels had barbarously murdered one Mr. Blany a justice of peace in that country, I caused it to be fortified, and put a garison in it, being advantageously situated to restrain the enemy's excursions. From hence I went to visit the garison of Dundalk, and being upon my return, I found a party of the enemy retired within a hollow rock, which was discovered by one of ours, who saw five or six of them standing before a narrow passage at the mouth of a cave. The rock was so thick, that we thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to try to reduce them by smoke. After some of our men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within by fire placed at the mouth of the cave, they withdrew the fire, and the next morning supposing the Irish to be made incapable of resistance by the smoke, some of them with a candle before them crawled into the rock. One of the enemy who lay in the middle of the entrance fired his pistol, and shot the first of our men into the head, by whose loss we found that the smoke had not taken the designed effect. But seeing no other way to reduce them, I caused the trial to be repeated, and upon examination found that tho' a great smoke went into the cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices; upon which I ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smother made. About an hour and half after this, one of them was heard to groan very strongly, and afterwards more weakly, whereby we presumed that the work was done; yet the fire was continued till about midnight, and then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for ours to enter the next morning. At which time some went in armed with back, breast, and head-piece, to prevent such another accident as fell out at their first attempt; but they had not gone above six yards before they found the man that had been heard to groan, who was the same that had killed one of our men with his pistol, and who resolving not to quit his post, had been upon stopping the holes of the rock, choaked by the smoak. Our soldiers put a rope about his neck, and drew him out. The passage being cleared, they entered, and having put about fifteen to the sword, brought four or five out alive, with the priest's robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind. Those within preserved themselves by laying their heads close to a water that ran through the rock. We found two rooms in the place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike; and having filled the mouth of it with large stones, we quitted it, and marched to Castle-Blany, where I left a party of foot, and some horse, as I had done before at Carrick and Newry, whereby that part of the county of Monaghan was pretty well secured. We continued our march to Monaghan, and so to Aghur, where we cast up some works, and left a garison to defend it. Near this place lay the creaght of lieutenant-general O Neal, son to that O Neal who after several years imprisonment in the Tower of London died there: he came over from the service of the king of Spain to be lieutenant-general to the army of Owen Roe O Neal; but upon some jealousy or particular discontent was laid aside. This man with his wife, who he said was niece to the dutchess of Artois, and some children, removed, as the Irish do generally in those parts, with their tenants and cattle, from one place to another, where there is conveniency of grass, water and wood; and there having built a house, which they do compleatly in an hour or two, they stay till they want grass, and then dislodge to another station. This way of living is accompanied with many inconveniencies to the publick service; for they not only give shelter to the enemy, but take all advantages themselves both to plunder

and

and kill, none knowing whence they come, or whither they go, and ſo can neither eaſily be prevented nor found out. From hence I marched to Inniſkillin in the county of Fermagnah, that I might take a view of the place, and likewiſe provide materials to fortify Leſneſkey, otherwiſe Bally-Balfoar, and to reduce an iſland kept by the Iriſh in Loughern, with another fort they poſſeſſed near Bulturbet. Being at Leſneſkey, I was met by commiſſary-general Reynolds, who with a party of horſe and foot had diſperſed the enemy in Letrim. Having fortified this place, and made ſome preparations for the reduction of the iſland before-mentioned, I received advice from the commiſſioners of parliament at Dublin, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had landed at Waterford, and was gone to Kilkenny, where they deſigned to attend him. The news of his arrival was very welcome to me, having found my care and fatigues recompenſed only with envy and hatred; and therefore having given orders where I was for the carrying on the publick ſervice, I haſtened after the commiſſioners; and being come to Kilkenny, I ſaluted the commander in chief, and congratulated his ſafe arrival; after which I gave him an account of the affairs of the army, with aſſurances of my reſolution to obey his orders. In this place colonel Walter Bagnal, who had been one of the hoſtages delivered to us, for the performance of the treaty concluded with thoſe of the province of Leinſter, was by the marſhal detained priſoner, upon an accuſation brought againſt him for the murder of an Engliſhman; which crime being excepted out of thoſe articles, and all others at any time granted to the Iriſh, the commiſſioners thought themſelves obliged in duty to put him upon his trial, and to that end cauſed him to be brought before them, where upon full proof they condemned him to be ſhot to death; which ſentence was executed accordingly. The lieutenant-general remained ſome time at Kilkenny; but the commiſſioners having diſpatched their affairs in thoſe parts, returned to Dublin, and I accompanied them thither.

The Holland fleet appearing off the Goodwin Sands, admiral Blake haſtened the foot-ſoldiers aboard, and ſet ſail after them; but they tacked about, and made away towards the French coaſt; where being joined by the ſhips commanded by vice-admiral De Ruyter, they returned towards our fleet, and came within ſix leagues of the north foreland. Captain Mildmay in the Nonpareille, about four in the afternoon, exchanged ſome ſhot with them; and ſoon after the Engliſh admiral, with a few more, came up alſo; the reſt of the fleet, by reaſon of bad weather, being yet far behind. The Dutch kept themſelves cloſe together, firing ſeveral ſingle ſhot at ours, which our admiral thought not fit to anſwer, till the reſt of the fleet was come up to him, and then he began to fire on the admiral of Holland. The fight laſted from five till ſeven, when night parted them, the reer-admiral of the enemy having loſt all his maſts, and two more of their ſhips moſt part of their rigging. Captain Mildmay followed them cloſe, and being come up with them, commanded his ſmall ſhot to be fired into that ſhip that made moſt ſail, immediately after which he boarded and took her. This done, he purſued another, and in half an hour overtook her, and forced her to yield alſo. In one of thoſe ſhips was the Dutch reer-admiral, whom captain Mildmay took out, with the reſt of the men, and then let her ſink, ſhe being ſo diſabled, that he deſpaired of bringing her off. The next morning our fleet purſued the Dutch, who made away with all poſſible ſpeed, and about four in the afternoon bore up with them; but none of our great ſhips except the

the admiral being able to reach them, the night ſeparated them again. The next day the Dutch recovered Goree and others of their harbours, ſo that our fleet thought fit to deſiſt any farther purſuit of them. On our ſide we had but three of our men and captain Jarvis killed, with about twenty wounded. The enemy's loſs was conſiderable, many of their men being killed and wounded, beſides ſeveral taken priſoners; and three of their ſhips ſunk and taken. Fourteen more were alſo brought into their ports much damaged in the engagement, with great numbers of wounded men on board. The fleet coming to Goree, the captains were forbidden to come a-ſhore, till enquiry ſhould be made touching thoſe who had refuſed to fight in the firſt encounter with the Engliſh. Hereupon the enmity of the Dutch againſt the Engliſh nation grew to ſuch a height, that to render them odious, and to encourage their own ſubjects to come in to ſerve againſt them, they cauſed the execution of the late king to be repreſented on the ſtage in a moſt tragical manner: inſomuch that thoſe of the prince of Orange's party were not without hopes, that the ſtates of Holland would rather ſurrender their liberties to the prince, than quietly ſuffer England to live under the government of a commonwealth. Some prejudice we received in two encounters with the Dutch in the Mediterranean ſea; but thoſe ſlight ſucceſſes were wholly owing to their number, and not at all to their courage or conduct.

The parliament gave audience to ambaſſadors from Venice and Portugal, referring the conſideration of their inſtructions to the council of ſtate, who were required to report their opinions touching them to the parliament. They alſo ordered a letter to be drawn up and diſpatched to the grand duke of Tuſcany, to give him thanks for the good uſage received from him by the Engliſh merchants at Leghorn. About the ſame time, thirty frigates were appointed to be built, as well to increaſe the fleet, as to ſecure the trade of the nation by cruiſing. Eighteen men of war were likewiſe ſent into the Sound, under the conduct of captain Hall, who at his arrival before Elſenore, delivered a letter to the governour of that place for the king of Denmark, with aſſurances that he was come thither for no other end than to convoy home two and twenty Engliſh merchant-ſhips, formerly ſeized by the ſaid king at Copenhagen. The king of Denmark ſeemed much offended that captain Hall had entered the Sound without his leave, and ſent four thouſand men to Cronenburg and Elſenore, to reinforce thoſe places, giving orders to his fleet to join with the Hollanders, who were not far off, and to fight the Engliſh, in caſe they attacked the Dutch. Theſe great preparations obliged captain Hall to retire from thence, and to return to Newcaſtle. Hereupon the Daniſh ambaſſador at London had his audience of leave from the parliament, and his maſter began to prepare twenty ſhips of war for the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, alledging himſelf bound ſo to do by a treaty with them: in order to which he cauſed the goods belonging to the Engliſh to be taken out of the two and twenty ſhips before-mentioned, and to be ſold, declaring openly for the Hollanders.

In the mean time the reformation of the law went on but ſlowly, it being the intereſt of the lawyers to preſerve the lives, liberties and eſtates of the whole nation in their own hands. So that upon the debate of "regiſtering deeds in each county, for want of which, within a certain time fixed after the ſale, ſuch ſales ſhould be void, and being ſo regiſtered, that land ſhould not be ſubject to any incumbrance:" this word

"incumbrance" was ſo managed by the lawyers, that it took up three months time before it could be aſcertained by the committee.

THE act for putting a period to the parliament was ſtill before a committee of the whole houſe, who had made a conſiderable progreſs therein, having agreed upon a more equal diſtribution of the power of election throughout England: and whereas formerly ſome boroughs, that had ſcarce a houſe upon them, choſe two members to be their repreſentatives in parliament, (juſt as many as the greateſt cities in England, London only excepted) and the ſingle county of Cornwall elected forty four, when Eſſex and other counties bearing as great a ſhare in the payment of taxes, ſent no more than ſix or eight; this unequal repreſentation of the people the parliament reſolved to correct, and to permit only ſome of the principal cities and boroughs to chuſe, and that for the moſt part, but one repreſentative, the city of London only excepted, which, on account of the great proportion of their contributions and taxes, were allowed to elect ſix. The reſt of the four hundred, whereof the parliament was to conſiſt, (beſides thoſe that ſerved for Ireland and Scotland) were appointed to be choſen by the ſeveral counties, in as near a proportion as was poſſible to the ſums charged upon them for the ſervice of the ſtate, and all men admitted to be electors who were worth two hundred pounds in lands, leaſes, or goods.

DIVERS informations were brought againſt the Iriſh for murders committed at the beginning of the rebellion, and ſince upon the Engliſh. The principal of the accuſed were colonel Maccarty Reagh, who was ſeized in the county of Cork; the lord Mayo, in the county of Galway; the mother of colonel Fitzpatrick in the province of Leinſter, with many others. And for the encouragement of the plantations in Ireland, the parliament permitted the people of England to tranſport thither all ſorts of cattle and grain, free of all cuſtom; and ordered that their commiſſioners in Ireland ſhould raiſe a revenue there for all ſuch as had been wounded and diſabled, and for the widows and children of thoſe that had been killed in the publick ſervice.

THE vice-admiral of prince Rupert's fleet carrying forty pieces of cannon, was brought into Plymouth by the Engliſh ſeamen ſhe had on board, who finding a favourable occaſion, near Cape de Verd, ſeized the captain and the reſt of the company, being all French and Dutch: upon which the council of ſtate received orders from the parliament to reward the ſaid ſeamen, and to prepare an act to encourage others to follow their example.

THE Dutch admiral Van Trump, with one hundred and ten ſhips of war, and ſome fire-ſhips, being joined by ſeventeen men of war from Zealand, ſailed from Goree with orders to convoy ſafe out of the channel a fleet of near five hundred merchant-ſhips, deſigned for France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Barbary, and the Levant, and to take all the advantages he could againſt the Engliſh. Hereupon the parliament paſſed an act for the ſale of the eſtates of ſome, who having been adjudged delinquents, had refuſed to lay hold of the favour extended to them, of compounding; which they did to eaſe the people of ſome part of the charge of this war againſt the Dutch; yet their occaſions were ſo preſſing, that they were conſtrained to lay a tax for ſome months of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a month, which the people willingly paid, becauſe they knew that it was wholly employed in their ſervice.

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Most of the Dutch merchant-ships were, by bad weather and contrary winds, driven back into their harbours, but their men of war kept out at sea; and Van Trump having received advice, that admiral Blake had sent away twenty of his ships to convoy a fleet of laden colliers from Newcastle, twelve towards Plymouth, and fifteen up the river, which had suffered some damage by storm, and that he had left with him but thirty seven ships of war, came into the Downs with fourscore men of war, and thirty of the ablest merchantmen of the fleet he was appointed to convoy. Notwithstanding which inequality of number, it was unanimously resolved in a council of war to fight the Dutch fleet. Accordingly a day or two after ours engaged them about noon, and the fight continued till night separated them. In this fight we lost two ships, the Garland of forty, and the Bonaventure of thirty six guns; and tho' in recompence we burnt one of their admirals, and killed many of their men, particularly two secretaries who were on board their admiral, yet the Dutch were exceedingly elevated with this little success; and being informed that the English fleet was in great want of all sorts of naval stores, they published a placart to prohibit the exportation of them hither under severe penalties. They also threatened to drive us out of the islands which we possessed in America, and to that end sent some ships to join prince Rupert, which, with those revolted English, made up in all twenty five sail. The king of Denmark likewise promised to assist them by the next spring with thirty ships of war, for the sum of one million of guilders, which they agreed to pay to him.

In the mean time, the parliament having received information of the misbehaviour of some officers in the late engagement, appointed a committee, whereof Sir Henry Vane, Mr. John Carew, and major Salloway, were the principal, impowering them to place and displace officers, and to regulate all matters relating to the sea, in such a manner as might be most conducing to the service of the state. These commissioners used such care and diligence in the discharge of this trust, that the face of affairs soon became much altered for the better; the ships that were unserviceable repaired, a considerable fleet put to sea well officer'd and well mann'd, the store-houses repleniſhed with all manner of necessary provisions, and thirty frigates preparing to be built. Lieutenant-general Monk was also added to the generals Blake and Dean, in the room of colonel Edward Popham lately deceased, to take care of the equipping and commanding the fleet. And that nothing might be wanting on our part, to preserve a correspondence with such foreign states as were in amity with us, the parliament sent the lord-commissioner Whitlock on an extraordinary embassy to the crown of Sweden, where he was received with all the honours due to his character.

The commissioners for the Irish affairs being at Dublin, lieutenant-general Fleetwood came thither with his family; after whose arrival a commission was issued out, for the trials of such as were accused of having murdered the English, which was directed to persons of known ability and integrity in each province. To those formerly accused was added the lord Muskerry, who was charged to have put many Englishmen to death, in the way between his house of Mackroom and the city of Cork. Upon this accusation the said lord was seized, and ordered to be prosecuted by the court of justice at Dublin for the same. The commissioners also, by order of the parliament, published a declaration to inform the publick, and particularly the adventurers, who had advanced money

money upon the Iriſh lands, that the war in Ireland was concluded. This they did, as well that the ſaid adventurers might have what was juſtly due to them, as that the poor waſted country of Ireland might have the aſſiſtance of their own purſes and labour, to recover the ſtock and growth of the land; the Iriſh having all along eaten out the heart and vigour of the ground, and of late much more than ever, being in daily apprehenſions of being removed.

ALL arrears due to the Engliſh army in Ireland were ſatisfied by the parliament out of the eſtates forfeited by the rebels, which were delivered to them at the ſame rates with the firſt adventurers. In this tranſaction thoſe of the army ſhewed great partiality, by confining the ſatisfaction of arrears only to ſuch as were in arms in Auguſt, 1649. which was the time when the Engliſh army, commanded by lieutenant-general Cromwell, arrived in Ireland; and tho' the hardſhips endured by thoſe who were in arms before had been much greater, yet nothing could be obtained but ſuch a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklo, and elſewhere, as was not ſufficient to clear the fourth part of what was due to them. Thoſe who ſolicited the affairs of the army in Ireland with the parliament, having perſwaded the adventurers, that there were forfeited lands enough in one moiety of nine principal counties, they accepted of them for their ſatisfaction, and the other moiety was aſſigned by the act for the ſatisfaction of the ſoldiers; the reſt of Ireland was alſo diſpoſed of, only the province of Connaught was reſerved for the Iriſh, under the qualifications agreed upon by the parliament: according to which, they were to be put into poſſeſſion of the ſeveral proportions of land which had been promiſed them in the ſaid province; that ſo the adventurers, ſoldiers, and others to whom the parliament ſhould aſſign their lands, might plant without diſturbance, or danger of being corrupted by intermixing with the natives in marriages or otherwiſe, which by the experience of former times the Engliſh had been found to be, rather than to have bettered the Iriſh either in religion or good manners: and that the natives being divided by the river Shannon from the other provinces, and having gariſons placed round and amongſt them in the moſt proper and convenient ſtations, they might not have thoſe opportunities to prejudice the Engliſh as formerly they had. An act being drawn up to this purpoſe, the parliament paſſed it, reſerving the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlo, and Cork, (together with the remaining part of the lands formerly belonging to the biſhops, deans, and chapters of Ireland, whereof ſome had been already applied, to augment the revenues of the college of Dublin) to be diſpoſed of as the parliament ſhould think fit.

THE forfeited lands were divided between the adventurers and ſoldiers by lot, according to an eſtimate taken of the number of acres in the reſpective counties, in conformity to an order from the commiſſioners of parliament; by whom were appointed ſub-commiſſioners to judge of the qualifications of each perſon, and others, who upon certificate from the ſub-commiſſioners for determining qualifications, were required to ſet out ſo much land in the province of Connaught as belonged to every one by virtue of the ſaid act. They alſo eſtabliſhed a committee to ſit at Dublin, to receive and adjudge all claims of Engliſh and others to any lands, limiting a time within which they were obliged to bring in and make appear their reſpective claims to be legal; to the end that the adventurers, ſoldiers, and others, might be at a certainty, and after ſuch a time free from any moleſtation in the poſſeſſion of their lands; and that none through

through ignorance or absence might be surprized, they prorogued the said time twice or thrice to a longer day.

The courts of justice erected at Dublin and in other parts, proceeded vigorously in making inquisition after the murders that had been committed: Maccarty Reagh, after much search into the matter whereof he stood accused, was acquitted by the court sitting at Cork; and so was the lord Clanmaliere by that of Kilkenny; but the mother of colonel Fitzpatrick was found guilty of the murder of the English, with this aggravation, that she said she would make candles of their fat. She was condemned to be burnt, and the sentence was executed accordingly. Colonel Lewis Moor and Lewis Demley were also found guilty of murder, for which they were hanged. Sir Charles Coote, with the rest of the court of justice in the province of Connaught, proceeded against the lord Mayo, and declared him guilty of the same crime, for which he was executed according to the sentence pronounced against him.

The trial of the lord Muskerry was long, by reason of a clause which he urged in his defence, from a printed copy of the articles made with him; which tho' it had been unjust for me to grant in the terms there mentioned, yet would have cleared him, and thrown the blame and guilt upon me; for articles given ought to be made good. But this clause upon search into the original, which I kept, appeared to have been inserted by themselves in the print which they produced for evidence, under pretence of having lost the original articles signed by me. Notwithstanding which, it appearing that tho' divers of the English were murdered by the convoy appointed to conduct them safe to Cork, the lord Muskerry had taken what care he could for their security, and had done what in him lay to bring the person who was guilty of that blood to justice, the court acquitted him, and he was permitted, according to his articles, to pass into Spain. I have heard, that upon his arrival in that kingdom, a faction appeared against him, upon account of his former opposition to the pope's nuncio in Ireland; so that he finding but cold entertainment there, entered into a treaty to put himself and his men into the service of the Venetians.

Luke Took, the head of a sept in the county of Wicklo, being conscious of his guilt, had formerly desired my pass to come and treat with me about conditions for laying down the arms of himself and party; and to induce me to give him more favourable terms, said, he had a horse and saddle worth a hundred pounds, which he desired I would accept of. I refusing his present, he took it as an ill omen to him; for they are so accustomed to bribe their magistrates in that country, that if any one refuse their presents, they presently conclude him to be their enemy, and give their cause for lost; and therefore he submitted not at that time. But now supposing he could by no means avoid falling into our hands, by reason of the number of our garisons placed in all parts amongst them, who by this time were as well acquainted with their retreats and fastnesses as themselves, and it may be thinking there would not appear sufficient evidence to prove him guilty, he submitted upon the same condition I had formerly offered to him, which was, "That he should be liable to be questioned for murder," whereof being accused before the court at Dublin, he was convicted, sentenced, and executed.

Sir Phelim O Neal, head also of a sept, and one who had as great a share as any in the contriving and carrying on the massacre and rebellion, fell into the hands of the lord Cawfield, whose brother he had caused to

be murdered at the beginning of the rebellion, in this manner. O Neal being a neighbour of the lord Cawfield, came to him under the pretence of friendſhip, with about half a dozen friends, to his caſtle of Charlemont, where being received, he and thoſe that were with him were carried to drink in the cellar by the lord Cawfield, (both of them being too much addicted to that which the world calls good fellowſhip.) After ſome time Sir Phelim O Neal fires a piſtol, which was a ſignal agreed on, and immediately thirty Iriſh entered and ſurprized the caſtle, taking the lord, his mother, lady, and children, with the reſt of the family, priſoners; and after three or four days murdered the lord Cawfield, the reſt hardly eſcaping with their lives. But now the commiſſioners of parliament having by their preſcribed lines, within which all were obliged to inhabit, withdrawn proviſions from the enemy, who could not be ſupplied without hazard of their lives, thought fit, as a further means to reduce them, to ſet a ſum of money upon the heads of the principal of thoſe who yet perſiſted in their rebellion; upon ſome twenty, others forty, and upon Sir Phelim O Neal a hundred pounds, to bring him dead or alive. This was ſuch an incouragement to look after him, that one of the country people having notice that he was in an iſland in the north, gave intelligence thereof to the lord Cawfield, who having brought together a party of horſe and foot, entered the iſland in boats and ſeized him there. From thence he carried him to Dublin, where divers of his cruelties to the Engliſh being proved againſt him, he was ſentenced by the court of juſtice to be put to death, and his head to be ſet upon the gate that ſtands at the foot of the bridge, which was put in execution accordingly.

THUS the enemy, by the bleſſing of God upon the counſels of the parliament, and endeavours of their armies, was every where diſperſed and conquered, and the nation likely to attain in a ſhort time that meaſure of happineſs which human things are capable of, when by the ambition of one man the hopes and expectations of all good men were diſappointed, and the people robbed of that liberty which they had contended for at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure.

GENERAL Cromwell had long been ſuſpected by wiſe and good men; but he had taken ſuch care to form and mould the army to his humour and intereſts, that he had filled all places either with his own creatures, or with ſuch as hoped to ſhare with him in the ſovereignty, and removed thoſe who foreſeeing his deſign, had either the courage or honeſty to oppoſe him in it. His pernicious intentions did not diſcover themſelves openly till after the battle at Worceſter, which in one of his letters to the parliament he called "The crowning victory." At the ſame time when he diſmiſſed the militia, who had moſt readily offered themſelves to ſerve the commonwealth againſt the Scots, he did it with anger and contempt, which was all the acknowledgment they could obtain from him for their ſervice and affection to the publick cauſe. In a word, ſo much was he elevated with that ſucceſs, that Mr. Hugh Peters, as he ſince told me, took ſo much notice of it, as to ſay in confidence to a friend, upon the road in his return from Worceſter, "That Cromwel would make himſelf king." He now began to deſpiſe divers members of the houſe whom he had formerly courted, and grew moſt familiar with thoſe whom he uſed to ſhew moſt averſion to; endeavouring to oblige the royal party, by procuring for them more favourable conditions than conſiſted with the juſtice of the parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the ſpirits of many people, and keeping them from engaging in new diſturbances to reſcue themſelves

themselves out of those fears, which many who had acted for the king yet lay under; tho' at the same time he designed nothing, as by the success was most manifest, but to advance himself by all manner of means, and to betray the great trust which the parliament and good people of England had reposed in him. To this end he pressed the act of oblivion with so much importunity, that tho' some members earnestly opposed its bearing date till after some months, as well in justice to those of that party, who had already fined for their delinquency, that others as guilty as themselves might be upon an equal foot with them, as that the state might by that means be supplied with money, which they wanted, and that such who had been plundered by the enemy might receive some satisfaction from those who had ruined them, yet nothing could prevail upon the general; and so the act was passed: the parliament being unwilling to deny him any thing, for which there was the least colour of reason.

But tho' he had gained this point, and eagerly coveted his own advancement, he thought it not convenient yet to unmask himself; but rather to make higher pretences to honesty than ever he had done before, thereby to engage major-general Harrison, colonel Rich, and their party, to himself. To this end he took all occasions in their presence to asperse the parliament, as not designing to do those good things they pretended to; but rather intending to support the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers. And tho' he was convinced, that they were hastening with all expedition to put a period to their sitting, having passed a vote that they would do it within the space of a year, and that they were making all possible preparations in order to it; yet did he industriously publish, that they were so in love with their seats, that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves. These and many other calumnies he had with so much art insinuated into the belief of many honest and well-meaning people, that they began to wish him prosperity in his undertaking. Divers of the clergy from their pulpits began to prophesy the destruction of the parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable. Insomuch that the general, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to quarter-master-general Vernon, "That he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end. "One of these, said he, is headed by major-general Lambert, who in revenge of that injury the parliament did him, in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a character and conditions suitable to his merit, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution: of the other major-general Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent. Thus did he craftily feel the pulse of men towards this work, endeavouring to cast the infamy of it on others, reserving to himself the appearance of tenderness to civil and religious liberty, and of skreening the nation from the fury of the parties before-mentioned.

This mine of his was not wrought with so much privacy, but it was observed by some discerning men of the parliament, especially by those who had the direction and management of the war with Holland. These men endeavoured to countermine him two ways: first, by balancing his interest in the army with that of the fleet, procuring an order from the parliament, whose ear they had upon all occasions, by reason of the importance of the war with the Dutch, to send some regiments of the

army to ſtrengthen the fleet; and ſecondly, by recommending, as an eaſy way to raiſe money in that exigency, the ſale of Hampton-court, and other places, that were eſteemed as baits to tempt ſome ambitious man to aſcend the throne. The parliament having ordered theſe things to be done, the general, ſenſible of the deſign, and of the conſequences of ſuffering the army to be new-moulded, and put under another conduct, made haſte to execute his former reſolutions, railing to colonel Okey and other officers of the army, againſt divers members of the parliament, affirming that little good could be expected from that body where ſuch men had ſo great an influence. At the ſame time he made the moſt ſolemn profeſſions of fidelity to the parliament, aſſuring them, that if they would command the army to break their ſwords over their heads, and to throw them into the ſea, he would undertake they ſhould do it. Yet did he privately engage the officers of the army to draw up a petition to the parliament, That for the ſatisfaction of the nation, they would put that vote which they had made for fixing a period to their ſitting, into an act; which whilſt the officers were forming and debating, the general having, it ſeems, for that time altered his counſels, ſent colonel Deſborough, one of his inſtruments, to the council of officers, who told them, that they were a ſort of men whom nothing could ſatisfy; that the parliament were more ready to do any good than they to deſire it; that they ought to rely upon their word and promiſe to diſſolve themſelves by the time prefixed; and that to petition them to put their vote into an act, would manifeſt a diffidence of them, and leſſen their authority, which was ſo neceſſary to the army. The general coming into the council whilſt Deſborough was ſpeaking, ſeconded him; to which ſome of the officers took the liberty to reply, that they had the ſame opinion of the parliament and petition with them, and that the chief argument that moved them to take this matter into conſideration, was the intimation they had received, that it was according to the deſires of thoſe who had now ſpoken againſt it, and whoſe latter motion they were much more ready to comply with than their former. Thus was this buſineſs ſtifled for the preſent, none being ſo well able to lay the evil ſpirit as thoſe that had raiſed it. But either the general's ambition was ſo great, that he could not forbear aſcending the throne till the time limited by the parliament for their ſitting was expired, or his fears haſtened him to the accompliſhment of his deſign, leſt the diſintereſted proceeding of the parliament, who were about to leave the nation under a form of government that provided ſufficiently for the good of the community, might work the people into a greater averſion to his ſelfiſh deſign. Certain it is, that he vehemently deſired to be rid of this parliament that had performed ſuch great things, having ſubdued their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; eſtabliſhed the liberty of the people, reduced the kingdom of Portugal to ſuch terms as they thought fit to grant; maintained a war againſt the Dutch with that conduct and ſucceſs, that it ſeemed now drawing to a happy concluſion; recovered our reputation at ſea, ſecured our trade, and provided a powerful fleet for the ſervice of the nation. And however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they juſtly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced poſterity, that they were a diſintereſted and impartial parliament, who tho' they had the ſovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the ſpace of ten or twelve years, did not in all that time give away amongſt themſelves ſo much as their forces ſpent in three months; no, not ſo much as they ſpent in one, from the time that the

parliament consisted but of one house, and the government was formed into a commonwealth. To which ought to be added, that after so many toils and hazards, so much trouble and loss for the publick good, they were not unwilling to put an end to their power, and to content themselves with an equal share with others, for the whole reward of their labours. Of this Cromwel was very sensible, as well as of their great skill and experience in the management of publick affairs, and of the good esteem they had acquired amongst the most discerning part of the nation; and therefore was very desirous to lay them aside with as little noise as might be. To this end, after he had resolved not to suffer the act for their dissolution to be finished, he would needs persuade them to be the instruments of their own destruction, by putting a period to themselves, and at the same time investing a certain number with the supreme authority, not doubting when they had so done, to find pretences enough to disperse any such, well knowing that when the face of civil authority was once taken away, the power would naturally fall into the hands of that person who had the greatest interest in the army, which he supposed to be himself. This made him join with major-general Harrison, being confident that when he had used him and his party to dissolve the present government, he could crush both him and them at his pleasure. And tho' it was no difficult matter to discover this, yet those poor, deluded, however well meaning men, would not believe it. But all were not so blind, for divers members of the parliament whom he endeavoured to cajole into a good opinion of his design, being very sensible of the great mischiefs that must necessarily ensue from such courses, resolved either to dissuade him from them, or endeavour to countermine him therein. To this end they had several meetings with Cromwel, at one of which, when he and his party laboured to shew that it was impossible for the parliament, consisting, as they said, for the most part of men interested in the corruptions of the law and the clergy, to effect those things that good men expected from them, major Saloway desired of them, that before they took away the present authority, they would declare what they would have established in its room; to which it was replied by one of the general's party, That it was necessary to pull down this government, and it would be time enough then to consider what should be placed in the room of it. So both parties understanding one another, prepared to secure themselves.

The parliament now perceiving to what kind of excesses the madness of the army was like to carry them, resolved to leave as a legacy to the people the government of a commonwealth by their representatives, when assembled in parliament, and in the intervals thereof by a council of state, chosen by them, and to continue till the meeting of the next succeeding parliament, to whom they were to give an account of their conduct and management. To this end they resolved, without any further delay, to pass the act for their own dissolution; of which Cromwell having notice, makes haste to the house, where he sat down and heard the debate for some time. Then calling to major-general Harrison, who was on the other side of the house, to come to him, he told him, "That he judged the parliament ripe for a dissolution," and this to be the time of doing it. The major-general answered, as he since told me; "Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the bill being to be put, he said again to major-general Harrison, "This is

the time I muſt do it;" and ſuddenly ſtanding up, made a ſpeech, wherein he loaded the parliament with the vileſt reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do any thing for the publick good, to have eſpouſed the corrupt intereſt of preſbytery and the lawyers, who were the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion, accuſing them of an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power, had they not been forced to the paſſing of this act, which he affirmed they deſigned never to obſerve, and thereupon told them, That the Lord had done with them, and had choſen other inſtruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy. This he ſpoke with ſo much paſſion and diſcompoſure of mind, as if he had been diſtracted. Sir Peter Wentworth ſtood up to anſwer him, and ſaid, That this was the firſt time that ever he had heard ſuch unbecoming language given to the parliament, and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their ſervant, and their ſervant whom they had ſo highly truſted and obliged: but as he was going on, the general ſtept into the midſt of the houſe, where continuing his diſtracted language, he ſaid, " Come, come, I will put an end to your prating;" then walking up and down the houſe like a madman, and kicking the ground with his feet, he cried out, " You are no parliament, I ſay you are no parliament; I will put an end to your ſitting; call them in, call them in:" whereupon the ſerjeant attending the parliament opened the doors, and lieutenant-colonel Worſley with two files of muſqueteers entered the houſe; which Sir Henry Vane obſerving from his place, ſaid aloud, " This is not honeſt, yea it is againſt morality and common honeſty." Then Cromwel fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, " O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane." Then looking upon one of the members, he ſaid, " There ſits a drunkard;" and giving much reviling language to others, he commanded the mace to be taken away, ſaying, " What ſhall we do with this bauble? here, take it away." Having brought all into this diſorder, major-general Harriſon went to the ſpeaker as he ſat in the chair, and told him, " that ſeeing things were reduced to this paſs, it would not be convenient for him to remain there." The ſpeaker anſwered, " That he would not come down unleſs he were forced." " Sir," ſaid Harriſon, " I will lend you my hand;" and thereupon putting his hand within his, the ſpeaker came down. Then Cromwel applied himſelf to the members of the houſe, who were in number between 80 and 100, and ſaid to them, " It's you that have forced me to this, for I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon the doing of this work." Hereupon alderman Allen, a member of parliament, told him, That it was not yet gone ſo far, but all things might be reſtored again; and that if the ſoldiers were commanded out of the houſe, and the mace returned, the publick affairs might go on in their former courſe: but Cromwel having now paſſed the Rubicon, not only rejected his advice, but charged him with an account of ſome hundred thouſand pounds, for which he threatned to queſtion him, he having been long treaſurer for the army, and in a rage committed him to the cuſtody of one of the muſqueteers. Alderman Allen told him, That it was well known that it had not been his fault that his account was not made up long ſince; that he had often tendred it to the houſe, and that he aſked no favour from any man in that matter. Cromwel having acted this treacherous and impious part, ordered the guard to ſee the houſe clear'd of all the members, and then ſeized upon the records that were there, and at Mr. Scobell's houſe. After which he went to the clerk, and ſnatching the act of diſſolution,

lution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak, and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall.

This villanous attempt was much encouraged by Nieuport and the other ambassadors lately arrived from Holland, with instructions to conclude a peace; who finding the parliament supported by the affections of the people, because acting for their interest, and therefore not to be forced, much less cheated into an unjust and disadvantageous agreement, instigated Cromwel to take the power into his hands, well understanding that he would soon be necessitated to make peace with them upon what terms they should think fit; in the mean time resolving to interrupt our trade, and to put the nation to a great expence to maintain a fleet for the guard of the seas, which they knew the people would be unwilling to keep when they should perceive that it served only to uphold and strengthen a tyranny. They also had made preparations to send over money, arms and men, with lieutenant-general Middleton, to enable the mountaineers of Scotland to give disturbance to the English interest there.

Cromwel being returned to Whitehall, found the council of war in debate concerning this weighty affair, and informed them, that he had done it, and that they needed not to trouble themselves any further about it. Some of the officers of the army well affected to the public cause, and not of his junto, of whom were colonel Okey and others, repaired to the general, to desire satisfaction in that proceeding, conceiving that the way they were now going tended to ruin and confusion. To these, having not yet taken off his mask, but pretending to more honesty and self-denial than ever, he professed himself resolved to do much more good, and with more expedition than could be expected from the parliament: which professions from him put most of them to silence, and moved them to a resolution of waiting for a further discovery of his design, before they would proceed to a breach and division from him. But colonel Okey being jealous that the end would be bad, because the means were such as made them justly suspected of hypocrisy, enquired of colonel Desborough what his meaning was to give such high commendations to the parliament when he endeavoured to dissuade the officers of the army from petitioning them for a dissolution, and so short a time after to eject them with so much scorn and contempt; who had no other answer to make, but that if ever he drolled in his life, he had drolled then.

We who were in Ireland being not so well informed of these clandestine practices, and no less confident that the principles of some men who joined in this attempt were directed to the good of the nation; and that tho' some might be such arrant knaves as to have other designs, yet trusting that an impossibility of accomplishing the same would oblige them to fall in with the publick interest, and not to be so very foolish to attempt the setting up for themselves, tho' we could not but have some doubts of the ill consequences of these things, yet thought our selves by the rules of charity obliged to hope the best, and therefore continued to act in our places and stations as before.

Cromwel having interrupted the parliament in the morning of the 20th of April, 1653. came in the afternoon to the council of state, (who were assembled to do their duty at the usual place) accompanied with major-general Lambert and colonel Harrison, and told them at his entrance; " Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you;

and

and ſince you can't but know what was done at the houſe in the morning, ſo take notice, that the parliament is diſſolved." To this ſerjeant Bradſhaw anſwered; "Sir, we have heard what you did at the houſe in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: but, Sir, you are miſtaken to think that the parliament is diſſolved; for no power under heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves; therefore take you notice of that." Something more was ſaid to the ſame purpoſe by Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot; and then the council of ſtate perceiving themſelves to be under the ſame violence, departed.

Soon after Cromwel had thus barbarouſly treated the parliament, and effaced the civil authority, he ſent for major Saloway and Mr. John Carew, to whom he complained of the great weight of affairs that by this undertaking was fallen upon him; affirming, that the thoughts of the conſequences thereof made him to tremble, and therefore deſired them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him; and to that end to go immediately to the chief juſtice St. Johns, Mr. Selden, and ſome others, and endeavour to perſuade them to draw up ſome inſtrument of government that might put the power out of his hands." To this it was anſwered by major Saloway; "The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation is for you not to look upon yourſelf to be under it, but to reſt perſuaded that the power of the nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was." Cromwel perceiving by this anſwer that he was better underſtood than he could have wiſhed, fell upon another expedient before he would openly diſcover himſelf, appointing a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at Whitehall, in order to conſider what was fit to be done in this exigency.

Major-general Lambert, colonel Harriſon, and divers other officers, were at this aſſembly, where major Saloway, tho' he had then no command, was deſired to be preſent. Major-general Lambert moved that a few perſons, not exceeding the number of 10 or 12, might be intruſted with the ſupreme power: major-general Harriſon was for a greater number, inclining moſt to that of 70, being the number of which the Jewiſh ſanhedrim conſiſted; but after ſome debate it was reſolved that out of each county and city in England, Ireland, and Scotland, a certain number of perſons, as near as might be proportionable to their payments toward the publick charge, ſhould be nominated by the council of officers to be ſent for to meet at Weſtminſter, on a certain day, where all the authority of the nation ſhould be delivered into their hands by an inſtrument ſigned and ſealed by the general and the officers, obliging themſelves to yield obedience to their orders. The gentlemen who were ſummoned met at the time and place appointed, where after they had heard the general's harangue, in which he ſeemed to acknowledge the goodneſs of the Lord in that he ſaw that day wherein the ſaints began their rule in the earth, &c. they went into the houſe wherein the parliament uſed to ſit, where they voted themſelves to be the parliament of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Many of the members of this aſſembly had manifeſted a good affection to the publick cauſe; but ſome there were among them who were brought in as ſpies and trapanners; and tho' they had been always of the contrary party, made the higheſt pretenſions to honeſty, and the ſervice of the nation. This aſſembly therefore being compoſed for the moſt part of honeſt and well meaning perſons, (who having good intentions, were leſs ready to ſuſpect the evil deſigns of others) thought themſelves in full poſſeſſion of the power and authority of the

nation, and therefore proceeded to the making of laws relating to the publick; amongst others, one concerning the plantation of Ireland, settling the lands there upon the adventurers and soldiers, together with an act for mariners; one for payment of some publick debts, with divers others. They also made some progress in the reformation of the law, having appointed a committee to that end.

In Ireland we disbanded some of our forces, to the number of about 5000 horse and foot, and summoned a council of officers to adjust the arrears of the soldiers, and to put them into possession of the land assigned for their satisfaction; who judging that it would not hold out to satisfy the whole, rated the best land of each county according to its intrinsick value, reserving the worst to be equally distributed amongst them, when the arrears should appear to be satisfied on the foot of the new valuation. The county of Dublin was in this estimate rated at 1500 l. for 1000 acres; the county of Wexford at 800 l. the county of Kilkenny at 1000 l. All which counties being within the province of Lempster, were rated by the act at 600 l. for 1000 acres. Instructions were also given to the committee for stating the accounts of the arrears of the soldiers, by which those who were disbanded in Connaught had their arrears assigned in lands about Slego, those in Munster in the county of Cork, &c. Those who had been for some time with the lord Inchequin, and therefore thought fit to be disbanded, had their arrears assigned (upon my desire) together, about Collen, in the county of Kilkenny, that they might be the better able to defend themselves, and assist their friends upon occasion. Colonel Theophilus Jones's regiment was reduced, his own troop and some others appointed to complete mine, and colonel Jones to be major of my regiment, in the room of colonel Warden, who was disbanded.

The pay of some of the officers of the army was also reduced, but yet they now received the pay of seven days per week, whereas before they had but four; but the general-officers who had been paid seven days for a week, had some ten shillings, others five shillings per day abated of their pay; amongst whom it fell heavier on me than any other, for as my work was double both as a commissioner of parliament, and lieutenant-general of the horse, so were my expences also, being obliged to keep a more plentiful table than any other of the commissioners, and more than twenty horses continually in my stable ready for service: but indeed could I have seen our victories employed to the good of the commonwealth, I should have been satisfied without any other encouragement: and I can clearly make it appear, that during the four years I served in Ireland, I expended 4500 l. of my own estate more than all the pay that I received.

The commissioners for the management of affairs by sea, having not finished the time limited by the parliament for their acting, nor clearly seeing to what extremities things would be driven, continued to act in their station; which they did with that diligence and vigour, that since the late engagement in the Downs they had equipped a very considerable fleet, and furnished it with all sorts of provisions, ammunition, and men. This fleet was commanded by Dean and Monk as admirals, by Penn as vice-admiral, and by Lawson as reer-admiral. On the 22d of June, 1653, early in the morning, they attacked the Dutch fleet commanded by Van Tromp, Evertson, De Witt, and De Ruyter, on the coast of Flanders. Lawson, who commanded the blue squadron, charged through the Dutch fleet with forty ships, which storm falling principally on De Ruyter's squadron, Van Tromp bore up to his assistance; which when our admirals, who were both on the same ship, perceived, they engaged

Tromp with the body of the fleet, and the fight continued till three in the afternoon, at which time the wind coming up contrary to the Engliſh, the Dutch fled, and were purſued by the lighteſt of our frigates. The next morning the two fleets found themſelves again near each other, but for want of wind could not come to engage till about noon, at which time the diſpute began, and continued very hot on both ſides till ten at night. Our fleet charged the Dutch with ſo much reſolution, and put them into ſo great diſorder, that tho' their admiral fired on them to rally them, he could not procure more than twenty ſhips of his whole fleet to ſtand by him, the reſt making all the ſail they could away to the eaſtward. But the wind blowing a freſh gale from the weſtward, ours purſued them ſo effectually, that they ſunk ſix of their beſt ſhips, and blew up two others that were in the body of their fleet, taking eleven of their biggeſt ſhips, and two others, with thirteen hundred priſoners, among whom were ſix of their principal captains; and had not the reſt of their fleet ſheltered themſelves between Dunkirk and Calais, where it was unſafe to expoſe our great ſhips by reaſon of the ſands, we had probably taken or deſtroyed moſt of the reſt. The Hollanders were much ſuperior to the Engliſh in number of ſhips; but ſuch was the courage and conduct of our men, that we loſt but one ſhip in the fight, had but one captain killed, except admiral Dean, which indeed was a great loſs, and about one hundred and ſixty private men killed and wounded. Our fleet having put their priſoners on ſhore, and left ſome of their ſhips to be refitted, returned to the coaſt of Holland, where they took many prizes. The people in Holland ſeeing themſelves as it were beſieged by the Engliſh fleet, conſtrained the magiſtrates by their clamours to ſend their fleet again to ſea, which they reinforced with divers great ſhips, and ſome fire-ſhips, ſo that they made up in all one hundred and forty ſail. The Engliſh fleet were little more in number than ninety, yet reſolved to fight the enemy; and accordingly detaching the lighteſt of their frigates, aſſiſted by ſome great ſhips, they engaged the Dutch, and maintained the fight till they were ſeparated by the night. The next day little was done, but on the day after they fought again; and tho' many of our men were ſick of the ſcurvy, and that the Dutch had fire-ſhips, of which we had none, the wind alſo entirely favouring them, yet did the fight continue in equal balance till two or three in the afternoon, about which time their admiral Van Tromp was killed with a muſquet-ball, as he walked upon the deck with his ſword drawn. This ſo diſcouraged the enemy, that they made all the haſte they could away towards the Texel, and were purſued with that diligence by ours, that the ſhip of Cornelius Evertzen was ſunk, with about thirty more, as we were informed by the priſoners taken or ſaved from periſhing. The victory was great, but coſt us dear, for we loſt eight of our brave captains, whoſe names were, Graves, Peacock, Taylor, Criſp, Newman, Cox, Owen, and Chapman, with about four hundred men. We had alſo about ſeven hundred wounded, and amongſt them five commanders, yet we loſt but one ſhip in this fight. Our admiral having put his priſoners with the wounded men on ſhore, and taken in proviſions, returned with the fleet to the coaſt of Holland, where many of the officers of the enemy's fleet and others ingenuouſly acknowledged, that the hand of God was againſt them, and that they ought not to contend any longer with us.

The Engliſh fleet being now abſolute maſters of the ſea, no ſhip could ſtir out of the Texel without their permiſſion. The Dutch were willing

willing to impute their ill success to the treachery and cowardice of their officers; but so it was, by the blessing of God upon the endeavours of the parliament and their fleet, that since the beginning of the war we had taken, sunk, and destroyed, between fourteen and fifteen hundred of their ships, of which many were considerable men of war. Their seamen generally declined the service, neither had they a sufficient number of ships to put to sea, tho' they had been furnished with all other accommodations. In short, matters were brought to that pass, that Myn Heer Nieuport, one of the ambassadors from Holland, demanded of some of the parliament-party, what they intended to do with them, endeavouring by all means possible to perswade them, that the ruin of the Dutch would be prejudicial to themselves. Our friends plainly told him, that they desired nothing but a coalescence with them, and then would be as ready to promote the good of Holland as their own. To this the ambassador replied, that he would engage his masters should send us a blank, and that what conditions soever we should think fit to write on it, they would subscribe. Soon after they sent ambassadors to treat in good earnest concerning a peace, which they were the more necessitated to do, by reason of some divisions amongst themselves, on account of the prince of Orange's interest. But this attempt proved ineffectual, and they were not able to prevail as long as the face of authority remained in England, without consenting to the coalescence. For many of the present assembly acting with sincerity for the publick, and therefore little suspecting the treachery of others, resolved whilst they had opportunity to be doing their duty, and to discharge the trust committed to their care, according to the best of their judgment, for the good of the commonwealth. They issued forth orders for regulating the excise and customs, and enlarged the powers of the committee established for trade. They made all necessary preparations for carrying on the war by sea, and declared general Robert Blake, general George Monk, major-general Desborough, and vice-admiral Penn, to be the four generals of the fleet of the common-wealth, impowering them with some others to manage the affairs of the admiralty for six months. They also gave order to prepare an act to erect a high-court of justice, for proceeding against such as should surprize or betray any of the fortresses, magazines, or ships of the commonwealth, into the hands of the enemy; and also against those who should, contrary to the laws already made, proclaim any to be king of England or Ireland, whereby it is manifest they suspected the design on foot, tho' their jealousy did not at all defer, but rather hasten the execution of it.

The perfidious Cromwel having forgot his most solemn professions and former vows, as well as the blood and treasure that had been spent in this contest, thought it high time to take off the masque, and resolved to sacrifice all our victories and deliverances to his pride and ambition, under colour of taking upon him the office as it were of a high constable, in order to keep the peace of the nation, and to restrain men from cutting one anothers throats. One difficulty yet remained to obstruct his design, and that was the convention, which he had assembled and invested with power, as well as earnestly solicited to reform the law, and reduce the clergy to a more evangelical constitution. And having sufficiently alarmed those interests, and shewn them their danger from the convention, he informs them farther, that they cannot be ignorant of the confusion, that all things are brought into by the immoderate zeal of those in authority, and to what extremities matters might be reduced, if permitted

mitted to go on; poſſibly, ſaid he, to the utter extirpation of law and goſpel from amongſt us; and therefore adviſed that they would join their intereſts to his, in order to prevent this inundation. His propoſition was readily embraced by the corrupt part of the lawyers and clergy, and ſo he became their protector, and they the humble ſupporters of his tyranny. But that his uſurpation might ſeem leſs horrid, he ſo contrived it by his inſtruments, that ſome of the convention muſt openly manifeſt their diſapprobation of their own proceedings, and under divers ſpecious pretences put a period to their ſitting. To this end it was agreed by Mr. Rouſe, chairman to that aſſembly, and the reſt of Cromwel's junto, to meet earlier in the houſe than was uſual, which was done accordingly on the 12th of December, 1653, hoping by ſurprize to obtain a vote for their diſſolution. Being met, colonel Sydenham, Sir Charles Wolſeley, and others, according to their inſtructions, bitterly inveighed againſt the tranſactions of the convention, and particularly charged them with a deſign to deſtroy the army, by not making a ſufficient and timely proviſion for their pay. They alledged, that tho' they had voted them a ſum of money, yet having reſolved to raiſe it by way of a pound-rate, it would take up ſo much time to bring it in, that the army muſt either ſtarve by want, or oppreſs the country by free quarter. A ſecond ground of their invectives was taken from a motion made, that the great officers of the army ſhould ſerve without pay for one year. They accuſed them alſo of endeavouring to deſtroy the clergy, the law, and the propriety of the ſubject, inſtancing in their denying a right of preſentation to the patrons of eccleſiaſtical benefices: in general, that they had not a frame of ſpirit to do juſtice, which they would have made out by their not relieving Sir John Stawell, when he made his application to them. Thus they endeavoured to cajole the clergy, lawyers, cavaliers, and all intereſts, except that which they ſhould have had moſt regard to.

THEY thought to have prevented any debate about their deſign, by meeting ſo early in the morning; but they were deceived, and enough found in the houſe to anſwer their objections. To that concerning the army it was ſaid, That the pound-rate was found to be the moſt equal way of raiſing money, and therefore reſolved upon by them; not at all doubting that it would come in ſoon enough for the ſoldiers ſupply: that they thought it reaſonable and juſt, that the good officers of the army who were poſſeſſed of plentiful eſtates, and had received all their arrears, ſhould abate ſomewhat of their ſuperfluities, and ſerve for a little time freely, as well as thoſe who were employed in civil affairs, whoſe labour and hazard was as great, and both equally concerned in the publick good: eſpecially conſidering how much this conduct would contribute to the eaſe and ſatisfaction of the people, who could not be ignorant that there were now no preſſing occaſions of charge or danger, the enemy being every where entirely ſubdued. To what had been done in order to a reformation of the law or clergy, it was anſwered, That as they conceived there was great need of it, ſo they had been told that they were called together principally for that end; and that if they had done any thing too much therein, the gentlemen who blamed them for it were very unfit to do it, having themſelves been the men that preſſed them continually to go much farther than they had done. To the objection concerning preſentations they ſaid, That the method uſed therein ſeemed to them too unreaſonable to be continued, it being in effect to give a power to the greateſt of the pariſh, who were not always the beſt, to preſcribe what religion

gion they pleased to the parishioners, by presenting a person, howsoever unfit for that office, to be their minister. Lastly, in answer to the charge of denying relief to Sir John Stawel, it was answered, That the consideration of that matter was before them, and that they would not fail to act as his case deserved. The debate thus spun out, the house began to fill, so that Cromwel's party, despairing to carry their design by vote, broke off in an abrupt manner, saying, that it was not a time to debate, but to do something that might prevent those inconveniencies which they pretended did threaten them. Then Mr. Rouse, who was of the plot, descending from his chair, went out of the house, and with the rest of the cabal repaired to Whitehall, where they subscribed a writing, taking notice of the power with which the army had intrusted them, and of the sense they had of their own inability, to bring any thing to perfection for the good and settlement of the nation: and that therefore they resigned that power into the hands of Cromwel, from whom they had received it.

The other part of that assembly, who came with honest minds and sincere intentions to perform their duty and to serve their country, kept their places in the house, and would not quit them till they were removed by a guard of soldiers sent by Cromwel to that end. And it seems remarkable, that tho' this body of men had not a clear authority according to the national constitution, and were called together with a design of rendering them odious, as well as to scare the lawyers and clergy into a compliance with Cromwel; yet many being convinced of the rectitude of their intentions, were brought over daily to approve their actions. And as this treacherous and unworthy resignation of the power to Cromwel could not be carried by a vote in the house, so I have been informed that the major part of those who were members of that assembly could never be perswaded to sign the paper for that resignation, tho' importuned to it by all politick and deviliſh arguments imaginable.

This convention, who derived all the authority they had from Cromwel, being dissolved, after they had driven the clergy and corrupt part of the lawyers into his net, as had been designed, all men were full of expectation what step he would take next to advance himself. And because all honest men who stood near the centre of his actions had lost all hopes of good from him, he began to court and cajole those that were at a distance, whom he hoped the more easily to surprize, as less acquainted with his treacherous designs. Amongst others, I received a message from him by one of my relations, to assure me of his friendship, and intentions to do as much for me as for any man.

After a few days, a council of field-officers was summoned, where major-general Lambert having rehearsed the several steps and degrees by which things had been brought to the present state wherein they were, and pressed the necessity incumbent upon the army to provide something in the room of what was lately taken away, presented to them a paper, intituled, "An instrument of government," which he read in his place. Some of the officers being convinced, that the contents of this instrument tended to the sacrificing all our labours to the lust and ambition of a single person, began to declare their unwillingness to concur in it. But they were interrupted by the major-general, and informed that it was not now to be disputed, Whether this should be the form of government or not, for that was already resolved, it having been under consideration for two months past: neither was it brought before them with any other intention, than to

give them permiſſion to offer any amendments they might think fit, with a promiſe that they ſhould be taken into conſideration. The council of officers perceiving to what terms they were reſtrained, propoſed, that it might be declared in this inſtrument, that the general of the army ſhould after this firſt time be held uncapable of being "protector;" (for that was the title given by this inſtrument to the chief magiſtrate, tho' ſome were ſaid to have moved that it might be "king;") that none of the relations of the laſt protector ſhould be choſen at the next enſuing election; and that a general council of all the commiſſion officers who were about the town ſhould be ſummoned to conſider thereof. To theſe propoſitions they could obtain no other anſwer, than that they ſhould be offered to the general, which was the title they yet gave to Cromwel. At the next meeting of officers it was not thought fit to conſult with them at all; but they were openly told by major-general Lambert, that the general would take care of managing the civil government; and then having required them to repair to their reſpective charges, where their troops and companies lay, that they might preſerve the publick peace, he diſmiſſed them.

THUS was this important buſineſs that ſo highly concerned the nation, and in ſome meaſure all Europe, in a clandeſtine manner carried on and huddled up by two or three perſons; for more there were not who were let into the ſecret of it, ſo that it may juſtly be called a work of darkneſs. This inſtrument appointed the legiſlative power to be in the repreſentative of the people and the protector; that a parliament ſhould be choſen every three years, which ſhould ſit five months, if they thought fit, without any interruption: that their firſt meeting ſhould be on the thirteenth of September next enſuing: that the members of whom the parliament was to conſiſt, ſhould be choſen by the people: that whatſoever they would have enacted, ſhould be preſented to the protector for his conſent; and that if he did not confirm it within twenty days after it was firſt tendered to him, it ſhould have the force and obligation of a law; provided that it extended not to leſſen the number or pay of the army, to puniſh any man on account of his conſcience, or to make any alteration in the inſtrument of government; in all which a negative was reſerved to the ſingle perſon. It provided alſo, that all writs ſhould iſſue out in the protector's name: that moſt of the magiſtrates ſhould be appointed, and all honours conferred by him: that he ſhould have the power of the militia by ſea and land: that in the intervals of parliament, the nation ſhould be governed by the protector and his council, who were not to exceed the number of one and twenty, nor to be under thirteen. The firſt perſons nominated to be of his council were major-general Lambert, colonel Deſborough, Mr. Henry Lawrence, Sir Charles Wolſely, colonel William Sydenham, Mr. Francis Rouſe, Philip viſcount Liſle, colonel Philip Jones, colonel Montague, Mr. Richard Major, Walter Strickland, Eſq; Sir Gilbert Pickering, major-general Skippon, and Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, in all fourteen. It was obſerved, that in the choice of this council, ſuch were put in for the moſt part who had been principal inſtruments in the interruption of the late aſſembly, and leading men in the reſignation of that power into the hands of Cromwel; and becauſe nothing of honour or conſcience could be preſumed to oblige them to be faithful to Cromwel and his government, tho' they took an oath to that purpoſe, he as a publick robber having poſſeſſed himſelf of the purſe of the nation, diſtributed a thouſand pounds a year to each of his council. He alſo eſtabliſhed a commiſſion for the viewing and taking care of all foreſts, fees, and lands belonging

longing to the late king, queen, and prince, under pretence of improving them to the advantage of the commonwealth, but indeed in order to convert them to his own profit. The management of the treasury was put into the hands of colonel Desborough, Montague, and Sydenham, who were his creatures; to whom was added Mr. William Masham, a worthy gentleman, and a member of parliament, placed there by Cromwel, upon information that he had divers relations of considerable interest in the clergy-party, together with a numerous family, and small estate during his father's life, which considerations prevailed with the said gentleman to accept of that employment.

Things being thus prepared, the mayor and aldermen of London were required to attend at Whitehall in their scarlet gowns; whither when they came, the design was imparted to them, and they being under the power of an army, were forced to contribute to this pageantry, by accompanying Cromwell to Westminster-hall. The commissioners of the seal, the judges, and barons of the exchequer, marched first, the council of the commonwealth following them, and then the mayor, sheriffs, and the aldermen of London, in their robes. After them came the general, with a great number of the officers of the army, major-general Lambert carrying the sword before him into the court of chancery; where after the general had heard the instrument of government read, and taken the oath as directed in the close of the said instrument, major-general Lambert kneeling, presented him with a sword in the scabbard, representing the civil sword; which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby that he would no longer rule by the military sword, tho' like a false hypocrite he designed nothing more. The commissioners delivered the seals to him, and the mayor of London the sword, all which he restored again, with an exhortation to use them well; and having assured them that he would not have undertaken this charge, but to make use of it for the good of the publick, he returned to Whitehall in the same manner and order as he came. His council having taken their places, issued out orders to all counties and considerable corporations, for the proclaiming Oliver Cromwel protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and care was taken to alter all legal writs and process, from the title of the "keepers of the liberties of England," to that of "protector." A declaration also was published, impowering all those who stood lawfully invested with any office of judicature, or with the power of the admiralty on the 20th of the present December, to continue in their imployments till farther order.

The news of this great alteration of affairs was very unwelcome to us in Ireland, because contrary to the oaths which had been taken, and especially to the engagement, whereby all that took it, promised fidelity to the commonwealth of England, as it was established without a king or house of lords: which engagement having subscribed both with hand and heart, I was resolved to use my best endeavours, either to oppose this usurpation, or at least not do any thing that might contribute to the strengthening of it. To this end, when it was pressed by some court-parasites amongst us, that seeing things were brought to this pass, and that there was now no other face of authority in being; therefore to prevent the designs of our enemies, the commissioners of parliament should proclaim Cromwel protector in Dublin and other parts of Ireland: I objected against it as a thing evil in itself, tending to the betraying of our cause, and contrary to an act of parliament; that if it were but dubious whether

it were evil or no, we ought at leaſt to expect an order from thoſe who had the power in their hands, which as yet we had not received. By this means I hindered the proclaiming of him in Ireland for a fortnight, tho' continually earneſtly preſſed to a compliance. But a day being appointed for the conſideration of that affair, the commiſſioners with three or four chief officers, of whoſe integrity and abilities we had the beſt opinion, met in lieutenant-general Fleetwood's chamber in the caſtle, where after near five hours debate, and the queſtion put, the votes were found to be equal on both ſides. In that inſtant of time Mr. Roberts the auditor-general coming thither upon ſome particular buſineſs of the army, lieutenant-general Fleetwood being well acquainted with his flattering ſpirit, and earneſtly deſiring to have the thing done, gave him liberty to declare his opinion; which, when he had done in the affirmative, the lieutenant-general took his concurrence (he being a general-officer) to be a deciſion of the controverſy. So it was reſolved to be done, and an order directed to be drawn up for that purpoſe, which the commiſſioners endeavoured to perſwade me to ſign; but I poſitively refuſing ſo to do, they ordered it to be ſigned by their ſecretary in the name of the commiſſion; which way was taken, that it might not appear that any of the commiſſioners hands were wanting to the proclamation. At this ceremony there was but a thin appearance, ſome captains and inferior officers; but no colonel nor general officer, except Sir Hardreſs Waller and one colonel Moore were preſent. The herald at arms, who made proclamation, was cloathed in black; but the artillery, which was at the command of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, waſted ſome of the powder belonging to the publick, the report of which was very unwelcome muſick to me, who deſiring to be as far from this pageantry as I could, rode out of town that afternoon.

HAVING done what I could to obſtruct the proclamation of that, which was called an inſtrument of government, impoſed upon the people by the military ſword, contrary to many oaths and ſolemn engagements, as well as to the intereſt and expectations of the people, I thought myſelf obliged in duty to act no further in my civil capacity as commiſſioner of parliament, leſt I ſhould ſeem by acting with them, to acknowledge this as a lawful authority: to that end I forbore to go to Cork-houſe, which was the uſual place where the commiſſioners of parliament met; but lieutenant-general Fleetwood by great importunity did once prevail with me to be preſent there, and to give my advice in ſome things that abſolutely concerned the peace of Ireland; after which time I never gave any vote amongſt them, or ſet my hand to any of their orders, tho' preſſed to do it by divers honeſt and well-meaning men. But becauſe I was always ready to call in queſtion my own judgment, when different from knowing and conſcientious perſons, I conſented that a day might be appointed to conſult with them touching my duty in this conjuncture. The moſt weighty arguments which were then uſed to perſwade me to continue in my imployments were, That ſuppoſing Cromwel to be a tyrant, to have no juſt call to his preſent imployment, and a wicked man, as moſt of them were ſo ingenuous to acknowledge him to be; yet they declared themſelves to be of opinion, that a good man might act under him; and for proof of this they urged the example of Cornelius, who was a centurion under Nero. To this I anſwered, That tho' in an evil government already eſtabliſhed, an honeſt man may take an imployment, and bleſs God for ſuch an opportunity of doing good, yet our caſe ſeemed to me to be very different, the diſpute lying between tyranny and liberty;

and

and that I durſt not in any meaſure contribute to the ſupport of tyranny againſt the liberty of my country. Another argument much preſſed was, that by declining my ſtation I ſhould neglect an occaſion of doing ſome good, and lay a neceſſity upon thoſe in power to imploy others, who might do miſchief. To this I replied, That it was not lawful to do the leaſt evil for the attaining the greateſt good; and that I apprehended it to be an evil thing to fortify Cromwel in his uſurpation; that I hoped I ſhould do more good by my open proteſtation againſt his injuſtice, and declining to act under him, than by the contrary means: for ſhould all men who continued well affected to the intereſt of the commonwealth, refuſe to act in the preſent ſtate of affairs, there could be no way thought of, in my opinion, more probable to reduce the uſurper to his right ſenſes; who not daring to truſt ſuch as had acted againſt him, muſt of neceſſity by this means be left deſtitute of inſtruments to carry on his unjuſt deſigns. A third argument was, That I ſhould wait to ſee how he would uſe his power, which if he improved to evil ends, I ſhould then find many others to join with, who would be as ready to oppoſe him as my ſelf. To this alſo I anſwered, That I was fully convinced of the injuſtice of his undertaking; that he had betrayed his maſters, under colour that they would not reform the law and the clergy; and that having called an aſſembly in order, as he pretended, to accompliſh that work, he had now broken them alſo for endeavouring to do it; that as ſoon as he had made the corrupt intereſts of the nation ſenſible of their danger, he had contracted an alliance with them, and was become their protector; that it could not be reaſonably expected that he ſhould do any thing towards their reformation, becauſe every ſtep he ſhould take towards the leſſening of their credit, would tend to the weakening of his own authority; and that he was no leſs neceſſitated to be a vaſſal to them, than he deſigned the reſt of the nation to be ſlaves to him. Tho' for theſe and other reaſons I durſt not act in my civil capacity, yet I was unwilling to decline the exerciſe of my military authority as lieutenant-general of the horſe, having received my commiſſion from the parliament, which I reſolved to keep, till it ſhould be forced from me, and to act by it in order to attain thoſe ends for which I received it, the principal whereof were, to bring thoſe to juſtice who had been guilty of the blood of many thouſands of Engliſh proteſtants, and to reſtore the Engliſh who remained alive to the lands which had been taken from them by the Iriſh. And tho' much of this work was already effected; yet it was no leſs a duty to bring it to perfection than to begin it, and to defend our country-men in a juſt poſſeſſion, than to gain it for them. Neither was it impoſſible that as one had made uſe of the military ſword to deſtroy the civil authority, ſo others might have an opportunity to reſtore it by the ſame means.

One of the firſt important affairs of Cromwel's new government, was to make peace with the Dutch, which the low condition they had been brought into by the good conduct of the parliament made them earneſtly to deſire. In the articles ſome ſeeming proviſion was made for bringing thoſe to juſtice, who had been guilty of the blood of the Engliſh at Amboyna, if they could be found. The Dutch alſo undertook to reimburſe to our merchants the loſſes they ſuſtained by the ſeizure of twenty two ſhips in Denmark; the duty of ſtriking the flag to the Engliſh in the narrow ſeas was acknowledged, and compliance promiſed with the act of parliament, whereby all foreign commodities were forbidden to be brought into England ſave in Engliſh bottoms, except by ſuch veſſels as properly belonged to

that country where thoſe commodities ſhould grow. By another article it was agreed that the enemies of the reſpective nations ſhould not be protected by either of them; but there was no proviſion made by this treaty for the coaleſcence ſo much inſiſted upon during the adminiſtration of affairs by the parliament.

THE lord Whitlock, who had been ſent ambaſſador to the crown of Sweden by the parliament, acquainted the queen with the late change of government, producing letters of credence from Cromwel, and owning him as his maſter; upon which he was received as kindly as formerly by the queen, who ſigned the articles agreed upon by the two nations, to the great ſatisfaction of both.

CROMWEL having thus all clear before him, and no enemy in the field, except only in the Highlands of Scotland, a conſiderable army by land, and a powerful fleet at ſea, all the ſoldiers fully paid, with a months advance; the ſtores ſufficiently ſupplied with all proviſions for ſea and land; three hundred thouſand pounds of ready money in England, and one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds in the treaſury of Ireland; he removed from the Cockpit, which houſe the parliament had aſſigned him, to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, which he aſſigned to himſelf. His wife ſeemed at firſt unwilling to remove thither, tho' afterwards ſhe became better ſatisfied with her grandeur; but his mother, who by reaſon of her great age was not ſo eaſily flattered with theſe temptations, very much miſtruſted the iſſue of affairs, and would be often afraid, when ſhe heard the noiſe of a muſquet, that her ſon was ſhot, being exceedingly diſſatisfied, unleſs ſhe might ſee him once a day at leaſt: but ſhe ſhortly after dying, left him the poſſeſſion of what ſhe held in jointure, which was reported not to exceed ſixty pounds by year, tho' he out of the publick purſe expended much more at her interment, and amongſt other needleſs ceremonies, cauſed many hundred torches to be carried with the hearſe, tho' ſhe was buried by day-light.

THIS uſurper endeavouring to fix himſelf in his throne by all ways imaginable, gave direction to the judges, who were ready to go their ſeveral circuits, to take eſpecial care to extend all favour and kindneſs to the cavalier party. He himſelf reſtored colonel Grace, a notorious Iriſh rebel, to his eſtate; and ſent a letter in favour of the lord Fitz-Williams, who had been lieutenant-general in Preſton's army in Ireland: but he dealt otherways with thoſe who formerly he had moſt courted, ſummoning major general Harriſon, colonel Rich, Mr. Carew, and others, before the council; requiring ſuch of them as had commiſſions from him to ſurrender them, upbraiding major-general Harriſon with his carriage to him, and charging him with coveting his imployment when he was ſick in Scotland: And becauſe they refuſed to engage not to act againſt him and his government, he ſent them to ſeveral priſons. Major-general Harriſon was ordered to be carried to Cariſbrooke Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, Mr. Carew was ſent to Pendennis in Cornwal, and colonel Rich confined to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms. Soon after Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feak, and Mr. Sympſon, miniſters, having publickly declared againſt his uſurpation both by printing and preaching, were alſo impriſoned. So having changed his intereſt, and taken off his maſk, he ſent his ſecond ſon colonel Henry Cromwel into Ireland, to feel the pulſe of the officers there touching his coming over to command in that nation, where he arrived attended only by one ſervant; and landing near my country-houſe, I ſent my coach to receive him, and to bring him thither, where he ſtaid till lieutenant-

general Fleetwood with several officers came with coaches to conduct him to Dublin. Having made what observations he could of persons and things in Ireland, he resolved upon his return; of which having given me advice, I desired him to take my house in his way, and to that end dined with him on the day of his departure at the lieutenant-general's in the castle. After dinner we went together to my house at Moncktown, where after a short collation walking in the garden, I acquainted him with the grounds of my dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs in England, which I assured him was in no sort personal, but would be the same were my own father alive, and in the place of his. He told me that his father looked upon me to be dissatisfied upon a distinct account from most men in the three nations; and thereupon affirmed that he knew it to be his resolution to carry himself with all tenderness towards me. I told him that I ought to have so much charity for his father, to believe that he apprehended his late undertaking to have been absolutely necessary, being well assured that he was not so weak a man to decline his former station, wherein his power was as great, and his wealth as much as any rational man could wish, to procure to himself nothing but envy and trouble. I supposed he would have agreed with me in these sentiments; but he instead of that acknowledged the ambition of his father in these words; "You that are here may think he had power, but they made a very kickshaw of him at London." I replied, that if it were so, they did ill; for he had deserved much from them. Then I proceeded to acquaint him with my resolution not to act in my civil employment, and my expectation not to be permitted to continue in my military command; to which he answered, That he was confident I should receive no interruption therein. I told him I could not foresee what his father would do; but inclined to think that no other man in his case would permit it. To this I added, That the reason of my drawing a sword in this war, was to remove those obstructions that the civil magistrate met with in the discharge of his duty; which being now accomplished, I could not but think that all things ought for the future to run in their proper and genuine channel: for as the extraordinary remedy is not to be used till the ordinary fail to work its proper effect, so ought it to be continued no longer than the necessity of using it subsists; whereas this that they called a government had no other means to preserve it self, but such as were violent; which not being natural, could not be lasting. "Would you then," said he, "have the sword laid down? I cannot but think you believe it to be as much your interest to have it kept up as any man." I confessed I had been of that opinion whilst I was persuaded there was a necessity of it, which seeming to me to be now over, I accounted it to be much more my interest to see it well laid down, there being a vast difference between using the sword to restore the people to their rights and privileges, and the keeping it up for the robbing and despoiling them of the same. But company coming in, and the time for his going on board approaching, we could not be permitted to continue our discourse; so after we had taken leave of each other, he departed from Ireland, and upon his arrival at Chester was attended by many of the late king's party; and amongst others by colonel Molson, who inquiring of him how he left affairs in Ireland, he answered very well, only that some who were in love with their power must be removed.

In the mean time Cromwel so ordered matters at London, that he procured himself, his officers, and council to be invited by the city to dinner, which was managed with all possible state. He and the rest of his company rode

rode on horſeback through the city; the mayor and aldermen met him at Temple-Bar, where the mayor, as an acknowledgment of his authority, delivered the ſword to him, and he (as kings uſe to do) reſtored it to him again. He was harangu'd by the recorder, and the mayor riding bare-headed carried the ſword before him, the ſeveral liveries in their gowns ſtanding on each ſide of the ſtreets, where he paſſed. Commiſſary-general Reynolds and colonel Whalley led a troop of three hundred officers to Grocers-Hall, being the place appointed for the entertainment; which being ended, he beſtowed a badge of his uſurpation in conferring a knighthood upon alderman Thomas Viner, then mayor of London. This was principally contrived, to let the world underſtand how good a correſpondence there was between him and the city of London; yet amongſt diſcerning men it had a contrary effect, who knew it to be rather an act of force than of choice in the city, as appeared in the great ſilence and little reſpect that was given him in his paſſage through the ſtreets: and tho' he, to invite them to it, rode bare-headed the greateſt part of the way; and tho' ſome of his creatures had placed themſelves at the entrance of Cheapſide, and began to ſhout, yet it took not at all with the people.

About this time Cromwel having reſolved upon a foreign expedition, drew out five or ſix thouſand men, by which artifice he not only alarm'd foreign ſtates, but alſo engaged all the reformade officers to his party, who otherwiſe would have been ready to join with any party againſt him. Colonel Venables was choſen to command this army; and tho' the particular deſign of theſe preparations was not certainly known, yet it was ſoon ſuſpected to be againſt ſome of the king of Spain's territories. Vice-admiral Pen commanded the fleet that was to tranſport them, which conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen men of war, beſides the veſſels of tranſportation. When they arrived at the Barbadoes, they made proclamation there, that whoſoever would engage in the undertaking ſhould have his freedom, whereupon about two thouſand ſervants' liſted themſelves to the great damage of the planters. The Spaniſh ambaſſador being informed that the fleet was gone towards the Weſt-Indies, and that the ſtorm was likely to fall upon ſome of his maſter's territories, made application to Cromwel to know whether he had any juſt ground of complaint againſt the king his maſter, and if ſo, that he was ready to give him all poſſible ſatisfaction. Cromwel demanded a liberty to trade to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquiſition. To which the ambaſſador replied, That his maſter had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once. The goods of our merchants trading in Spain were ſeized for want of timely notice to withdraw their effects from thence. And one major Walters with others concerned with him in the tranſportation of Iriſh ſoldiers into the Spaniſh ſervice, loſt thirty thouſand pounds, which remained due to them from the king of Spain.

The fleet being arrived at Hiſpaniola, whether thro' any difference between colonel Venables, who commanded the army, and vice-admiral Pen, who commanded the fleet, or for what other reaſon is not eaſy to determine, they neglected to land their army near the town, as was adviſed by many of the officers, and as they might eaſily have done, with great probability of taking the town, which moſt of the inhabitants had deſerted: but the army having landed far from the town, were upon their march towards it, when the forlorn was attacked at the entrance of a wood by forty or fifty fellows, who were imployed to kill the wild cows of that country. This inconſiderable number of men put the forlorn to flight; and they

they retreating in great disorder struck the whole army with such a panick fear, that they began to shift for themselves, and could not be prevailed with either by promises or threatnings to keep their ground. Which being observed by major-general Haines, and five or six officers more, they resolved either to put a stop to the pursuit of the enemy, or not to outlive the disgrace: thereupon they made a stand and fought them, till the major-general and most of the rest were killed. During this time our forces rallied, yet could not recover courage enough to charge that inconsiderable enemy; and those very men, who when they fought for the liberties of their country, had performed wonders, having now engaged to support the late erected tyranny, disgracefully fled when there was none to pursue them. The expedition against Hispaniola proving unsuccessful, they shipped themselves, and soon after arrived at the island of Jamaica, belonging also to the Spaniards: which being but meanly fortified, the inhabitants, who lived for the most part together in the principal town, ran away, and betook themselves to the woods, leaving what they could not carry away to be plundered by the army. Colonel Venables being disabled by sickness to perform the functions of his office, was permitted by the council of officers to return into England; and vice-admiral Pen suspecting he would lay the whole blame of that affair on him, obtained leave also: and being both arrived, they were heard at Whitehall one against the other; where the accusations of both seemed to be of more weight than the defences of either of them. So Pen was committed to the Tower, and colonel Venables confined to his lodging, the distemper that was upon him excusing him from a stricter imprisonment.

ACCORDING to the promise contained in the instrument of government, it was resolved to issue out writs for the election of members to serve in an assembly at Westminster, who were to be chosen, not by small boroughs, and two for each county, as formerly, but in such manner as had been agreed upon by the parliament in the rule for chooſing successive representatives, which indeed was much more equal and just. And because it was provided by the same instrument, that thirty members should be sent by Ireland, and the same number by Scotland, to sit in the house, letters were sent by Cromwel and his council to the commissioners there, acquainting them with that clause in the instrument of government, and desiring their advice touching the ensuing election. Some of the commissioners in Ireland were of opinion, that if the proprietors should choose, they would return such as were enemies to the English interest, and therefore proposed that for this time Cromwel and his council should nominate the thirty who were to be chosen for that nation. This question coming before the commissioners before the arrival of the new set nominated by Cromwel, tho' I resolved to intermeddle as little as might be, yet this advice seemed so strange to me, that I could not forbear to desire of them, that seeing we had no more of liberty left but the name, they would at least retain the form, in hopes that in time men might become so sensible of their own interest as to be enabled thereby to recover the efficacy and substance of it, especially since it was most probable that by the influence of those in power the same persons would be chosen that they desired. To this they agreed; and having proportioned the cities and counties for the election before the issuing out the writs, a private junto was held by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who agreed upon the persons that they would have chosen for each place, which they had a great advantage to effect, having nominated and fitted the sheriffs and other officers for that

purpoſe. The court-party endeavoured to promote the election of ſuch as would center in adoring the idol lately ſet up, however different in opinions about other matters. The clergy in ſome parts proved ſo ſtrong, that they carried it againſt thoſe agreed on by the court; but both parties concurred in the decrying all ſuch who would not ſacrifice the cauſe of the publick to the ambition of men. In England they better underſtood the deſign that was carrying on, inſomuch that many perſons of known virtue and integrity were choſen to ſit in this aſſembly, in particular the lord preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Robert Wallup, and divers others. When the time appointed for the meeting of this aſſembly was come, Cromwel went in a coach to Weſtminſter, accompanied by his horſe and foot guard, with many officers of the army on foot; where being arrived, his firſt buſineſs was to appear in his kingly garb at the abbey, there to hear a ſermon with the members of that aſſembly before they went about their other affairs. Which done, he went into the painted chamber, where he entertained the members with a tedious ſpeech, wherein he endeavoured to make it appear, that things were brought to this paſs, not by his contrivance, but by the over-ruling hand of God; aſſuring them, that he was much rejoiced to ſee ſo free an aſſembly of the people met together, and that he reſolved to ſubmit himſelf to their judgment. But notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious pretences, he cauſed the lord Grey of Grooby, Mr. John Wildman, Mr. Highland, and others, who had always manifeſted a conſtant affection to the commonwealth, to be excluded from the houſe. And tho' many undue methods had been uſed at the elections to procure thoſe to be choſen who were enemies, and to keep out many who were known friends to the common cauſe; and tho' they ſaw themſelves under the power of one who they knew would force his way to the throne, yet they appeared in a few days not to be for his purpoſe, but reſolved, at the leaſt, to lay a claim to their liberties. For whereas the court-party would have obliged them to approve at once the whole inſtrument of government which they had framed, the aſſembly took it in pieces, and referred the conſideration of it to a committee, where the firſt queſtion fallen upon was, "Whether the ſupreme legiſlative power of the nation ſhall be in a ſingle perſon and the parliament." In this debate Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Mr. Scott, and many others, eſpecially the lord preſident Bradſhaw, were very inſtrumental in opening the eyes of many young members who had never before heard their intereſt ſo clearly ſtated and aſſerted; ſo that the commonwealth-party increaſed daily, and that of the ſword loſt ground. Cromwel being informed of theſe tranſactions by his creatures, and fearing to have that great queſtion put; leſt he ſhould be depoſed, by a vote of this aſſembly, from the throne which he had uſurped, cauſed a guard to be ſet upon the door of the houſe early in the morning, and ſent to the mayor of London to acquaint him with the reaſons of what he was about to do, to the end that he might prevent any diſorders in the city. The members coming at the uſual hour, were refuſed the door, and required to attend him in the painted chamber; where he taking notice of what was under debate in the houſe, contrary to the privilege of a parliament, (as he would have this thought to be) told them, that being called by virtue of the inſtrument of government to that aſſembly, they were bound up by the indentures themſelves, upon which they were returned, from altering the government by a ſingle perſon and a parliament; and that the country having owned him by electing a parliament called by his writ, and that the judges with the

juſtices of peace having acted by virtue of his authority, he was reſolved not to permit that point to be called in queſtion, acquainting them, that no perſon ſhould be admitted, for the time to come, to ſit as a member in that aſſembly, till he had ſubſcribed an acknowledgment of the government by a ſingle perſon and a parliament. Some of thoſe who had been choſen members of this convention, had already declined the houſe, upon account that Cromwel and his council had excluded from their places divers perſons who had been conſtantly faithful to the publick intereſt; but ſo ſoon as this viſible hand of violence appeared to be upon them, moſt of the eminent aſſertors of the liberty of their country withdrew themſelves, being perſwaded they ſhould better diſcharge their duty to the nation by this way of expreſſing their abhorrence of his tyrannical proceedings, than by ſurrendering their liberties under their own hands, and then treating with him who was poſſeſſed of the ſword, to recover ſome part of them again. However, this engagement was ſigned by about one hundred and thirty members within a day or two, and ſome days after ſeveral others ſubſcribed it, and took their places in the houſe, where a debate ariſing touching the ſaid recognition, they paſſed a declaration, that it ſhould not be intended to comprehend the whole government contained in the forty two articles of the inſtrument, but that only which required the government of the commonwealth to be by a ſingle perſon and ſucceſſive parliaments. And to this the major part conſented, hoping that by their compliance with him, in making proviſion for his ſafety, and the government of the nation during his life, he would have been ſatisfied therewith, and in gratitude would have judged the people after his death to be of age and wiſdom ſufficient to chuſe a government for themſelves. This great point touching the ſingle perſon being thus over-ruled, they applied themſelves to the conſideration and debate of the remaining clauſes of the inſtrument of government. They declared that he ſhould be protector during his life, and limited the number of forces to be kept up in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with proviſion for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of ſhips that they thought neceſſary for the guard of the ſeas, and ordered two hundred thouſand pounds a year for his own expence, the ſalaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambaſſadors. They alſo voted a clauſe to be inſerted, to declare the rights of the people of England, and particularly that no money ſhould be raiſed upon the nation but by authority of parliament. And whereas by the inſtrument of government it was provided, that if the parliament were not ſitting at the death of the preſent protector, the council of officers ſhould chuſe a ſucceſſor; they reſolved, that nothing ſhould be determined by the council after his death, but the calling of a parliament, who were then to conſider what they would have done. Beſides theſe things, I can remember no remarkable variation from what was formerly ſet down in the paper called the inſtrument of government, except this additional vote, "That no one clauſe of this ſhould be looked upon as binding, unleſs the whole were conſented unto." Which they did, leſt Cromwel ſhould interrupt them, and taking what made for his own advancement, reject what was advantageous to the commonwealth. Much time was ſpent, and pains taken, to effect this within the time limited, ſo that hardly any private buſineſs was done all that time, except an order given to the exciſe-office for ſatisfying an old debt pretended by colonel John Birch, one of their members, a nimble gentleman, and one who uſed to neglect no opportunity of providing for himſelf.

THE uſurper, that he might make way for his poſterity to ſucceed him in his greatneſs, changed the title of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, from that of "commander in chief," to that of "deputy of Ireland," to continue till ſuch time as it ſhould be thought fit to recall him from thence, and to eſtabliſh his ſon Harry in his place. In order to this a commiſſion was ſent to Fleetwood from Cromwel, wherein thoſe who were before called commiſſioners are now ſtiled only his counſellors. Having thus modelled the government of Ireland, he began to apply his care to that of Scotland; and knowing Monk to be a ſoldier, and faithful enough to him, as long as he would gratify his vicious, covetous, and ambitious inclinations, he intruſted him with the command of the forces, and made him one of the commiſſioners for civil affairs in that nation. But that he might balance him with ſome of another temper, who might be a guard upon his actions, he ſent colonel Adrian Scroop to be one of the commiſſioners there alſo, having firſt cauſed the caſtle of Briſtol, whereof he was governour, to be ſlighted, not daring to truſt a perſon of ſo much honour and worth with a place of that importance. He likewiſe ſent thither colonel Whetham with the ſame character, who having been one of the late aſſembly, as well as governour of Portſmouth, and underſtanding that a deſign was on foot to make Cromwel king, had in the houſe applied to him the ſaying of the prophet to Ahab, "Haſt thou killed, and alſo taken poſſeſſion?" By which words it appearing that this gentleman was not for Oliver's turn, he removed him from Portſmouth, and ſent him to Scotland to be one of the commiſſioners there alſo. The lord Broghil was made preſident of the council in Scotland, with an allowance of two thouſand pounds a year, with a promiſe from him, who never kept any but ſuch as ſuited with his corrupt ends, that his ſervice ſhould be diſpenſed with after one year, and yet his ſalary to continue.

IN Holland, the party of the prince of Orange having long obſtructed the ſigning of the articles agreed upon between that ſtate and Cromwel, the ſtates general ſent myn heer Beverning ambaſſador into England, to aſſure Cromwel, that if the provinces did not agree to the articles within eight days, he had power from the ſtates general to ſign them in their names. But before this peace was concluded, the king of Scots party had obtained ſuccours to be ſent to their friends in Scotland, who were augmented to the number of about five thouſand horſe and foot, having received fifteen hundred foot, two hundred horſe, and great numbers of arms brought to them by ſeventeen Holland ſhips; ſo that it was thought fit to take lieutenant-general Monk from the fleet, the war at ſea being now over, and to ſend him to take care of affairs in Scotland; but chiefly to keep the officers there from drawing to a head againſt Cromwel's uſurpation. Lieutenant-general Middleton, with about one hundred men more, for the moſt part officers, five hundred arms, and one hundred and fifty barrels of powder, landed alſo in the north of Scotland. To oppoſe theſe forces we ſent fifteen hundred men from Ireland under lieutenant-colonel Braine, into the mountains of Scotland, who contributed very much to the ſuppreſſion of them.

MONK being arrived in Scotland, divided his army into ſeveral bodies, the two principal of which were commanded by himſelf and colonel Morgan. With theſe they purſued the enemy ſo cloſely, that at a council of war held by them in the county of Murray, they made a reſolution to diſperſe themſelves upon every alarm, and to meet again at a rendezvous

to

to be agreed upon. This being resolved, they advanced towards the quarters of colonel Braine, where they were warmly received, and forced to retire. Middleton, to avoid the pursuit of ours, dispersed his foot into inaccessible quarters, and drew together about six hundred horse at Kennagh; whereby Monk perceiving that his design was to tire out our forces, declined following him so close, endeavouring to drive him upon colonel Morgan, whom Monk had informed of the enemy's march. Middleton seeing himself no farther pursued, stayed at Kennagh; whereupon Monk having received advice of the approach of colonel Morgan's party, advanced with his forces towards the enemy, who retiring towards Badenoch, and being about to take their quarters that night at Loughary, found themselves engaged at a narrow pass by colonel Morgan, who designed to quarter at the same place. Middleton endeavouring to retire, was obstructed by a morass; and being hotly pursued by colonel Morgan's forces, and much harassed by difficult marches, was soon routed, many of his men were killed, and many taken prisoners; four hundred of their horse were taken, together with the charging and sumpter horses of Middleton himself, who being wounded in the action, saved himself with much difficulty on foot. His commission, instructions, and divers letters written to him and his friends, by their king, were taken also; and had not such as fled been favoured by the bad ways and the night, very few had escaped. The news of this defeat coming to the enemy's foot, who were in number about twelve hundred, they immediately disbanded themselves, and divers of the enemy's principal officers came in and submitted, and amongst them the earl of Glencairn, lieutenant-general Maxwell, lieutenant-colonel Herriott, the lord Forester, and Sir George Monroe. Yet notwithstanding this low condition of that party in Scotland, the clergy refused to observe such fasts as were appointed by the government in England, and instead of them appointed others by their own authority, wherein they exhorted the people, amongst other things, to seek the Lord, to preserve the ministry among them, to forget the offences of the house of the Stewarts, and to turn from his people the sad effects of a late eclipse.

A FLEET commanded by general Blake was sent into the Mediterranean, to require satisfaction from the grand duke of Tuscany, for injuries done to our merchants, and for entertaining and harbouring prince Rupert's fleet; in which expedition he not only procured the satisfaction demanded, but rendered the power of England so formidable, not only to all Italy, but even to the grand seignior himself, that they expressed a greater readiness to preserve the friendship of the English than ever they had done before.

IN the mean time, Cromwel having assumed the whole power of the nation to himself, and sent ambassadors and agents to foreign states, was courted again by them, and presented with the rarities of several countries; amongst the rest, the duke of Holstein made him a present of a set of gray Frizeland coach-horses, with which taking the air in the Park, attended only with his secretary Thurlow, and guard of janizaries, he would needs take the place of the coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive, would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him: and therefore not contented with their ordinary pace, he lashed them very furiously. But they, unaccustomed to such a rough driver, ran away in a rage, and stopped not till they had thrown him out of the box, with which fall his pistol fired in his pocket,

tho' without any hurt to himſelf; by which he might have been inſtructed, how dangerous it was to intermeddle with thoſe things wherein he had no experience.

THE repreſentative ſitting at Weſtminſter, tho' garbled as he thought fit, proving not ſufficiently inclined to ſerve his deſigns, but rather in prudence yielding to the ſtrength of the preſent ſtream, in hopes the people might in time recover their oars, and make uſe of them for the publick good; he grew impatient till the five months allowed for their ſitting ſhould be expired; during which time he was reſtrained by that which he called "The inſtrument of government," from giving them interruption. And tho' they differed not in any material point from that form of government which he himſelf had ſet up, unleſs it were in reſerving the nomination of his ſucceſſor to the parliament; yet did the omiſſion of this one thing ſo inrage him, that he reſolved upon their diſſolution. They had prepared all things to offer to him, and had been very cautious of giving him any juſt occaſion of offence, well knowing that in caſe they had given him the leaſt pretence of diſſatisfaction, he would have laid all the blame at their door; and therefore they prudently left the ſettling of the church-government, and the liberty that was to be extended to tender conſciences (an engine by which Cromwel did moſt of his work) to the conſideration of the next aſſembly: whereupon he wanting wherewith juſtly to accuſe them, unleſs it were for too much complying with him to the prejudice of the commonwealth, after he had peruſed the form of government which the aſſembly had agreed upon, and tendered to him for his conſideration; the five months of their ſeſſions, according to the ſoldiers account of twenty eight days to the month, being expired, they were ordered to attend him on the 23d of January, 1654, in the painted chamber, where he made up with words and paſſion what he wanted of matter to charge them with, accuſing them of endeavouring to bring all things into diſorder and confuſion, by raking into the particulars of the inſtrument of government, which he extolled very highly. He charged them with neglecting to make proviſion for the army, and neceſſitating them thereby to take free quarter, to the great diſſatisfaction of the country, if it had not been prevented by the care, and at the expence of the officers. In this, and in many other particulars, he very much preferred the wiſdom and prudence of the long parliament, which was the part he propoſed now to act, having determined to cry down this. And becauſe he could not accuſe them of any practices againſt liberty of conſcience, he charged them with their principles, and imputed to them all thoſe diſcontents and deſigns, which were on foot by ſeveral parties againſt the preſent government; affirming that if they had not their riſe from ſome that ſat amongſt them (which he thought he ſhould make appear) yet they grew like ſhrubs under their ſhadow. And that he might obviate that objection, which his own conſcience told him was the true reaſon of his diſſatisfaction with what had been agreed on in this aſſembly, he told them that their not ſettling the government on him and his heirs was not the reaſon why he refuſed to conſent to what they preſented to him. For, ſaid he, ſo fully am I convinced (in the judgment I now am) of the injuſtice of hereditary government, that if you had offered me the whole inſtrument of government, with that one alteration in favour of my family, I ſhould have refuſed the whole for the ſake of that; and I do not know tho' you have begun with an unworthy perſon, but hereafter the ſame method may be

obſerved

obſerved in the choice of magiſtrates, as was amongſt the children of Iſrael, who appointed thoſe that had been moſt eminent in delivering them from their enemies abroad to govern them at home. In which excuſe three things ſeem remarkable. Firſt, that tho' in the judgment he then was, hereditary government was unjuſt, yet he reſerved a liberty to alter his opinion, if he ſhould find perſons and things inclining that way. Secondly, in declaring this to be his preſent opinion, he flattered the ambition of major-general Lambert, and kept him in expectation of ſucceeding him, and ſo ſecured his aſſiſtance in carrying on his wicked deſign. In the third place, by deſigning that the general ſhould be always choſen protector, it appears that he would have had the nation to be perpetually governed by the military ſword. Thus did this wiſe man (as he would be thought) weaken his own intereſt, and loſe the affections of the people: for as by his interruption of the long parliament, he diſobliged the moſt ſober part of the nation, ſo by the diſſolution of this aſſembly he opened the eyes of the reſt, who had been hitherto made to believe, that he was neceſſitated to that extraordinary action, becauſe they would not do thoſe good things for the nation which were expected from them; and by this reproachful diſmiſſion of the convention, which conſiſted for the moſt part of men of moderate ſpirits, and who had gone, in the judgment of moſt diſcerning men, but too far in compliance with him for the purchaſe of their preſent peace, he made a conſiderable part of thoſe who had been friends to him, irreconcilable enemies, and ſent the members into their reſpective countries, to relate to their neighbours and thoſe that ſent them, what an unreaſonable creature they had found him.

HAVING diſſolved the pretended repreſentative called by his own authority, he began by bribes to corrupt others to his intereſt; and to this end ordered the arrears of colonel Hewetſon for his Engliſh ſervice to be paid in ready money, and his Iriſh arrears to be ſatisfied out of the forfeited lands in the county of Dublin, at the rate of the adventurers in ſuch places as he ſhould chooſe. He ordered two thouſand pounds to be paid out of the treaſury to Mr. Weaver, in lieu of what the parliament had ſettled upon him out of the forfeited lands in Scotland, and ten thouſand pounds in ready money to major-general Lambert, in conſideration of one thouſand pounds by year out of the ſaid forfeited lands given to him by the parliament, not regarding how he laviſhed away the publick treaſure, ſo as he might procure ſuch inſtruments as he thought would be ſubſervient to his unjuſt deſigns.

BY this time many began openly to diſcover their diſcontents, and particularly the friends of the Scots king, who tho' he ſaw clearly his game playing by this uſurper through the diviſions he made amongſt thoſe, whoſe intereſt it was to be united in oppoſition to him; yet being impatient of delay, and not caring how many he ſacrificed, ſo as he might with more expedition recover the exerciſe of his power, he ſent over divers commiſſions for the raiſing of horſe and foot, and prevailed with ſome young gentlemen, of little conſideration and leſs experience, to accept them, and to engage againſt a victorious army commanded by one, who ſpared not the purſe of the commonwealth to procure intelligence. By which means he cauſed a great number of arms that were provided for the execution of this deſign to be ſeized, and impriſoned divers perſons concerned in it; wherein he made uſe of one Baily a jeſuit, who diſcovered his Kinſman one Mr. Bagnal, ſon to the lady Terringham, together with his own brother captain Nicholas Baily, accuſing them both of accepting

cepting commiſſions for raiſing a regiment, which Mr. Bagnal upon his examination did not deny. But notwithſtanding this diſcovery, ſo confident were theſe young men of ſucceſs, that they ſtill carried on their plot, and appointed a day for the execution of it. Cromwel ſuſpecting they might have ſome grounds for their confidence, diſpatched commiſſary-general Reynolds to Ireland, with orders to cauſe ſome forces to be embarked for England, and accordingly about two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe were ordered to be ſent over to his aſſiſtance; the foot to be commanded by colonel Sadler, and the horſe by major Bolton. This party being drawn to the water-ſide, ſome of the private ſoldiers, whether from any ſcruple of conſcience, or from an unwillingneſs to leave their wives, children, and plantations in Ireland, I cannot ſay, refuſed to embark, tho' lieutenant-general Fleetwood with ſeveral field officers of the army were preſent; alledging that they had liſted themſelves to fight againſt the rebels of Ireland, and in proſecution of that obligation were ready to obey all commands; that they knew not againſt whom they ſhould be drawn to engage in England, poſſibly againſt ſome of their beſt friends, and therefore deſired to be excuſed from that ſervice. The officers reſolving to compel them by force to go aboard, called a court martial upon the place, where they condemned one of the moſt active to death, and ordered one entire company to be caſhiered; both which orders were immediately put in execution, by breaking the company, and hanging the man upon the maſt of one of the ſhips: at this execution colonel Hewetſon, who had been lately obliged in the matter of his arrears, as a mark of his gratitude, gave order that the poor man ſhould be hanged higher than was at firſt deſigned.

The cavalier plot was ſtill on foot in England; and tho' divers of them were impriſoned, and many arms ſeized, yet it was ſtill reſolved to attempt ſomething. To this end, a cart-load of arms was conveyed to the place of rendezvous agreed upon for the northern parts, where it was reported the contrivers of this deſign were to be headed by the lord Wilmot. But receiving ſome alarm upon their firſt meeting, and fearing leſt the regular forces ſhould fall upon them before they were ſufficiently prepared for their defence, they diſperſed themſelves, and left their arms behind them. The only conſiderable party that appeared were thoſe at Saliſbury, which they had an opportunity of doing under colour of going to the aſſizes. They conſiſted of about one hundred and fifty horſe, and drew together in the night, and were ordered to ſeize the judges there in circuit, the ſheriff of the county, and ſuch other perſons as they ſhould ſuſpect to be enemies to the deſign. Colonel Wagſtaff was ſaid to be their commander; but colonel Penruddock, a gentleman of that country, appeared moſt forward in giving out the neceſſary orders and directions. Captain Hugh Grove, and Mr. Jones of Newton, with ſeveral other gentlemen of thoſe parts, were amongſt them. They proclaimed Charles the ſecond to be king of England, &c. ſeized the judges, and having taken away their commiſſions, ſet them at liberty. They carried the ſheriff Mr. Dove away with them to Dogtown, to which place they thought fit to retire, apprehending more danger at Saliſbury, their forces not at all anſwering their firſt expectations. From thence they marched as far as Blandford in Dorſetſhire, but ſo few joined them in their way, that at their arrival there they exceeded not the number of two hundred horſe. Moſt men looked upon them as flying, divers of their own party ſtealing from them as faſt as others came to them; and thoſe that ſtaid

with

with them, did so rather to secure themselves, and obtain better conditions, than from any hopes of succeeding. What they did served only to alarm the army, some troops of which pursued them into Devonshire, where they were fallen upon by major Unton Crook, and defeated. Divers of them were taken prisoners, and amongst them colonel Penruddock, Mr. Jones, and captain Grove. Major-general Wagstaff, Mr. Mompesson, and several others escaped, and went privately to their own habitations; but upon information given that they were concerned in this plot, they were seized and secured in order to trial. The prisoners taken in the fight pretended articles for life from major Crook, alledging that otherwise they would not have delivered themselves on so easy terms; but the major absolutely denied any such thing: so that a commission of oyer and terminer was issued for their trial, and Mr. attorney-general Prideaux was sent from London to prosecute them. The chief justice Rolls was nominated in the commission to be one of their judges, but he refused to act therein, on account that the prisoners had done a particular injury to him in seizing his person at their first rising, and therefore he thought himself unfit to give his judgment in their case, wherein he might be thought a party concerned. Some of them were condemned at Salisbury, and some at Exeter, of which number were colonel Penruddock and captain Grove; and in aggravation of their crimes it was urged, that this was their second offence of this kind, and that it was committed against much favour and kindness, not only in that they had been permitted to compound for their estates at a reasonable rate, when they had forfeited all, but also that an act of oblivion had been granted to them and their whole party, whereby they were put into a condition of enjoying the advantages of all the victories of those to whom they had been enemies. To this they answered, That they did not rise against those who had extended that favour to them, but against a person who had dissipated those men, and established himself in their place. And I cannot tell by what laws of God or man they could have been justly condemned, had they been upon as sure a foundation in what they declared for, as they were in what they declared against. But certainly it can never be esteemed by a wise man to be worth the scratch of a finger, to remove a single person acting by an arbitrary power, in order to set up another with the same unlimited authority. Colonel Penruddock and captain Grove were executed by beheading, according to the sentence pronounced against them; but Mr. Jones of Newton Tony being allied to Cromwel, was pardoned after he had been found guilty by the jury, and major Crook was ordered to have two hundred pounds by year out of Mr. Mompesson's estate, for his good service in the suppression of this party.

The usurper was not a little startled at this insurrection, suspecting that so small a number would not have appeared without more considerable encouragement; and therefore tho' he had lately so meanly stooped to court the cavalier party, and thereby highly provoked his ancient friends to a just jealousy and indignation, he resolved now to fall upon them, and to break through all their compositions, even the act of oblivion itself, in the obtaining and passing of which he had so great a hand. To this end he commanded a tenth part of their estates to be levied, in order, as he pretended, to maintain those extraordinary forces which their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up. In defence of which oppression, I could never yet hear one argument that carried any weight either with respect to justice or policy: for having by his treachery

uſurpation diſobliged thoſe with whom he firſt engaged, he ſeemed to have no other way left to ſupport himſelf, but by balancing his new with his old enemies, whom by this freſh act of injuſtice he rendered deſperate and irreconcilable, they being not able to call any thing their own, whilſt by the ſame rule that he ſeized one tenth, he might alſo take away the other nine parts at his pleaſure. And to put this deteſtable project in execution, he divided England into cantons, over each of which he placed a baſhaw under the title of major-general, who was to have the inſpection and government of inferior commiſſioners in every county, with orders to ſeize the perſons, and diſtrain the eſtates of ſuch as ſhould be refractory, and to put in execution ſuch further directions as they ſhould receive from him.

In the army there were not wanting ſome that ſtill retained an affection to the cauſe of their country, which appeared more particularly in a petition to Cromwel, ſigned by many of them, containing things ſo ſuitable to the deſires of honeſt men, that it proved on that account very unwelcome to the uſurper. Amongſt others, colonel Okey endeavoured to perſwade the officers of his regiment to ſtand by him in the proſecution of the ends of it, but was interrupted in that deſign by his major, for whom he had, not without difficulty, obtained that employment. It was alſo pretended, that major-general Overton, with ſome officers of the army in Scotland, deſigned to ſeize upon Monk, and to march with that army to London for the reſtitution of the parliament: upon ſuſpicion of which he was ſeized and ſent priſoner to London, where he was committed to the Tower.

About three hundred of the petition aforeſaid, together with another writing, called "the memento," were ſent into Ireland in a box directed to me, and accompanied with a ſhort letter without any ſubſcription. Which papers, when I had peruſed, and found them to contain ſuch truths, as were very proper to prepare the minds of men to imbrace the firſt opportunity of reſcuing themſelves from the preſent oppreſſion, I thought it my duty to procure them to be diſperſed as much to the advantage of the publick as I could. Wherein I was particularly aſſiſted by captain Walcot, one of the faithful officers of my regiment, and divers others of my friends. I acquainted lieutenant-colonel Brayfield with my deſign, and ſent ſome of the papers to major Davis, who was then at Dublin, but reſided uſually in Connaught, thinking him to be a proper perſon to be imployed to diſperſe them in that province. The ſaid major Davis having received the papers, came to me, and deſired to know if they came from me. I anſwered him, That tho' I wiſhed my name might have been concealed, yet that queſtion being put to me, I durſt not deny it; and having further informed him of the reaſons which moved me ſo to do, he declared himſelf to be fully ſatisfied with them. But it afterwards appeared, that upon the firſt receit of thoſe papers, he had acquainted Mr. Roberts, the auditor-general, therewith, preſuming him to be well affected to the common cauſe; which proving otherwiſe, the ſaid Roberts informed lieutenant-general Fleetwood of what he knew. The lieutenant-general having alſo had advice, that I had diſcourſed with lieutenant-colonel Brayfield in the Caſtle-yard, and ſuſpecting it might be upon the ſame buſineſs, ſent for major Davis and the ſaid lieutenant-colonel to examine them, who confeſſed ſo much of the matter, as was a ground for him to diſpatch a meſſenger to me, in order to enquire concerning the truth of it. The perſon imployed was one major Wallis, who coming to my houſe at Moncktown, informed me, that lieutenant-general

general Fleetwood had received information, that I had dispersed some of the late petitions and memento's. To which I answered, That seeing the thing which I desired to carry on privately was not concealed, I should not decline to affirm, that my conscience obliged me not to smother so much truth as those papers seemed to me to contain. He then told me, that the lieutenant-general desired to speak with me about that matter, and I promised to attend him the next morning. Accordingly I went to him, and after some conference concerning the papers, he produced an order from Cromwel and his council to this effect; "That whereas I had declared myself dissatisfied with the present government, he the said lieutenant-general Fleetwood was required to take care, that my charge in the army might be managed some other way." He added, that he had received the said order some months since, but would not communicate it to me till now, when upon the distribution of these papers he durst not conceal it any longer, lest he should be accounted a confederate with me. I replied, That if my life as well as my employment had been at stake, I durst not have omitted what I thought to be my duty in this particular: that having no power to dispute their pleasure, I should at present look upon it as a law to which I must submit. Some time after Mr. Benjamin Worseley was sent to acquaint me, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had been in expectation of hearing from me, touching my submission to the order he shewed me, either by letter, or the surrender of my commission. I answered, That I thought neither of them necessary; and hoped that my retirement into my own country, which I suddenly designed, might be sufficient. But it was determined that I should not so easily quit the publick stage. For the next morning I was desired to attend the lieutenant-general, which accordingly I did, and found eight or ten of his advisers with him. The design of their meeting was to perswade me either to deliver up my commission, or to engage under my hand, not to act by virtue of it, till I should first receive commission so to do from Cromwel, or lieutenant-general Fleetwood. To the first I answered, That I durst not deliver my commission to any other power save that of the parliament, who had intrusted me with it; and that it was all I had to justify me for doing many things wherein the lives of men had been concerned. To the second, I could by no means consent, because I durst not tie my own hands from acting by virtue of it, when I should be justly called upon so to do. Being returned to my house, doubtful what the event of this contest might be, and desirous to have good advice before I proceeded any farther, I sent to four or five officers, of whose integrity I had a good opinion, to ask their judgment in this case. The result of our conference was, That I should, in a letter to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, state the justice of my call to the employment whereof I was possest, and the conditions on which I received my commission, being particularly solicited to it by Cromwel himself, when he appeared in the shape of a commonwealth's-man: the authority that gave me my commission; the present defection from that authority and common cause, which Cromwel as well as I had engaged to maintain; the duty incumbent upon me to disperse the said books, because the substance of my dissatisfactions was contained in them; withal to declare what I would be satisfied with, if it might be attained; and if that could not be, how far I thought myself obliged to submit. A letter to this effect being drawn up by me, with the advice of the officers above-mentioned, I sent it to the lieutenant-general, and some time after received a message from him to acquaint me, that according to

a late order brought to him from England, I muſt either deliver my commiſſion, or be ſent priſoner thither. I told the meſſenger, that I could not comply with his demand, tho' I ſhould be ſent priſoner to Rome; but that the commiſſion lay in a cabinet in my cloſet, where he might find it if he thought fit to break open the door and take it away. But he having no other orders than to demand the delivery of my commiſſion, departed without it. A day or two after, Mr. Miles Corbet came to my houſe by order of the lieutenant-general, and ſhewed me the letter that Cromwel had ſent to require him to demand the ſurrender of my commiſſion, and in caſe of refuſal, to ſecure my perſon in Ireland, or to ſend me priſoner to England. He uſed what arguments he could to induce me to a compliance, which when I had heard, I ſet down in writing my anſwer, to be delivered to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, which was *in ſubſtance to let him know, That I looked upon my commiſſion to* be of no more danger to them than if it was actually taken from me, and cancelled at the head of the army; but that I was not willing by a voluntary ſubmiſſion to own the juſtice of the preſent order, becauſe I had received the ſaid commiſſion from the parliament to ſerve as an officer in their army, in order to the execution of juſtice upon thoſe who had murdered and oppreſſed the Engliſh proteſtants; and that I durſt not conſent to be withdrawn from that duty by any, ſave that authority alone which had placed me in that ſtation: that if I had received my commiſſion immediately from the general, I ſhould not willingly return it at his pleaſure in this conjuncture, as well in regard to the duty I owed to the publick, as to the army: that it could be eſteemed nothing leſs than a wilful betraying of that cauſe for which I had contended in conjunction with the army, if I, who had been honoured with an employment in a war, raiſed for the defence of liberty againſt the arbitrary power of a ſingle perſon, ſhould voluntarily ſubmit to what was propoſed. For ſince the whole authority in the three nations was aſſumed by the army, if I ſhould acknowledge the intire diſpoſal of all things relating to that army to reſide in the general, what would this be but to declare my conſent to give up the power of the parliament, army, and nation, into his hands? However, to avoid extremities, as far as I was able, I propoſed, that if a council of the officers who were about Dublin might be called, and that upon a full hearing and debate of the matter, they ſhould declare it to be my duty, I would ſubmit, as to the higher powers, *having none at preſent* to appeal to from them but God. This expedient not being approved, the lieutenant-general ſent Mr. Miles Corbet again to me, with a propoſition, that I would chuſe either to go to London, or to be confined in Ireland. In anſwer to which, and upon conſideration of the diſcompoſure of my affairs in England, by reaſon of a great debt left upon my eſtate at my departure thence, not likely to be leſſened by my abſence; and being very deſirous to come to a ſpeedy trial for my refuſal to deliver my commiſſion, I made choice of the former. Mr, Corbet then told me, that a man of war ſhould be prepared for my tranſportation, provided I would give my word to appear before Cromwel, and not to act any thing againſt him in the mean time, to which I conſented. For tho' I durſt not engage to diſable myſelf from acting, whilſt nothing was objected againſt me, leſt I ſhould thereby not only have given away my own liberty, but alſo make an ill precedent for other men; yet being now accuſed of a pretended crime, I was contented to paſs my parole to appear as deſired, and in the mean time not to act againſt him. When the lieutenant-general perceived that

that I was resolved on my journey, he desired me to put off my departure for two months, pretending that things being in some disorder in England, he feared Cromwel might apprehend a necessity of using me with more severity than he wished; and to soften this delay, gave a warrant for the payment of a sum of money to me, for defraying my expences whilst I staid, together with those of my journey to London. And indeed what he said concerning the disorders of England was not without ground, things running every day more and more into confusion, the cavaliers being enraged to see the throne usurped, and those who had hazarded all for their country finding themselves cheated, custom and excise raised without authority of parliament, and taxes imposed to no other end than to support the pride and insolence of a single person. Some there were that openly opposed these oppressions, and amongst others, Mr. George Cony a merchant, who having refused to pay custom, it was violently taken from him, and he thereupon sued the collector at the common law. But Cromwel resolving to put a stop to such dangerous precedents, caused the counsel for Mr. Cony, who were serjeant Maynard, serjeant Twysden, and Mr. Wadham Windham, to be sent to the Tower, where they had not been above three or four days, when they unworthily petitioned to be set at liberty, acknowledging their fault, and promising to do so no more, chusing rather to sacrifice the cause of their client, wherein that of their country was also eminently concerned, than to endure a little restraint, with the loss of the fees of a few days. By this means when the cause came to the next hearing, Mr. Cony was necessitated to plead for himself, which he did in as short a manner as he could, referring it wholly to the judge, whether that tax being not authorized by parliament, ought to be paid by the law of the land; and declaring that he would abide by his judgment therein. Serjeant Rolls, then chief justice of the upper bench, tho' a conscientious man, and a lover of civil liberty, yet not daring to determine it for him, said, that something must be allowed to cases of necessity. To which Mr. Cony replied, That it was never wont to be a good plea in law, for a man to make necessities, and then to plead them. But the judge wanting courage, would not give judgment against the usurper; and being too much an honest man to give it for him, he took time till the next ensuing term, to consider what rule he should give in the case. In the mean time, upon consideration that his continuance in that station was like to ensnare him more and more, he desired by a letter to Cromwel to have his "quietus;" and serjeant Glyn was appointed to succeed him in his employment, as a fitter instrument to carry on the designs on foot. The new chief justice, before he came to sit on the bench, took care to have this business accommodated with Cony, who lost his reputation by withdrawing himself from a cause wherein the publick was so much concerned. Sir Peter Wentworth, a member of the long parliament, caused also a collector in the country to be arrested and prosecuted at his suit, tho' he could hardly procure an attorney to appear, or counsel to plead for him. Cromwel having received notice of this prosecution, sent a messenger with an order to bring him before the council; where being examined concerning the ground of his proceeding, he told them, that he was moved to it by his constant principle, "That by the law of England no money ought to be levied upon the people without their consent in parliament. Cromwel then asked him, whether he would withdraw his action or no? To which he replied, If you will command me, I must submit; and thereupon Cromwel having commanded it, he

withdrew his action. Some time after taking the liberty in a discourse with him to reprove him for that retraction, he made me this answer, That no man could have done more than he did to the time of his appearing at the council, and that if he had then failed in any thing, it must be attributed to his age of threescore and three years, when, said he, "the blood does not run with the same vigour as in younger men." It having been discovered that the lord Grey of Grooby had given to a person a copy of the memento which I had before dispersed in Ireland, he was sent for to London, and committed prisoner to Windsor-castle for the same. The next term he sued for a habeas corpus, which the chief justice, according to law, granted him, but the governour of Windsor-castle refused to give obedience to the order of court, and so rendred it ineffectual to him, insomuch that he could not obtain his liberty till he had given a pecuniary security not to act against the government, which he chose to do rather than to engage his parole, thereby hazarding only the loss of so much money, and preserving his honour and integrity. Colonel Sexby was also suspected to have had a hand in the dispersion of the petitions and memento's beforementioned; and thereupon was sent for in order to be secured, which he having notice of fled, but was pursued so close, that his man was taken with his portmanteau. Cromwel being disappointed of taking him, pretended on the account of antient friendship to pass by what he had done, and proposed to imploy him as his agent to those of Bourdeaux, who had applied themselves for succour against the oppressing ministry of France. The colonel being under necessity, accepted of the imployment, and Cromwel ordered him a sum of money to supply his present occasions, with letters of exchange for more at Bourdeaux. Being thus furnished, he went over to France, where his business being betrayed to the magistrates of Bourdeaux, they gave order to seize his person; but he having received advice of their intentions, made his escape by night over the wall of the town, and departed from that kingdom.

In Ireland it was thought fit to disband some part of the army, yet rather to free themselves of some of the discontented party, than that nation of the charge. In order to this, a list was produced lately sent from England, appointing what regiments of horse and foot should be broken. Of these mine was to be one, tho' care was taken that those of my regiment, or any other, that would sail with any wind should be provided for; and it must be acknowledged, that they were so just to allow both officers and soldiers their full arrears out of the forfeited lands in each county, according to the rates that had been set upon them by the general council of officers, wherein the goodness and conveniency of every county was estimated and equally balanced. The arrears of my regiment fell by lot to be satisfied in the county of Wexford, where I ordered captain Walcot, my captain-lieutenant, with my coronet and quarter-master, to act for me, which they did; and my proportion in the said land yielded me about one hundred pounds the first year, and afterwards near two hundred. It was reported to be farther improveable; but I never saw it, and know not whether I ever shall. My lieutenant-colonel having had his arrears with the rest of the regiment, was accused of saying that this distribution would prove invalid without an act of parliament, and the crime aggravated by one, who informed at the head quarters as if he designed to excite the soldiers to a mutiny; whereupon he was sent for, and committed to custody till he gave assurance of his quiet and peaceable behaviour.

The design of seizing the riches of the Spaniards in the West-Indies having proved unsuccessful, and instead of bringing gold or silver home, much was transported from hence thither; where many of our men daily perished through want and the excessive heats of that climate; yet it was resolved to keep Jamaica, of which place colonel Fortescue was made governour, and commander in chief of the forces there, after the return of colonel Venables: Amongst others that died, there was one Mr. Winslow, who had been designed to be governour of some place, when they could get it: In this expedition one Mr. Gage a priest died also, who was reported to have been a principal adviser of this undertaking. Colonel Fortescue continued not long in his imployment before he died also: after whose death colonel Edward Doily was made commander in chief; and he falling to plant, made a shift to get a subsistence, which was but a poor return for the expence and loss sustained in this attempt. And as Cromwel was thus prodigal of the lives of Englishmen abroad, so was he no less of our liberties at home; for not contenting himself with the death of many of those who had raised arms against him, and seizure of the goods of that party, he transported whole droves of them at a time into foreign parts, without any legal trial: In the number of those that were sent away was Mr. William Ashburnham, Sir Thomas Armstrong and others, to whom may be added lieutenant-colonel John Lilburn, who contrary to all law, and after an acquittal by a jury, had been formerly banished. And now to prevent major-general Overton from the benefit of a Habeas Corpus, for which Cromwel was informed he intended to move, tho' he had no reason to alledge why it should be denied him; yet he sent him in custody to Jersey with the hazard of his life, and to the great prejudice of his estate. Major John Wildman was also seized upon, and it was pretended that he was taken dictating to his servant a declaration for levying war against Oliver Cromwel. The citizens of London were made acquainted with it, and the said major brought to London by a guard of horse, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

Oliver having felt the pulse of the army in Ireland, as was observ'd before, resolv'd to send his son Harry thither, that being on the place, he might be the more able to fix the soldiery to his interest. In his journey to Ireland with his wife and family he was every-where caressed by the cavalier party, and particularly entertained by colonel Mostyn in North-Wales, where the health of his father was drunk by the said colonel. After some time spent in those parts he put to sea, and upon his arrival in the bay of Dublin the men of war that accompanied him, and other ships in the harbour, rung such a peal with their cannon, as if some great good news had been coming to us; and tho' the usual place of landing for those who come in ships of war was near my house, yet he and his company went up in boats to the Rings-end, where they went ashore, and were met there by most of the officers civil and military about the town: the end of his coming over was not at first discovered, and conjectured to be only to command in the army as major-general under lieutenant-general Fleetwood. The two months agreed on at the desire of the lieutenant-general for my stay in Ireland being expired, he renewed his request that I would again defer my journey to England for two months longer, to which I consented, not doubting that it proceeded from his friendship to me. But the last two months drawing near to an end, I began to prepare for my journey; which being observed, an order, pursuant to instructions from England, was brought to me by colonel Thomas Herbert secretary

of

of the council, requiring me to remain in Ireland. The ſecretary told me that he had it in commiſſion from lieutenant-general Fleetwood to acquaint me that upon his own account, and notwithſtanding this order, he would take upon him to give me permiſſion to go into England for ſettling my affairs there, if I would engage to return within ſix months, and not act againſt the preſent government during that time.

Tho' I thought myſelf very ill uſed, not only by being denied the opportunity of coming to a ſpeedy trial for not delivering my commiſſion at the command of the general, but alſo by being prevented to take care of my private affairs without theſe fetters; yet I let him know that I would attend the lieutenant-general the next morning concerning this matter: which having done according to my promiſe, he preſſed me to comply with his requeſt, with the general argument of the duty that lay upon me to ſubmit to the higher powers. I anſwered, that as I conceived it was yet in diſpute who were theſe higher powers, whether the government of a common-wealth or that of a ſingle perſon; that I knew not whether within the time prefixed by him for me to engage not to act, I might have an opportunity ſo to do, and therefore durſt not engage to the contrary. He demanded of me what I judged an opportunity to juſtify me in ſuch an undertaking? To which I replied, "Such an appearance of good men, as might probably balance the power of the ſingle perſon:" I took the liberty alſo to tell him, that he himſelf had already juſtified that principle by his own practice in acting againſt the king; "But," ſaid he, "we had the authority of the parliament for our juſtification:" "But what," ſaid I, have you to countenance you in your actions now for a ſingle perſon againſt the parliament, which I may not have to juſtify me in acting with another power againſt this ſingle perſon? and for any thing I know, the ſame parliamentary authority that commiſſionated us all to act againſt the king, may within that time authorize me to act againſt the preſent ſingle perſon." Two or three conferences and meſſages paſſed between us upon this buſineſs, the reſult of all which was, that I promiſed to render myſelf a priſoner to Cromwel, who might farther diſpoſe of me as God ſhould permit him: but this offer not proving ſatisfactory, the council ſeconded their former order, and required me not to go out of Ireland without their farther directions. Finding my ſelf thus ſurrounded, and well knowing that this hardſhip was impoſed upon me by order from Whitehall, and that what the lieutenant-general had propoſed was out of affection to my perſon, I thought myſelf obliged to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to ſecure him from ſuffering for his civility and friendſhip to me: to that end I propoſed that tho' I could not engage poſitively not to act during ſix months, as was deſired, becauſe whatever opportunity might be offered, I ſhould then have my hands tied during the ſaid time; yet I would promiſe not to act within that time againſt the preſent government, unleſs I had firſt ſurrendred my ſelf to the general, or lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and deſired of them to be freed from this engagement. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood conſented to this propoſition, profeſſing his readineſs to comply with my deſires in what he could; and accordingly this agreement being drawn up to our mutual ſatisfaction, together with his permiſſion for my departure to England, was ſigned by him at the phenix, in the preſence of Mr. Corbet, then chief baron in that nation. The next day colonel Lawrence came to me, and after ſome diſcourſe, told me that by reaſon of ſome oppoſition which the lieutenant-general had met with in my affair, he had ſent him to deſire of me, that notwithſtanding what had paſſed between us,

I would reſpite my journey for a fortnight or three weeks longer, in which time he doubted not to clear my way for me. I preſently ſuſpected from what corner the wind blew, but knew not how to help myſelf for the preſent. The next morning Mr. Corbet ſent me a meſſage, to deſire that I would meet him on the road betwixt my houſe and Dublin; which having done according to his appointment, he acquainted me more particularly with what had happened, telling me that colonel Cromwel was ſo enraged at the form of our agreement, that he had written to his father concerning it, inſomuch that if I ſhould venture to go, he doubted I might be obſtructed by the way, which would not only be troubleſome to me, but diſhonourable to the lieutenant-general. He aſſured me alſo that lieutenant-general Fleetwood would take ſuch care to repreſent the matter in England, that all obſtacles to my paſſage might be removed in a ſhort time, and deſired of me that I would not have the worſe opinion of him for not performing at preſent what he had promiſed. In anſwer to Mr. Corbet, I let him know that I found my ſelf ſo much diſpoſed to the contrary, that whereas once I thought the lieutenant-general could have done more for me if he would, now I clearly perceived he had done more on my account than he could well anſwer.

It now began to be publick that lieutenant-general Fleetwood was ſuddenly to depart for England, tho' it was given out that his buſineſs there was only to adviſe in ſome particular affairs, and that he ſhould ſpeedily return to Ireland. At his departure he was accompanied by colonel Cromwel and his lady, the council, the mayor and aldermen of Dublin, with moſt of the conſiderable perſons then about the city. They brought him as far as my houſe, which ſtood near the place of embarking, where after a ſhort ſtay he went on board, and departed for England, leaving with me a permiſſion to tranſport myſelf into England, which was to take effect about a month after, requiring all perſons to permit me to paſs without interruption. He promiſed me likewiſe that in the mean time he would take care to remove all difficulties that might hinder me, and that it ſhould be the firſt buſineſs he would do after his arrival at London.

Some time after I underſtood by a letter from my father Oldſworth, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had aſſured him that I would ſuddenly be in England, and that he had left me a paſſport as ſufficient to that purpoſe as he could give, or I needed; which being ſpoken by him after he had been with his father Cromwel, made me preſume he had cleared the way for me. Having received this advice, I prepared for my journey, and waiting on Mr. Corbet to take my leave of him, I ſhewed him the lieutenant-general's paſs, and that clauſe in my father Oldſworth's letter which related to it. He told me that colonel Cromwel who was then in his progreſs, had ſent a meſſage to him that he ſhould acquaint me with a ſecond order lately brought from England to require poſitively my ſtay in Ireland, but withal added, that being unwilling to be imployed in ſuch unwelcome meſſages to his friends, he had made his excuſe to the colonel by letter, which he preſumed was accepted by him, becauſe he had heard nothing of it ſince that time, and therefore declared that he mentioned it not to me as a perſon commiſſioned ſo to do, but only as a friend. I told him that I ſhould take no notice of it, but proceed on my voyage, as I had before deſigned, having already hired a veſſel to that end. He then deſired that I would ſtay till the return of colonel Cromwel, which would certainly be within two or three days, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected that he had adviſed with me

about my departure. I being unwilling to bring any prejudice upon him, conſented to defer my journey till the return of colonel Cromwel, and endeavoured to attend him on the day of his coming to town: but he arriving late in the night, I found myſelf obliged to go home without ſpeaking to him, by reaſon of a humour fallen upon one of my legs, which had been hurt by a horſe; ſo that I was conſtrained to put my wife to the trouble of making my excuſe; who acquainting him with my condition, and ſhewing him the lieutenant-general's paſs, with the clauſe in that letter before-mentioned, aſſured him that the compoſure and ſettlement of my eſtate in England neceſſarily required my preſence there. He told her that he knew nothing to hinder my paſſage, and that a man of war was ready in the harbour for our tranſportation; and deſiring her to dine, promiſed that after dinner they ſhould go together to Cork-houſe, to ſpeak with Mr. Corbet her huſband's old friend, as he favoured me to call him, and that the work ſhould be done. My wife accordingly went with him full of expectation that the buſineſs ſhe came about would be effected; but after he had conſulted with Mr. Corbet, he told her, That tho' I had the lieutenant-general's paſs, yet becauſe he had ſince received a command for my ſtay, he could not give order for my departure: that if ſhe would go, ſhe ſhould have a ſhip of war to tranſport her, which ſhe excuſed, unleſs I might have permiſſion to go alſo. Then ſaid ſhe, "Tho' you will not grant a warrant for my huſband's going, I hope you will not order his ſtay." "No indeed," ſaid colonel Cromwel, "I ſhall not, tho' I think it would be much better for him to ſtay; tho' what I ſpeak is as a friend, and not as one in authority."

Upon conſideration of theſe particulars: 1ſt. That I had the lieutenant-general's order, who was then the chief officer in Ireland, together with Mr. Corbet's advice for my going, who was one of the council, in caſe I were not ordered to ſtay, and alſo colonel Cromwel's promiſe, who was principal in command upon the place, that he would not detain me, I reſolved to go aboard. And having written a letter to colonel Cromwel to aſſure him that the end of my going to England was to ſettle my diſcompoſed family and eſtate, I ordered it not to be delivered to him till the next day about noon, and endeavoured to get on board with my wife and ſervants on that day, but the wind blowing hard, and the weather being very bad, no boat could be procured that would adventure to ſea. At laſt I prevailed, not without difficulty, with the maſter of one of the largeſt herring-veſſels that was in the bay to carry me and my family to the ſhip which was to tranſport me, and lay about a league and half from the ſhore. We departed between two and three in the afternoon, and were accompanied to the ſhip by about two hundred people of the place; ſo that it could not be juſtly ſaid, as it was afterwards, that I ſtole away privately, the road by which the veſſel muſt neceſſarily paſs being alſo within ſight of Dublin. Being arrived on board the man of war which lay ready for us, we weighed anchor about eleven a clock that night, and recovered the harbour of Beaumaris by next day at noon, about which time my letter to colonel Cromwel was, according to my order, delivered to him by my ſervant. The weather was ſo tempeſtuous, that we durſt not adventure to land till the ſecond day after our arrival, when the wind ſomewhat abating, we went aſhore, where the governour of Beaumaris met us, and furniſhed us with horſes to carry us to the town. We obſerved him to look a little melancholy, yet ſuſpected not the reaſon of it. But after dinner the governour as civilly as he could acquainted me, That one

captain Shaw who was then in town had brought him an order from colonel Henry Cromwel, and the reſt of the council in Ireland, to detain me there till the pleaſure of his father ſhould be known concerning me. I deſired a ſight of the order, and found it to be directed to the governour of Beaumaris, Cheſter, or any other gariſon, or commander of any of the forces, &c. and ſigned by Henry Cromwel, ---Pepis, Matt. Thomlinſon, and Miles Corbet. Captain Shaw excuſed himſelf for being employed in this meſſage, and told me, That the day after I left Ireland, he being juſt then arrived from England, and very weary of his journey, went to bed, where he had not been above an hour before he was ſent for by colonel Cromwel, and told, That being inform'd of my departure for England, which was expreſly againſt an order receiv'd from his father, he had immediately ſummoned a council, where it had been agreed to ſend after me, and to ſecure me whereſoever I ſhould be overtaken, and that he had pitched upon him as a fit perſon to be imployed in this buſineſs, and to attend his father and the lieutenant-general with an account of it. He ſaid, he had endeavoured to get himſelf excuſed, but neither his wearineſs by reaſon of his great journey, nor any other arguments would prevail with colonel Cromwel. I told him, That thoſe who reſolved to worſhip the riſing ſun, muſt not refuſe to run upon more ungrateful errands than this, even towards the beſt of their friends, and therefore could not ſuppoſe that any reſpect which he expreſſed to have for me ſhould prevail to excuſe him from this imployment: however, that I thought lieutenant-general Fleetwood, whom I knew to be the perſon he hoped to advance himſelf by, would not take it well that he ſhould be inſtrumental in offering this affront to his authority, he being chief governour of Ireland, and I on my journey by his paſſport and permiſſion, who I hoped underſtood his own power. The lord Fitz-Williams, a civil perſon, tho' a papiſt, and one who had been lieutenant-general to Preſton when he commanded an army of Iriſh rebels, came over with us from Ireland, and being ready to take horſe for London, was pleaſed to give me a viſit before he went, wherein he not only expreſſed himſelf very ſorry to ſee me under reſtraint, but aſſured me of his readineſs to uſe his utmoſt endeavours with his highneſs the Lord Protector, as he thought fit to call him, in my behalf. I gave him my thanks for his civility, but thought it a ſtrange revolution of affairs, that the intereſt of a gentleman who had been lieutenant-general in the army of the Iriſh rebels, ſhould be ſo much greater than mine in the general of the army of the commonwealth. Captain Shaw being ready to depart for London, and deſiring to know if he could do any ſervice for me there, I gave him a letter for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, which was to let him know what had happened ſince his departure, wherein I thought him to be much more concerned than my ſelf; and that being his priſoner, and coming upon his permiſſion, the affront was wholly done to him, tho' the ſuffering part fell to my ſhare. In the evening I was conveyed to a widow's houſe in the town, where I had the conveniency of a chamber and dining-room, with a ſentinel placed at the ſtairs-head. With great impatience I expected the return of the poſt from London, hoping that the matter would be ſo repreſented by lieutenant-general Fleetwood and captain Shaw, that I might have my liberty. But the uſurper, whoſe jealouſies increaſed with his guilt, being informed of my landing, diſpatched an order to the governour of Beaumaris, to this effect, " That whereas lieutenant-general Ludlow was ſtolen out of Ireland, he ſhould take care to keep him in ſtrict and ſafe cuſtody, and not to permit any to ſpeak with him." Upon the

press great affection to me, with protestations that he wished me as well as any man in the three nations. I thought it not convenient to take much pains to undeceive him, but was rather willing he should believe that he spoke in earnest, tho' indeed he loved no person living any farther than he served to promote his ambition; for how could it be expected that one who had sacrificed his conscience and honour, as well as the cause of his country, to the idol of his pride, should scruple to trample under foot any man that stood in his way? One of the company endeavoured to perswade me to sign the paper as it was drawn, reserving to myself those explanations which I had before proposed, or else to look upon myself as free from any obligation, being under a force. To which I answered, That I thought it below a man to be compelled to any act against his conscience, with an intention to violate the same; and that to reserve any explanations to myself, as it had been against my practice, so it was contrary to my principles, unless the governour would consent to accept my subscription to the engagement, with such an explanation as I was willing to make. Thus despairing to obtain the liberty of pursuing my journey at that time, I prepared to send my wife to settle my affairs as well as she could; and the company being gone to dinner, I wrote letters to my friends and relations; when on a sudden colonel Jones and colonel Sadler came up to tell me, that the governour was willing to discharge me, if I would sign the engagement with such an explanation as I had proposed. Hereupon I desired the governour not to do any thing out of respect to me, that might not consist with the duty of his place, or prove to be to his prejudice, my explanation being in my opinion an absolute repeal of the engagement as soon as I had rendered myself. He replied, he had considered of it, and was willing to accept of it, if I would sign it. Whereupon the company desired me to draw my own explanation, which I did to this effect, viz. "I look upon this engagement now tendered to me for my subscription by the governour of Beaumaris, by order from, &c. to be no longer of any force than till I have rendered myself a prisoner at Whitehall, and in that sense only I subscribe it." Having drawn and signed two copies of this explanation, and procured them to be attested by colonel John Jones, colonel Sadler, and captain Shaw, I delivered one of them to the governour, and kept the other myself, and then signed the engagement. Captain Shaw informed me, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had been much concerned for my restraint, and had expressed himself highly displeased with him for undertaking that imployment; that he had used all possible diligence for my liberty, in which he had met with great opposition; in particular, that major-general Lambert had endeavoured to perswade him that I was of such principles, and such a spirit, as not to deserve my liberty, tho' I cannot remember that our familiarity had ever been so great, as to enable him to give a character of me.

Having thus cleared my way, I departed from Beaumaris, and passing over Penman-maur, I arrived at Conway the first night. From thence in two days I reached Wrexham, where after we had been treated two or three days by colonel Jones, my coach which I had sent before from Ireland being brought to us, we set forward on our journey for London; but the ways being extremely bad, by reason of a frost which yet was not able to bear the coach, it was near three o' clock before we came to Whitechurch, tho' it was not above twelve miles. But being desirous to reach London if possible that week, fearing if Cromwel should hear of my be-

n the road, he would ſend to ſtop me, we travelled till nine o' clock night, and the next after till twelve. The next day we came to ntry about four in the afternoon, where colonel Whalley commanded ıſhaw, or major-general. After ſome refreſhment we continued our ıey, and by the help of the moon-light and the ſnow that lay on ground, we reached Dunchurch a little after twelve; there we reſted bout three, and then ſet forward toward Toceſter, where we arrived x that night, and between one and two the next morning we began ourney for London: but at Stony-Stratford the coach breaking, my and I, with two or three ſervants, took horſe, and about ſix of the in the evening of the 10th of December, one of the ſhorteſt days ıe year, we came to Weſtminſter, having travelled fifty miles that

The ſame night I waited on lieutenant-general Fleetwood, to ac- vledge his care of me, and to acquaint him with the condition on h I had my liberty to come up, and with the explanation upon which I had ſigned the engagement propoſed to me; and deſired of him, the whole matter of fact might be plainly ſtated to his father-in-law, hat I might be now accounted free from that engagement, according e explanation. He told me, he was glad to ſee me there, and would care to acquaint his highneſs, as he called him, with what I had ſaid, o repreſent it as much as might be to my advantage. The next neſday after my arrival, about eight in the evening, Cromwel ſent ıtleman, one Mr. Fenwick, to let me know that he would ſpeak me. I found him in his bed-chamber at Whitehall, and with him r-general Lambert, colonel Sydenham, Mr. Walter Strickland, colo- ſontague, and ſoon after came in lieutenant-general Fleetwood. The alute I received from him, was to tell me, that I had not dealt fairly him, in making him to believe I had ſigned an engagement not to gainſt him, and yet reſerving an explanation whereby I made void engagement; which if it had not been made known to him, he might relied upon my promiſe, and ſo have been engaged in blood before as aware. I told him, I knew not why he ſhould look upon me to conſiderable; neither could I apprehend how it had been poſſible ıe to deal more fairly and openly with him than I had done: for I had his governour at Beaumaris, that if my life as well as my liberty had at ſtake, I could not ſign the engagement ſimply, and therefore had ved to continue there, had not the governour himſelf expreſſed a de- o accept of my ſubſcription with that explanation. And becauſe I unted it to be in effect a repeal of the engagement, I had told him ſo, deſired him to do nothing out of reſpect to me that conſiſted not with uty; notwithſtanding which, the governour told me, he was free to ot my ſubſcription, ſo that I knew not but he might have received in- tions ſo to do. No, ſaid Cromwel, he had none from me. That more, ſaid I, than I knew; and if you had not notice as well of the as the other, it was not my fault, for I had acquainted you with ıer; and thoſe who informed you of the one, I preſumed had made acquainted with the other alſo. He then objected to me, that I was n from Ireland without leave: to which I made anſwer, That tho' I v no cauſe why I ſhould either be detained in Ireland, or obliged to eave to depart, yet to avoid all pretence of exception againſt me, I taken care to procure even that too, as far as it was poſſible, having a ort for England from lieutenant-general Fleetwood, the chief officer eland, with the advice of Mr. Corbet, one of his council, for my coming,

coming, and his son Harry's promise not to obstruct me in my journey. He next asked me, wherefore I would not engage not to act against the present government, telling me, that if Nero were in power, it would be my duty to submit. To which I replied, That I was ready to submit, and could truly say, that I knew not of any design against him. But, said I, if providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, and oblige myself not to lay hold on it. However, said he, it is not reasonable to suffer one that I distrust to come within my house, till he assure me he will do me no mischief: I told him, I was not accustomed to go to any house unless I expected to be welcome; neither had I come hither but upon a message from him, and that I desired nothing but a little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceived I had an equal right with other men. He then fell to inveigh bitterly against major Wildman, as the author of the petition from the army beforementioned, reviling him with unhandsome language, and saying he deserved to be hanged; and that he must secure me also, if I would not oblige myself never to act against him. I told him I had gone as far as I could in that engagement which I had given to lieutenant-general Fleetwood; and if that were not thought sufficient, I resolved with God's assistance to suffer any extremities that might be imposed upon me. Yes, said he, we know your resolution well enough, and we have cause to be as stout as you; but, I pray, who spoke of your suffering? Sir, said I, if I am not deceived, you mentioned the securing my person. Yea, said he, and great reason there is why we should do so; for I am ashamed to see that engagement which you have given to the lieutenant-general, which would be more fit for a general who should be taken prisoner, and that hath yet an army of thirty thousand men in the field, than for one in your condition. I answered, That it was as much as I could consent to give, and what lieutenant-general Fleetwood thought fit to accept. Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said, that he had been always ready to do me what good offices he could, and that he wished me as well as he did any one of his council, desiring me to make choice of some place to be in, where I might have good air. I assured him, that my dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any animosity against his person; and that if my own father were alive, and in his place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great. He acknowledged that I had always carried myself fairly and openly to him, and protested that he had never given me just cause to act otherwise.

When Cromwel had finished his discourse, some of those who were present began to make their observations, and in particular colonel Montague thought it worthy his notice, that I had intimated, "If providence should offer an occasion, I was ready to act against the present government;" but the rest of the company seemed ashamed of what he said. Major-general Lambert then desired to know from me, why I could not own this as a lawful government: Because, said I, it seems to me to be in substance a re-establishment of that which we all engaged against, and had with great expence of blood and treasure abolished. What then, said he, would you account to be a sufficient warrant for you to act against the present authority? I answered, When I might rationally hope to be supported by an authority equal or superior to this, and could be perswaded that the said authority would employ its power for the good of mankind. But who shall be judge of that, said he? for all are ready to say

ſay they do ſo, and we ourſelves think we uſe the beſt of our endeavours to that end. I replied, That if they did ſo, their crime was the leſs, becauſe every man ſtands obliged to govern himſelf by the light of his own reaſon, which rule, with the aſſiſtance of God, I was determined to obſerve. Colonel Sydenham ſaid, we might be miſtaken in judging that to be a power giving us a juſt and rational call to act, which may not be ſo. I told him, that we ought to be very careful and circumſpect in that particular, and at leaſt be aſſured of very probable grounds to believe the power under which we engage to be ſufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking; otherwiſe I ſhould account myſelf not only guilty of my own blood, but alſo in ſome meaſure of the ruin and deſtruction of all thoſe that I ſhould induce to engage with me, tho' the cauſe were never ſo juſt.

THIS diſcourſe being ended, I was deſired to withdraw into the next room, where lieutenant-general Fleetwood came to me, and laboured to perſwade me to engage, as was deſired, tho' but for a week. I made anſwer, That I was not willing to do it for an hour. Then, ſaid he, you ſhall engage to me. I told him, I looked upon myſelf already obliged by the conditions of my late engagement, farther than which I could not go; and thereupon returned to my lodging, in order to imploy my leiſure about my private affairs during that time.

THE deſign againſt the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies having been, as was before related, unſucceſsful, it was reſolved to ſend three thouſand men from Scotland and Ireland to reinforce the party in Jamaica, which from twelve thouſand men was now reduced to little more than three thouſand. The officers of this reinforcement were to be of ſuch as were accounted diſſatisfied with the preſent poſture of affairs, and therefore thought unfit to remain here. Amongſt the officers of the Scots regiment was a lieutenant-colonel, I think it was lieutenant-colonel Brain, who ſome time before had been caſhiered for his affection to the commonwealth, which was now eſteemed the common enemy. But not having gained by his faithful ſervices any competent ſubſiſtance, as mercenary officers generally know how to do, he was driven to the neceſſity of accepting the command of that regiment.

ACCORDING to their inſtructions they ſet ſail for the place of rendezvous, where they were to meet thoſe forces that were ordered to join them from Ireland. But a violent ſtorm ariſing in their paſſage, this colonel, with about three hundred men, was caſt away, the reſt being driven on the coaſt of Ireland.

GREAT endeavours were uſed in Ireland to perſwade lieutenant-colonel Walker, an honeſt man and a good officer, to undertake the command of thoſe forces that were ordered to be ſent from thence; but he perceiving the deſign, and being throughly ſenſible that this offer was not made to him from any affection to his perſon, or ſenſe of his ſervices, refuſed to bite at the bait, tho' it was gilded as much as might be, by advancing a conſiderable ſum, and ſatisfying the arrears of thoſe that went, out of the forfeited lands in ſuch places as they ſhould chuſe. Upon his refuſal, major Moor accepted the imployment with the title of colonel; but on condition, that after he had conducted the men to Jamaica, he ſhould have liberty to return, which he did after many difficulties and hazards of his perſon. Captain Cheſter, a ſtout man, and one who at a general council of officers had openly expreſſed his diſcontent againſt the uſurpation,

up the hill; yet at laſt they effected it, and having put the Spaniards to flight, purſued them to their main body: but having engaged themſelves too far, and being over-powered by great numbers of horſe and foot, (the French leaving the whole ſtreſs of the fight upon them) they were in danger of being entirely cut off; which being perceived by major-general Drummond, a Scots officer, who ſerved with the Engliſh as a volunteer, he rode up to the French horſe, and by reproaching them with treachery and negligence, procured a party of horſe to be ſent to their ſuccour. Upon the arrival of this ſeaſonable relief, the Engliſh took freſh courage, renewed their attack, and killed a great number of the enemy; many of thoſe that were killed on the enemy's ſide were Engliſh and Iriſh, that fought under the duke of York. And as it was confeſſed by all preſent, that the Engliſh who took part with the French, behaved themſelves with more bravery than any in the field that day; ſo it was obſerved, that thoſe of the cavalier party, who had joined with the Spaniards, behaved themſelves worſt. Soon after this battle the town of Dunkirk was ſurrendered to the French, and delivered into the hands of the Engliſh, as it had been agreed between Cromwel and cardinal Mazarine.

It being thought fit to fortify divers places of importance in Scotland, Cromwel appointed a conſiderable ſum of money to be expended on the works of Air, Dundee, Leith, St. John's-town, Stirling, &c. and had ſo balanced the ſeveral intereſts in his councils there, that tho' Monk generally favoured the more looſe and vitious party amongſt the Scots, yet there were not wanting ſome who ſupported an honeſter ſort of men, that were not willing to permit their king to return without conditions. The lord Broghil had been of great uſe to moderate theſe two parties; but being much afflicted with the gout, and the air of Scotland not agreeing with his diſtempered body, he deſired Cromwel to grant him leave to return to Ireland according to his promiſe, the year of his reſidence in Scotland being now expired. Cromwel not willing to comply with his deſires in this particular, diſpatched inſtructions to his ſon Henry in Ireland by all means to procure a petition from the diſcontented party, againſt the lord Broghil's return thither. To this end, Sir Hardreſs Waller ſuſpecting that the preſence of this lord might eclipſe his greatneſs, became an earneſt ſolicitor to adjutant-general Allen, and quarter-maſter-general Vernon, to join in a petition to that effect. But they perceiving the deſign, not only refuſed ſo to do, but plainly told him, that they were ready to join in a petition for his coming, it being impoſſible to be worſe with them than now it was. This diſcourſe being reported to colonel Henry Cromwel with an inſinuation, that it was to be ſuſpected, that there was ſome deſign carrying on by the lord Broghil and the diſſatisfied party in Ireland, he ſent an account of it to his father, and deſired that he would not by any means permit him to return thither.

Divers conſpiracies that had been formed againſt the government of the uſurper being already defeated, and the authors of them for the moſt part puniſhed, he was prevailed with to permit major-general Harriſon and Mr. Carew, whom he had ſent to remote confinements, to be priſoners at their own habitations; and accordingly he ordered major Strange to go to Cariſbrook-caſtle, and to bring the major-general from thence to his houſe at Highgate: where when I was acquainted with his arrival, I went to make him a viſit, and having told him, that I was very deſirous to be informed by him of the reaſons that moved him to join with Crom-

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wel in the interruption of the civil authority; he answered, that he had done it, because he was fully perswaded they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his people. Then, said I, are you not now convinced of your error, in entertaining such thoughts, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power? To which he replied, Upon their heads be the guilt, who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part, my heart was upright and sincere in the thing. I answered, that I conceived it not to be sufficient in matters of so great importance to mankind, to have only good intentions and designs, unless there be also probable means of attaining those ends by the methods we enter upon; and tho' it should be granted that the parliament was not inclined to make so full a reformation of things amiss as might be desired, yet I could not doubt that they would have done as much good for us, as the nation was fitted to receive; and therefore that extraordinary means ought not to have been used, till it had been clearly evident that the ordinary had failed, especially since it could not but be manifest to every man, who observed the state of our affairs, that upon the suppression of the civil authority, the power would immediately devolve upon that person who had the greatest interest in the army. His second reason for joining with Cromwel was, because he pretended to own and favour a sort of men, who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty. I replied, that I thought him mistaken in that also, since it had not appeared that he ever approved of any persons or things, farther than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious designs; reminding him, that the generality of the people that had engaged with us, having acted upon no higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner upon any pretences whatsoever. The major-general then cited a passage of the prophet Daniel, where 'tis said, "That the saints shall take the kingdom and possess it." To which he added another to the same effect, "That the kingdom shall not be left to another people." I answered, That the same prophet says in another place, "That the kingdom shall be given to the people of the saints of the most high." And that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given, they would at the best be guilty of doing evil, that good might come from it: for to deprive those of their right in the government, who had contended for it equally with ourselves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us: that such proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable, at least for the present; because we cannot perceive that the saints are cloathed with such a spirit, as those are required to be to whom the kingdom is promised; and therefore we may easily be deceived in judging who are fit for government, for many have taken upon them the form of saintship, that they might be admitted to it, who yet have not acted suitably to their pretensions in the sight of God or men: for proof of which we need go no further than to those very persons who had drawn him to assist them in their design of exalting themselves, under the specious pretence of advancing the kingdom of Christ. He confessed himself not able to answer the arguments I had used; yet said, he was not convinced, that the texts of scripture quoted by him were not to be interpreted in the sense he had taken them, and therefore desired a farther conference with me at another time, when each of us might be accompanied with some friends to assist us in the clearing of this matter. I consented

conſented to his propoſal, and ſo we parted; but from that time forward we had not an opportunity to diſcourſe farther upon this ſubject.

About the ſame time Mr. Peters, who ſtill kept fair with thoſe at Whitehall, made me a viſit; and in our converſation about the publick affairs I freely told him my opinion concerning the actions of Cromwel, endeavouring to make him ſenſible not only of his injuſtice, but great imprudence, thus to ſacrifice the common cauſe to his ambition, and by every ſtep he had lately taken to ſtrengthen the hands of the common enemy, whereby he would undoubtedly open a way for the return of the family of the late king, who would not fail to do all that revenge could inſpire them with: whereas if he had made uſe of his power to eſtabliſh the juſt liberties of the nation, or could yet be perſuaded ſo to do, he might live more honoured and eſteemed, have the pleaſure and ſatisfaction ariſing from ſo generous an action, when he died, and leave his own family, together with the whole body of the people, in a moſt happy and flouriſhing condition. He confeſſed that what I had ſaid was moſt true, but added, that there was not a man about him who had courage enough to tell him ſo: that for his part he had obſerved him immediately after the victory at Worceſter to be ſo elevated, that he then began to fear what was ſince come to paſs; and that he told a friend with whom he then quartered in his return to London, that he was inclined to believe Cromwel would endeavour to make himſelf king.

The uſurper having governed, as he thought, long enough by virtue of the inſtrument of government, which tho' drawn up by himſelf and his creatures, was now thought to lay too great a reſtraint upon his ambitious ſpirit; and reſolving to reſt ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the ſucceſſion of his family to the crown, he attempted to make himſelf king. To this end he thought it neceſſary to call a parliament; and that he might engage the army to aſſiſt him in all parts to procure ſuch men to be choſen as would be fit for his purpoſe, he pretended that this aſſembly was called only in order to raiſe money for the payment of the army and fleet, to confirm the authority of the major-generals, and that of the inſtrument of government. By this means he obtained his deſires in a great meaſure, eſpecially in Scotland and Ireland, where all kinds of artifice, and in many places the moſt irregular courſes, were taken to get ſuch men returned as were propoſed by the court. But knowing the people of England not to be of ſo mercenary a ſpirit; and that as they were better inſtructed in the principles of civil liberty, ſo they were not wanting in courage to aſſert it, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſable and incapacitate ſuch men from being choſen, whom he thought moſt likely to obſtruct his deſigns. In order to this he ſummoned the lord preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Henry Vane, colonel Rich, and myſelf, to appear before him in council: which we all did, except Sir Henry Vane, who told the meſſenger he ſhould be at his houſe at Charing-Croſs on a certain day. Cromwel, as ſoon as he ſaw the lord preſident, required him to take out a new commiſſion for his office of chief juſtice of Cheſter, which he refuſed, alledging that he held that place by a grant from the parliament of England to continue "quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit." And whether he had carried himſelf with that integrity which his commiſſion exacted from him, he was ready to ſubmit to a trial by twelve Engliſh men, to be choſen even by Cromwel himſelf. Colonel Rich being preſſed to give ſecurity not to act againſt the government, and refuſing ſo to do, was ſent priſoner to Windſor-caſtle. Then I drew near to the council-table, where Cromwel charged me with

diſperſing treaſonable books in Ireland, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army diſaffected, by diſcourſing to them concerning new models of government. I acknowledged that I had cauſed ſome papers to be diſperſed in Ireland, but denied that they could juſtly be called treaſonable. And tho' I knew not that it was a crime to debate of the ſeveral forms of government, yet that I had not done any thing of that nature lately, to the beſt of my remembrance: He then ſaid, that he was not ignorant of the many plots that were on foot to diſturb the preſent power; and that he thought it his duty to ſecure ſuch as he ſuſpected. To this I replied, that there were two duties required by God of the magiſtrate, i. e. that he be a terror to thoſe that do evil, and a praiſe to ſuch as do well; and whether my actions were good or bad, I was ready to ſubmit to a legal trial: that I was ignorant of any other way to ſecure the magiſtrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magiſtrate, unleſs both will do that which is juſt and good. "You do well," ſaid he, "to reflect on our fears; yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from a motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foreſee and prevent danger: that had I done as I ſhould, I ought to have ſecured you immediately upon your coming into England, or at leaſt when you deſired to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival; and therefore I now require you to give aſſurance not to act againſt the government." I deſired to be excuſed in that particular, reminding him of the reaſons I had formerly given him for my refuſal, adding, that I was in his power, and that he might uſe me as he thought fit. "Pray then," ſaid he, "what is it that you would have? may not every man be as good as he will? what can you deſire more than you have?" "It were eaſy," ſaid I, "to tell what we would have." "What is that, I pray," ſaid he? "That which we fought for," ſaid I, "that the nation might be governed by its own conſent." "I am," ſaid he, "as much for a government by conſent as any man; but where ſhall we find that conſent? amongſt the prelatical, preſbyterian, independent, anabaptiſt, or leveling parties?" I anſwered, "Amongſt thoſe of all ſorts who had acted with fidelity and affection to the publick." Then he fell into the commendation of his own government, boaſting of the protection and quiet which the people enjoyed under it, ſaying, That he was reſolved to keep the nation from being imbrued in blood. I ſaid, That I was of opinion too much blood had been already ſhed, unleſs there were a better account of it. "You do well," ſaid he, "to charge us with the guilt of blood; but we think there is a good return for what hath been ſhed; and we underſtand what clandeſtine correſpondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniard and thoſe of your party, who make uſe of your name, and affirm that you will own them and aſſiſt them." "I know not," ſaid I, "what you mean by my party, and can truly ſay, that if any men have entered into an engagement with Spain, they have had no advice from me ſo to do, and that if they will uſe my name I cannot help it." Then in a ſofter way he told me, That he deſired not to put any more hardſhips on me than on himſelf; that he had always been ready to do me all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aimed at nothing by this proceeding but the publick quiet and ſecurity. "Truly, Sir," ſaid I, "I know not why you ſhould be an enemy to me who have been faithful to you in all your difficulties." "I underſtand not," ſaid he, "what you mean by my difficulties. I am ſure they were not ſo properly mine as thoſe of the publick; for in reſpect to my outward condition I have not much

improved it, as theſe gentlemen, pointing to his council, well know." To which they ſeemed to aſſent, by riſing from their chairs; and therefore I thought not fit to inſiſt farther on that point, contenting myſelf to ſay, That it was from that duty which I owed to the publick, whereof he expreſſed ſuch a peculiar regard, that I durſt not give the ſecurity he deſired, becauſe I conceived it to be againſt the liberty of the people, and contrary to the known law of England. For proof of this I produced an act of parliament for reſtraining the council-table from impriſoning any of the free-born people of England; and in caſe they ſhould do ſo, requiring the juſtices of the upper bench, upon the application of the aggrieved party, to grant his habeas corpus, and to give him conſiderable damages. To this act I ſuppoſed he gave his free vote, aſſuring him, That for my own part I durſt not do any thing that ſhould tend to the violation of it. "But," ſaid he, "did not the army and council of ſtate commit perſons to priſon?" I anſwered, That the council of ſtate did ſo, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the parliament; and if the army had ſometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the perſons ſecured to a legal trial; whereas it is now pretended that we live in a time of peace, and are to be governed by the known laws of the land. "A juſtice of peace," ſaid he, "may commit, and ſhall not I?" "He is," ſaid I, "a legal officer, and authorized by the law to do ſo, which you could not be, tho' you were king; becauſe if you do wrong therein, no remedy can be had againſt you. Therefore if I have offended againſt the law, I deſire to be referred to a juſtice of the peace, that I may be proceeded with according to law; but if I have done nothing to deſerve a reſtraint, that then I may have my liberty." Whereupon being commanded to withdraw into a room next to the council-chamber, I heard major-general Lambert to adviſe that I might be peremptorily required to give the ſecurity demanded. But Cromwel ſaid, That the air of Ireland was good, that I had a houſe there, and therefore he thought it beſt to ſend me thither. Immediately after Mr. Scobel, one of the clerks of the council, came to me, and acquainted me, that I might return to my lodging; where I had not been a quarter of an hour before Mr. Strickland, one of the council, came to me, and preſſed me earneſtly to comply: but I told him, that having contended for the liberty of others, I was not willing to give away my own, and to be made a precedent to the prejudice of my countrymen, becauſe it was the pleaſure of thoſe that had the ſword to have it ſo. "Why," ſaid he, "was it not the ſword by which you kept Warder-caſtle, and by which you acted during the whole courſe of the late war?" "I had," ſaid I, "the authority of the parliament to juſtify me in ſo doing." He anſwered, "but they governed by the ſword." To which I replied, That indeed they made uſe of the ſword to remove the obſtructions that were in the way of the civil government, and exerciſed that power to vindicate and eſtabliſh the law of the land; and that I was heartily ſorry to ſee one who had been ſo forward in the cauſe of the publick, not to diſcern any difference between a ſword in the hands of a parliament to reſtore the people to their antient rights, and a ſword in the hands of a tyrant to rob and deſpoil them thereof. Here our diſcourſe was interrupted by a meſſenger who came from the council with an order from them, to require me to give the ſecurity of five thouſand pounds within three days after the date of the order, not to do any thing prejudicial to the preſent government; and in caſe of failure, to be taken into cuſtody. Upon the receit of it I told the meſſenger, That having no power to reſiſt,

resist, I must submit to their pleasure. A day or two after the expiration of the time limited by the order for giving the demanded security, which I had not done, serjeant Dendy came to me with another from the council, signed by Henry Lawrence president, requiring and authorizing him to take me into custody. Having shewn me the order, he desired me to make choice of a chamber; but after some discourse with my near relations, who were then present, he was contented to let me remain at my lodgings. So having promised to return in a day or two, and in the mean time to advise with lieutenant-general Fleetwood, he went away. The next day Cromwel diverting himself with hunting at Hampton-court, asked my brother Thomas Ludlow, who was in the company, if he were not angry with him for committing me? And my brother answering, that it was not fit for him to judge concerning his actions, he thereupon assured him, that he wished me as well as any of his own children: that his desiring me to give security for my carriage to the government, was designed by him as well for my good as for his own security, and that he would have him to engage for me: to which he most readily consented. The morning following my brother came to me, and having acquainted we with what had passed between Cromwel and himself, I gave him thanks for his kind offer, but withal told him, that I would by no means desire that of him which I was not willing to do myself. Besides, I told him, that should it be granted that the thing were fit for him to do, yet it might prove a snare to him, and lay an obligation upon him to gratify the usurper in another way. However, after this discourse of Cromwel to my brother, and the conference of my relations with serjeant Dendy, I ventured to accompany my father and mother Oldsworth, with my wife, into Essex, where we spent the remaining part of that summer. My stay there did in some measure answer the design of Cromwel, which was to keep me out of my own country, where he doubted I might obstruct the election of such persons as the court had resolved, by all methods, to procure to be returned. But there was no need to fear my intermedling in that particular, at such a time; and if I had, it should have been only to give a publick testimony against any election at all, the long parliament being still in being, tho' under a present force. Besides, it was manifest that the designed assembly was to be called for no other end than to strengthen the sword, and to advance the corrupt interest of him that called them together; and if it should happen that they had either the courage or honesty to attempt any thing for the service of the publick, I was assured their endeavours would be rendered fruitless by a sudden dissipation.

Sir Henry Vane, according to his promise, being come to his house near Charing-Cross, the council sent a messenger thither to require him to attend them, which he did, and was there charged by Cromwel with disaffection to the government, which he had demonstrated by a late writing published by him, with a seditious intention. The paper was called, "A healing question propos'd and resolved," and contained the state of our controversy with the king, the present deviation from that cause for which we engaged, and the means to unite all parties in attaining the accomplishment of it. It was written upon an invitation given in a declaration published by Cromwel for a general fast, wherein it was desired that the people would apply themselves to the Lord, to discover that Achan which had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted nations. When it was finished, he shewed it to lieutenant-general Fleetwood,

wood, who ſeeming to approve it, deſired to take it with him, and promiſed to communicate it to Cromwel, upon the firſt opportunity that ſhould be offered. Sir Henry did not diſown either his diſſatisfaction with the preſent ſtate of affairs, or the publication of the diſcourſe before-mentioned. So that Cromwel thought fit to require him, by a day limited, to give ſecurity not to act againſt him. Which time being expired, he appeared again before the council, and delivered into Cromwel's own hand another paper, containing the reaſons of his diſapproving the preſent uſurpation, and a friendly advice to him to return to his duty, with ſome juſtification of his own conduct with relation to the publick. But notwithſtanding all this, and divers reaſons alledged by him to excuſe himſelf from giving the demanded ſecurity, he was ſent priſoner to Cariſbrook-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight. The preſident Bradſhaw, notwithſtanding what had paſſed, reſolved to go his circuit as chief juſtice of Cheſter, unleſs he ſhould be prevented by force. But it was thought more adviſeable to permit him to execute his office, than by putting a ſtop to his circuit, to make a breach with thoſe of the long robe, whoſe aſſiſtance was ſo neceſſary to the carrying on of Cromwel's deſign. Yet, that neither he, nor, if poſſible, any other perſons who had continued faithful to the commonwealth, might be choſen members of the approaching aſſembly, letters were diſpatched to all parts of England, to give notice that it would be reſented, if ſuch perſons were elected; one of which was publickly read at the election for Cheſter, to deter men from appearing for the preſident. In Wiltſhire a more numerous party appearing for me than was expected, they were aſſured by ſome creatures of Cromwel, that I was a priſoner in the Tower, and by one who had formerly ſerved under me, that I had declared to him that I would not be choſen. Yet for all this the people perſiſting in their reſolution to elect me, the deputy major-general of the county demanded of them, whether they intended to have a new war, that they deſigned to make choice of me? By ſuch arts, the emiſſaries of the court cauſed the elections in moſt places to be decided in favour of ſuch as pleaſed them. For my own part, tho' I had reſolved not to ſtand, for reaſons which I mentioned before, and on that account had not directly or indirectly ſpoken or written to any perſon to appear for me; yet I muſt acknowledge I was not diſſatisfied, that ſo conſiderable a number of my countrymen were not afraid to own and accept that ſervice (how ſmall ſoever) that I had done in the common cauſe. The court finding by the liſts they had received, that notwithſtanding all their menaces, promiſes, and other artifices, divers perſons were choſen whom they knew to be no favourers of the uſurpation, reſolved to clear their hands of them at once. And to that end, under colour of a clauſe in the inſtrument of government, that none ſhould be admitted to places of power and truſt, but ſuch as were men of ſincerity and integrity, they gave an excluſion to Sir Arthur Haſlerig and Mr. Scott, with as many more as they thought fit. By this means, and the refuſal of others to take out their permiſſions to ſit, from Cromwel and his council, as was required, leſt they ſhould ſeem to countenance ſuch a deteſtable impoſition and open breach of privilege, it came to paſs, that about a hundred of thoſe who were elected by the country, were excluded from the diſcharge of their truſt, whilſt thoſe for Ireland and Scotland, who were choſen by and for the ſword, were admitted without any ſcruple. Thoſe that were excluded preſented a petition to the ſitting members, acquainting them, that being choſen by the country to

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serve with them, they were ready to discharge their duty, but were prevented from doing the same by the power of the sword, and refused admittance to the house by a guard of soldiers. After the petition had been read, a committee was sent to inquire of Cromwel and his council concerning the reasons of that proceeding, who returned with this answer: That if the persons complaining would address themselves to them, they should be relieved if there was cause. With this answer, these men who would be accounted an English parliament, acquiesced, leaving their privileges unvindicated, and the merit of elections to parliament, to be adjudged by men without doors. Then they proceeded to prepare divers bills, which tended chiefly to gratify the soldiery, and such persons as had received grants of land from Cromwel and his council, which were confirmed to them. Yet for all this harmony there were sometimes bitter reflections cast upon the proceedings of the major-generals, by the lawyers and country gentlemen, who accused them to have done many things oppressive to the people, in interrupting the course of the law, and threatening such as would not submit to their arbitrary orders, with transportation beyond the seas. On the other hand, the major-generals insisted vehemently with the assembly to confirm the instrument of government, and to establish their authority in particular: and when it was proposed by some who were unwilling to settle such an arbitrary power by a law, that to compose these differences an act of indemnity should be granted for what was past, one of the major-generals had the insolence to say, They would not thank them for that; for whilst they had their swords by their sides, they could protect and indemnify themselves. So confident was the soldiery grown, that they durst openly avow themselves to be our lords and masters. But the lawyers and others of the assembly having privately received encouragement from those who were more powerful than the major-generals, desisted not from endeavouring the suppression of their authority, loading them with many heavy accusations, for which they had given but too just cause. Yet the major-generals, confident of the strength of their party, moved for a day when the instrument of government, and the confirmation of their power, should be debated; which having obtained, and the time come, they moved that the whole instrument might be confirmed at once; but that being rejected, it was debated in parts. When the power of the major-generals came under consideration, all men were in great expectation concerning the issue of it. It was supposed that Cromwel, who had erected their authority, and engaged them in those actions for which they were now become odious, would support them against all attempts; because there appeared now no way so probable to maintain his own power, as by keeping the army firmly united to him. But ambition had corrupted his understanding to that degree, that he made no scruple to sacrifice these men, who, to say no worse, had enlarged their consciences to an extraordinary size in the execution of his orders, to those who in requital of the favour had promised to make him king. Hitherto he had given good words to the major-generals; but when their power came to be debated, Mr. Cleypole his son-in-law first stood up, which was unusual for him to do at all, and told the house, that he could but start the game, and must leave those who had more experience to follow the chace: and therefore should only say, that he had formerly thought it necessary, in respect to the condition in which the nation had been, that the major-generals should be entrusted with the authority which they had exercised; but in the present state of

affairs he conceived it inconſiſtent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people, to continue their power any longer. This motion was a clear direction to the ſycophants of the court, who being fully perſwaded that Cleypole had delivered the ſenſe, if not the very words of Cromwel in this matter, joined as one man in oppoſing the major-generals, and ſo their authority was abrogated.

Soon after colonel William Jephſon, one of the members that ſerved for Ireland, moved in the houſe, that Cromwel might be made king; but matters not being throughly concerted, it had no other effect than to ſound the inclinations of the aſſembly. Cromwel having notice of this motion, as he had of every thing that paſſed, reproved the colonel gently at table for it, telling him, that he wondered what he could mean by ſuch a propoſition. To which the other anſwered, that whilſt he was permitted the honour of ſitting in that houſe, he muſt deſire the liberty to diſcharge his conſcience, tho' his opinion ſhould happen to diſpleaſe. Whereupon Cromwel clapping him on the ſhoulder ſaid, "Get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art." But it ſoon appeared with what madneſs he was poſſeſſed; for he immediately obtained a foot company for his ſon, then a ſcholar at Oxford, and a troop of horſe for himſelf: and not long after was ſent agent to the crown of Sweden, with a conſiderable allowance appointed to defray the expences of his journey thither.

Many objections being made in the houſe againſt the inſtrument of government, Cromwel, who was vehemently deſirous to be a king, began to think it altogether inſignificant to that purpoſe, and that it would be more conducing to his deſign if a new form were drawn up, and preſented to the aſſembly for their approbation. Accordingly it was prepared by his creatures, and brought into the houſe by Mr. Pack an alderman of London, where it was without much difficulty read, and appeared to be a ſhoe fitted to the foot of a monarch, tho' at preſent a blank was left for the title of the ſingle perſon, who with two houſes was to have the ſupreme legiſlative power.

Those who were of the major-generals and ſoldiers party, finding that Cromwel was abandoning them to eſpouſe another intereſt, ſtruck in with thoſe who ſtill retained ſome affection to the commonwealth; and all together perceiving that theſe new meaſures had been adviſed by the craft of our old enemy, to make uſe of Cromwel's ambition, as the only probable means to reduce us to our former ſervitude, fell ſo furiouſly upon Pack for his great preſumption in bringing a buſineſs of that nature into the houſe, in ſuch an unparliamentary way, that they bore him down from the ſpeaker's chair to the bar of the houſe of commons. But this heat being ſoon over, the lord Broghil, ſerjeant Glynn, and others, who were acquainted with Cromwel's deſign, endeavoured to perſwade the houſe to debate the new form, telling them, that being maſters of their own reſolutions, they might retain as much of it as was good, and reject what was not ſo. By this means they brought it to be debated; and tho' they received ſome oppoſition therein, yet when it came to be put to the queſtion, they carried all before them, and grew ſo hardy to move, that the blank left for the inſertion of the title of the chief magiſtrate, might be filled up with the name of K I N G. This motion, tho' earneſtly oppoſed by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, was carried alſo, and the name voted, together with the filling up the two blanks left for the two houſes, with theſe words, "houſe of commons, and other houſe." The latter of theſe was reſolved to conſiſt of ſeventy perſons to be nominated by

by Cromwel, and to be approved by the assembly then sitting. But Cromwel being acquainted with that resolution, and disliking it, as unreasonable, that gentlemen's names should be canvassed, and it may be, their persons reflected on in a publick assembly, he obtained it to be left to him, to appoint whom he should think fit to compose that "other house." He told them also, That the provision made for his expence, and for maintaining the army and fleet, was not sufficient, and thereby procured a great sum of money to be added to that which at first they designed. Yet for all this he scrupled to take upon him the title of king, as a thing scandalous and of great hazard; tho' at the same time he vilified the former instrument of government to the last degree; and after having so highly magnified it when it was established, he compared it now to a rotten plank, on which if a man set his foot it will break and leave him. The assembly well understanding that the cause of his delays was either to be importuned to the thing, or to get time to perswade the army to be of the same opinion with himself, appointed a committee of their own members to give him their reasons for accepting this title. Amongst others, the lord Broghil much prest that passage brought by the apostle in the dispute concerning the abolition of the Jewish worship, by the new and living way revealed in Jesus Christ, illustrated by the wife that was put away, who might yet be retaken by her former husband, if she was not married to another; applying this similitude to the present occasion, as if there was no other way to keep out Charles Stewart, but by filling his place with another king. Mr. Lenthall's argument was very parliamentary and rational, had it been rightly applied; for he prest him to accept of it, because it was proposed to him by the parliament, as he was pleased to call it, whom he said he ought not to deny. But he was now arrived to that height of vanity, that tho' the design of this argument was only to perswade him to accept that which he desired above all things in the world; yet conceiving it below his grandeur, to acknowledge such a prerogative in the parliament alone, he expressed his dislike of it. And tho' he owned that the reasons they had offered had much weight in them, and that he was convinced there was no evil in the thing, yet he could not think it expedient to accept their offer, because he found that many of the good people of the nation were dissatisfied with it. With this answer he dismissed them for the present, and appointed them to attend him again. In the mean time he endeavoured, by all possible means, to prevail with the officers of the army to approve his design, and knowing that lieutenant-general Fleetwood and colonel Desborough were particularly averse to it, he invited himself to dine personally with the colonel, and carried the lieutenant-general with him, where he began to droll with them about monarchy, and speaking slightly of it, said, It was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as colonel Desborough since told me, such an answer as was not at all suitable to his expectations or desires. For they assured him, that there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stewart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends. Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the house, to require their attendance in the painted chamber the next morning, designing, as all

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men believed, there to declare his acceptation of the crown. But in the mean time meeting with colonel Deſborough in the great walk of the Park, and acquainting him with his reſolution, the colonel made anſwer, That he then gave the cauſe and Cromwel's family alſo for loſt; adding, that tho' he was reſolved never to act againſt him, yet he would not act for him after that time. So after ſome other diſcourſe upon the ſame ſubject, Deſborough went home, and there found colonel Pride, whom Cromwel had knighted with a faggot-ſtick; and having imparted to him the deſign of Cromwel to accept the crown, Pride anſwered, He ſhall not: Why, ſaid the colonel, how wilt thou hinder it? To which Pride replied, Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it. Whereupon they both went to Dr. Owen, and having acquainted him with what had happened, they perſwaded him to draw a petition according to their deſires. Whilſt this was doing, Cromwel having reflected on his diſcourſe with colonel Deſborough, and being informed that Lambert and divers other officers were diſſatisfied with his deſign, ſent a meſſage to put off the meeting in the painted chamber, and to deſire that the houſe would ſend a committee to confer with him about the great buſineſs that was then depending; intending thereby to gain time, in which he might be fitting the officers for his deſign. But the houſe being riſen before his meſſage arrived, and ſo out of a capacity to appoint any to come to him, the old committee that had been formerly appointed to that end, thought fit, by virtue of their general inſtructions, to wait on him to know his pleaſure. Accordingly they came to Whitehall, where they attended about two hours, and then a Barbary horſe being brought into the garden for him to ſee, gave him an occaſion to paſs through the room where the committee was attending. As he was paſſing by without taking the leaſt notice of them, one of the meſſengers put him in mind that they had attended very long; which he ſlightly excuſing, told them, that he thought the houſe being riſen before his meſſage came to them, had not impowered any perſons to come to him. It was anſwered, That they came to him upon the general inſtructions which they had formerly received from the houſe: upon which he told them, he would ſend to them ſome other time. The next morning the houſe being in great expectation of a meſſage to appoint the time and place for the acceptance of what they had prepared, ſome officers of the army coming to the parliament doors, ſent in a meſſage to colonel Deſborough, to acquaint him, that they had a petition which they deſired him to preſent to the houſe. But he knowing the contents of it, and conceiving it unfit for him to take publick notice of it before it was preſented, acquainted the houſe, that certain officers of the army had a petition to preſent to them. Which having done, and every one ſuppoſing that the deſires of the officers were conformable to their own, Cromwel's party concluding that no part of the army durſt appear for the croſſing his deſign, it was generally agreed that they ſhould be called in, and have leave to preſent it with their own hands. Lieutenant-colonel Maſon was choſen by the reſt of the officers to deliver the petition, which when he had done, and the officers withdrawn, it was read. The contents of it were to this purpoſe; "That they had hazarded their lives againſt monarchy, and were ſtill ready ſo to do, in defence of the liberties of the nation: that having obſerved in ſome men great endeavours to bring the nation again under their old ſervitude, by preſſing their general to take upon him the title and government of a king, in order to deſtroy him, and weaken the hands of thoſe who were faithful

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to the publick; they therefore humbly desired that they would discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue stedfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which they for their parts were most ready to lay down their lives." This petition was subscribed by two colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, and sixteen captains, who, with such officers in the house as were of the same opinion, made up the majority of those relating to that part of the army which was then quartered about the town. It is difficult to determine, whether the house or Cromwel was more surprized at this unexpected address; but certainly both were infinitely disturbed at it. As soon as the notice of it was brought to Cromwel, he sent for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and told him, that he wondered he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hindered, since he knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the army; and therefore desired him to hasten to the house, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein. The lieutenant-general immediately went thither, and told them, that the petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answered at this time, the contents of it being to desire them not to press the protector to be king, whereas the present business was to receive his answer to what had been formerly offered to him, and therefore desired that the debate of it might be put off, till they had received his answer. To this the house having consented, they received a message from Cromwel, that instead of meeting him in the painted chamber, which was the place where he used to give his consent, they would meet him in the banqueting house: so the members came to Whitehall, and Cromwel, with great ostentation of his self-denial, refused the title of king.

The grand design of the usurper having miscarried, the people were full of expectation to see what form of government the men of the sword would erect next. For as Cromwel had used all imaginable art and industry to throw dirt on all that had preceded, and most of all on the instrument of government, which he was once so fond of, and yet now alledged that it neither provided for the safety of the governours or governed: so the present assembly had openly declared against the family of the Stuarts. But the restitution of the commonwealth being the thing that was principally dreaded by these self-interested men, it was so contrived and carried, that the house shall present their humble petition and advice to him again, with the sole alteration of the word "king" into that of "protector." This resolution was the more easily obtained, because the commonwealth's-men had been, under various frivolous pretences, denied their places in the assembly; so that those only, who were for a protector with an army, or those who were for king Oliver with an army, were the persons that were permitted to dispute within those walls. And now Cromwel having manifested his weakness, as well as his ambition in the late intrigue, was glad to take what he could get, and without any dispute agreed to what was proposed to him by the assembly: which being done, the time was appointed for vesting him with the authority which was to be conferred upon him, and Westminster-hall was the place where the solemnity was performed. The aldermen of London and the judges, rather moved by fear than affection, were prevailed to be present; and Sir Thomas Widdrington, who was speaker of the assembly, was ordered to administer an oath to him, and to present him with a sword, a scepter, and a bible. The pretended protector was cloathed with a purple robe lined with

ermins, the train of which was held by the ſon of the lord Roberts. Of all the nobility, the earl of Warwick was the only perſon that accompanied him; and becauſe he would ſtill retain a form of godlineſs, he appointed Mr. Lockyer to preach before him at his return to Whitehall. The next day after this ſolemnity, a feaſt was prepared for the aſſembly and officers of the army, at which it was obſerved major-general Lambert was not preſent, whereby it was ſuſpected that he was declining in favour for obſtructing Cromwel's deſign of being king: for, as I have been informed by a perſon deſerving credit, the major-general did take the liberty, when that queſtion was on foot, to tell Cromwel, that if he accepted the crown, he could not aſſure the army to him.

By the "Humble petition and advice," for ſo was this new inſtrument called, among other things it was provided, that an oath ſhould be taken by thoſe of the aſſembly and council, not to do any thing againſt the preſent government, and to be true and faithful to the protector, according to the law of the land. This oath major-general Lambert refuſed, whereupon Cromwel ſent for him, and told him that he was well aſſured his refuſal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for he might remember that he himſelf did at the firſt preſs him to accept the title of king: and therefore if he was now diſſatisfied with the preſent poſture of affairs, he deſired him to ſurrender his commiſſion. To this the major-general anſwered, That having no ſuſpicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleaſed to ſend for it, he ſhould deliver it, which two or three days after was done; and ſo his pay as colonel of a regiment of horſe, as colonel of a regiment of foot, and as major-general of the army, was ſtruck off, together with ten pounds by day, which was the general's pay, and which Cromwel allowed him, to keep him firm to his intereſt. But Cromwel did not think it ſafe to diſguſt him intirely, and therefore thought it expedient to allow him a penſion of two thouſand pounds by year, to keep him from any deſperate undertaking.

Sir Henry Vane being ſtill a priſoner in Cariſbrook-caſtle, an order was ſent thither from the council to bring him from thence, and to permit him to enjoy his liberty, which was done, and he arrived at London in a ſhort time after, where he met with another kind of perſecution: for Cromwel perceiving that the former method had proved unſucceſsful, privately incouraged ſome of the army to take poſſeſſion of certain foreſt walks belonging to Sir Henry Vane near the caſtle of Raby, and alſo gave order to the attorney-general, on pretence of a flaw in his title to a great part of his eſtate, to preſent a bill againſt him in the exchequer. This was deſigned to oblige him to expoſe his title, which if they could get done, they doubted not, by the craft of the lawyers, to find ſome defect in it, whereby it was hoped he would be forced into a compliance; yet at the ſame time he was privately informed that he ſhould be freed from this, or any other inquiſition, and that he ſhould have whatſoever elſe he would deſire, in caſe he would comply with the preſent authority.

The aſſembly having provided ſupplies for the army, and referred other things to the conduct of Cromwel, adjourned themſelves for ſome months, during which time Cromwel endeavoured to make up a collection of men of all intereſts to fill that which was called the other houſe. The principal part of them were ſuch as had procured their preſent poſſeſſions by their wits, and were reſolved to enlarge them by ſelling their conſciences for the purchaſe of his favour. With theſe were joined ſome of the antient nobility, together with ſome of the gentry, who had conſiderable eſtates derived

to them from their anceſtors; ſuch were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Alexander Popham, Sir Richard Onſlow, Sir Thomas Honywood, Mr. Edmund Thomas, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and others. He ſent alſo a ſummons, in the form of the antient writ directed by the kings of England to ſuch as they called to the lords houſe, to Sir Arthur Haſlerig, who had always appeared a zealous aſſertor of the publick liberty. Sir Arthur having received the ſummons from the meſſenger, who brought it to him into the country, diſmiſſed him, without declaring his reſolutions concerning it. Mr. William Lenthal, who had been ſpeaker of the parliament, was very much diſturbed that a writ was not ſent to him to enable him to ſit in the other houſe. He complained, that he who had been for ſome years the firſt man of the nation, was now denied to be a member of either houſe of parliament; for he was uncapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons by his place as maſter of the rolls, whereby he was obliged to ſit as aſſiſtant in the other houſe. This grievous complaint coming to the ears of Cromwel, he ſent him a writ, which ſo elevated the poor man, that riding in his coach through the Strand, and ſeeing Mr. Lambert Oſbalſton, formerly maſter of the ſchool at Weſtminſter, whom he knew to be a great lover of Sir Arthur Haſlerig, he aſked him what Sir Arthur deſigned to do in anſwer to the writ which he had received? and Mr. Oſbalſton anſwering that he knew not what the intentions of Sir Arthur Haſlerig were concerning it; he replied, "I pray write to him, and deſire him by no means to omit taking his place in that houſe, and aſſure him from me that all that do ſo, ſhall themſelves and their heirs be for ever peers of England.

The time for the meeting of theſe venerable aſſemblies being come, none of the antient nobility, except the lord Eure, adventured to come into the other houſe. The earl of Warwick himſelf, tho' he ventured to marry his grandſon to one of Cromwel's daughters, would not be perſuaded to ſit with colonel Hewſon and colonel Pride, whereof the one had been a ſhoemaker, and the other a drayman; and had they driven no worſe trade, I know not why any good man ſhould refuſe to act with them. Divers of the gentry did not appear, yet others, and particularly ſuch as were related to thoſe in power, were prevailed with to be of this aſſembly.

The door of the houſe of commons, for ſo they would have it called, was now opened, and the guard removed, and every member admitted that took the oath preſcribed by them before their adjournment: moſt of the members, who had been formerly excluded, took the oath alſo, and were admitted to ſit in the houſe, where the addition of theſe laſt, together with the removal of thoſe of the other houſe, who were for the moſt part taken out of this, made a conſiderable alteration in that body. Great expectations were raiſed to ſee what courſe Sir Arthur Haſlerig would take, who being choſen by the people to ſit in one aſſembly, and by Cromwel to ſit in another, had not yet declared his intentions in that matter. He came to London as privately as he could, but the court having notice of his arrival, ſent colonel Howard to his lodgings the next morning to feel his pulſe; which he, ſuſpecting ſomething of that nature, avoided by going early abroad; and coming to the door of the houſe of commons, procured ſome of his friends to give him the oath; then he took his place in the houſe without any diſpute, as did alſo Mr. Scot, with divers others who had been formerly excluded by Cromwel and his council. There they began to call in queſtion all that had been done in the former ſeſſions, grounding their arguments on the force that was upon that aſſembly, whereby a great number of thoſe who had as good a right to ſit there as any others, were peremptorily

peremptorily refuſed to ſit. Eight or ten days were ſpent in theſe debates; and in the mean time ſome petitions were carrying on, and ſubſcribed by many thouſands, to be preſented to thoſe who ſat in the place where the parliament of England ought to be. Cromwel was not a little ſtartled at theſe proceedings, ſuſpecting that part of the army, eſpecially thoſe that were quartered about St. James's, were engaged therein; therefore to prevent that which he feared, and which his conſcience told him he had deſerv'd, he took the inſpection of the watch at Whitehall for ſeveral nights ſucceſſively in his own perſon. And the alarm from abroad increaſing daily, he reſolved upon the diſſolution of this aſſembly, intending, as ſoon as they were diſmiſſed, and the power devolved upon him again, to curb that ſpirit of liberty that had lately appeared, and to remove ſuch officers from their commands in the army, whom he ſuſpected to have had any hand in their late counſels. Whilſt he was deliberating about the beſt means of effecting this deſign, freſh information was brought him concerning the diligence of his adverſaries in all parts; which quickened him to that degree, that he would not ſtay for one of his own coaches, but taking the firſt that was at hand, with ſuch guards as he could preſently get together, he hurried to the other houſe. Whither being come, he imparted his intentions to diſſolve that aſſembly to lieutenant-general Fleetwood; who earneſtly endeavouring to diſſuade him from it, he clapped his hand upon his breaſt, and ſwore by the living God he would do it. Then he ſent for the judges, and they being come, diſpatched another meſſage to the aſſembly to attend him preſently. Many of them declined to come, and thoſe that appeared were very ill treated by him for obſtructing that work, which he ſaid was ſo well begun, in order to the ſettlement of the nation. On the other hand, he aſſured thoſe whom he had called to his other houſe, that notwithſtanding all the practices that had been uſed againſt them, they ſhould continue to be lords, and ſo diſmiſſed both the aſſemblies to follow their own private affairs.

Cromwel having thus reſumed the power into his own hands, made uſe of it to remove from the army ſuch as he ſuſpected to have obſtructed his deſign; and beginning with his own regiment of horſe, he ſent for colonel Packer, who was the major, and captain Gladman who commanded his own troop, with the reſt of the captains of that regiment to attend him: whither being come, he demanded of them if they were willing to promiſe fidelity to the preſent government, and to fight againſt thoſe that ſhould oppoſe it. They anſwered they were ready to fight againſt Charles Stuart, and that intereſt; but they could not engage againſt they knew not whom, and for they knew not what. But he, provoked with this anſwer, diſmiſſed them from their commands, and placed men that would obey without reſerve in their room. By this and other means he loſt the affections of great numbers of men, that would have been uſeful and faithful to him againſt the family of the late king. And it being well known that he could not ſubſiſt at all without at leaſt a mock-parliament, Mr. Henry Nevil, a hearty aſſertor of the commonwealth intereſt, having been much injured by the ſheriff of Berkſhire in the laſt return for that county, commenced a ſuit againſt the ſaid ſheriff, in order to deter others from the like foul practices for the future: but not being willing ſo far to acknowledge the preſent authority, as to prefer his action upon the inſtrument of government, he was adviſed by ſerjeant Maynard, Mr. Allen of Grays-Inn, and ſome others, to bring his action of the caſe againſt the ſheriff. On the day of trial Mr. Nevil deſired Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Sir

James

James Harrington, Mr. Scot, myself, and some other members of the long parliament, to be present in the court; where after all the objections made by the sheriff's counsel against the declaration itself, and against the damages pretended by him for not being returned, were overruled by the court, they proceeded to hear the witnesses on both sides; which being done, the chief-justice St. Johns declared to the jury how heinous a crime it was for a sheriff, who being but a servant to the country, should presume to impose upon them such members as he pleased to serve in parliament, which was the bulwark of the peoples liberties; adding farther, that if such practices should be allowed, the people would be out of hope to be relieved from their grievances. Then the jury retired, and having considered the depositions of the witnesses, and also what was said to them by the chief justice, they returned into court, and found the sheriff guilty of the charge, and adjudged him to pay 1500l. for damages to Mr. Nevil, and one hundred pounds to the commonwealth. This verdict was very grateful to those who wished well to the publick, not only on the account of Mr. Nevil, who had entered into this contest to vindicate his country from oppression; but because it was hoped it would prove a means to deter other sheriffs from doing the like for the future. But now the chief-justice having, as he thought, sufficiently pleased the popular interest by what he had said concerning the rights of the people, began to contrive means to gratify his master Cromwel, by whose order the sheriff had acted; and to this end upon the motion of the sheriff's counsel, granted an arrest of judgment, and appointed a day in the next term to hear what could be said on each side. In the mean time the sheriff, and those who had promised to support him, applied themselves to Cromwel to interpose his authority in this matter, charging Mr. Nevil with many false and malicious aspersions, whilst the sheriff improving the opportunity, conveyed away his real and personal estate: endeavours were likewise used to take off Mr. Nevil, by compounding the business; but he preferring the advantage of the commonwealth before his private interest, refused to hearken to any overtures, till the judgment was recorded for an example to posterity, and then declared himself resolved to deal with the sheriff as became him.

The state of affairs in Ireland was little different from that of England, and the army there as much disaffected to Cromwel's design of being king, as those of that profession at home; so that colonel Henry Cromwel who had before courted the sectarian party, and shewed much respect to colonel Zanchy, now began to caress major Markham, Mr. Winter, and others of the presbyterian interest, desiring them to join in an address to his father to stand by and defend him against his enemies. To which they answered, that if they knew who they were, they could be positive in their answer; but being altogether ignorant of the things they were required to engage for, and of the persons they were to engage against, they could by no means consent to his proposal. In the mean time Cromwel was not unmindful of securing the fleet to his interest; and therefore suspecting that general Blake was dissatisfied with his proceedings, joined colonel Montague who was intirely his creature, and colonel Desborough in commission with him; the latter only bearing the name, and managing with other commissioners the maritime affairs at home. It was easily perceived that Montague was sent to sea with Blake to gain experience in those affairs, and to endeavour to get an interest in the seamen, that the credit of Blake might be the better balanced, or his person totally la-

[illegible] God that this work was in a short time done to their [illegible], general Blake falling sick a little after of a distemper, whereby he died. The loss of this great man was lamented by Cromwel much in the same manner as that of the lord deputy Ireton, and that also of general Deane had been.

Cromwel having been disappointed, as I formerly mentioned, in his endeavours of procuring a civil authority to countenance his arbitrary power, made it his business so to balance all interests, that they should not dare to oppose him, for fear of bringing themselves into a worse condition than that wherein they were. To this end he gratified such of the presbyterian party as were the most complying, and courted divers of the nobility, particularly the earl of Warwick, whose grandson was admitted to be a suitor to his youngest daughter. But because that this alliance was not at all grateful to some persons about him, he contrived to appear averse to the match; and then by the management of Sir Edward Sydenham it was brought about that the young couple were married without the knowledge of their parents: for which contrivance Sir Edward was for a time forbidden the court.

Notwithstanding these and many other artifices used by him to support his usurpation, continual designs were set on foot against him. Some fifth-monarchy-men, to the number of about three hundred, expecting extraordinary assistance from heaven, had formed a design to dethrone him; but these he slighted on account of the smalness of their number, and having some spies amongst them, who gave him intelligence of all their measures, he suffered them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous. At which time he sent a guard of soldiers, who seized the principal of them as they were consulting about the manner of putting their enterprize in execution. Their declarations were also taken with them, and their standard which had in it a lion couchant with these words, "Who shall rouse him up?" These men being for the most part tradesmen, were carried prisoners to the Gatehouse, where they lay long in a miserable condition. Soon after this, some persons that used to meet in Coleman-street, to deplore the apostacy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were seized by the lord mayor's officers, pursuant to Cromwel's orders, as they were coming out from their meeting-place. Amongst these was a cornet [illegible] name [illegible] Day, and who being charged with saying that Cromwel [illegible] a traitor [illegible] and to justify himself, said, that Cromwel [illegible] in the presence of himself and divers other [illegible] [illegible] betray the liberties of the people, [illegible] by a certain time, now past, then he would [illegible] a traitor: he moved therefore that he might [illegible] to produce his witnesses, who were then present [illegible]. But the motion was [illegible] [illegible]

Stuart. The particular charge againſt Dr. Hewet was for diſperſing commiſſions from the ſon of the late king, and perſwading divers to raiſe forces by virtue of the ſame. That againſt Sir Henry Slingſby was for attempting to debauch ſome of the gariſon of Hull to the ſervice of Charles Stuart, and delivering a commiſſion from him to them. The priſoners of leſs note were charged with a deſign of firing the city in ſeveral places, at the time appointed for their party to be in arms. Dr. Hewet being brought before the court, moved that he might be tried by a jury, and demurred to the juriſdiction of the court. But the court overruled his demurrer, and told him, that unleſs he would plead to his charge, they would cauſe his refuſal to be entered, and proceed againſt him as if the fact were confeſſed. This being twice ſaid to him, he was required a third time to plead: to which he anſwered, That if the judges would declare it to be according to law for him to plead, he would obey: but he was told, that the gentlemen then preſent were his judges, and that if he would not plead, they would regiſter his contempt the third time, and upon his refuſal did ſo. Mr. Mordaunt admoniſhed by his example, pleaded not guilty; and after a full hearing of the witneſſes on both ſides, the court acquitted him by one voice. Then Sir Henry Slingſby was called to the bar, and the witneſſes on each ſide being heard, he was pronounced guilty, tho' in the opinion of many men he had very hard meaſure. For it appeared that he was a priſoner at the time when he was charged to have practiſed againſt the government; that he was a declared enemy, and therefore by the laws of war free to make any ſuch attempt: beſides it was alledged that the perſons whom he was accuſed to have endeavoured to corrupt, had trapan'd him by their promiſes to ſerve the king in delivering Hull, if he would give them a commiſſion to act for him, which commiſſion was an old one that had long lain by him. But all this being not thought ſufficient to excuſe him, he was adjudged to die. The reſt of the priſoners were alſo condemned, and ſentence of death being pronounced, Sir Henry Slingſby and Dr. Hewet had the favour of being beheaded; and the others, being men of a leſſer figure, were hanged. Cromwel's daughter and favourite Mrs. Cleypole, laboured earneſtly with her father to ſave the life of Dr. Hewet, but without ſucceſs: which denial ſo afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cauſe of her death, which happened ſoon after with the concurrence of an ulcer in her womb.

The uſurper, as he was thus prodigal of Engliſh blood, ſo was he no leſs profuſe of the publick treaſure, in procuring intelligence from the royal party abroad. To which end he employed one Henry Manning, ſon to one colonel Richard Manning a papiſt, and formerly a colonel in the late king's army, where he loſt his life. This gentleman he furniſhed with a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſent him to the place where the ſon of the late king then reſided: where when he arrived, he informed the exiles, that he was ſent thither from ſome friends in England that deſired to have their names concealed. But having with him ſuch good credentials as ready money, part whereof he gave to Charles Stuart, and diſtributing ſeveral leſſer ſums to his neceſſitous followers, he was eaſily admitted amongſt them. It happened at that time, that a gentleman who had ſerved the late king, deſired leave from Cromwel to travel, which he obtained on condition he ſhould not ſee the king, which he promiſed. Accordingly when he arrived at Colen, if I miſtake not that was the place, he ſent a meſſage to the king, that he might be permitted to wait

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on him at night, which was granted; and having diſcourſed fully concerning the affairs he came about, he took leave, and received a letter which he ſewed within the crown of his hat. Upon his return to England he came with confidence to Cromwel, and being demanded by him if he had punctually performed his promiſe? he anſwered, That he had. But, ſaid Cromwel, Who was it that put out the candles when you ſpoke to Charles Stuart? This unexpected queſtion ſomewhat ſtartled him; but Cromwel proceeding, aſked him, what he ſaid to him. To which the gentleman anſwered, That he ſaid nothing at all to him. Then, ſaid Cromwel, Did he not ſend a letter by you? The gentleman denying that alſo, Cromwel took his hat, and having found the letter, he ſent him immediately to the Tower. From thence he took the firſt favourable occaſion to acquaint Charles Stuart with all that had happened to him relating to this affair, aſſuring him, that one of the three perſons who were in the room with him at the time above-mentioned, muſt neceſſarily have betrayed him. Upon this information, Manning's ſtudy was ſearched, and his correſpondence being diſcovered, leave was obtained from the duke of Neuburg to execute him within his territories, and accordingly he was ſhot to death. But tho' Manning's action was baſe and perfidious, as proceeding from a domeſtick ſervant, yet by what law he was executed I confeſs myſelf utterly ignorant.

AFTER the death of Mrs. Cleypole it was obſerved that Cromwel grew melancholy, and alſo diſtempered with divers infirmities, particularly a malignant humour in his foot; which hindering him from the exerciſes of walking or riding abroad, he obliged his phyſicians to endeavour to diſperſe it, which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his heart. By this means he became deſperately ſick; and as ſome about him had for a long time deceived others, ſo they now endeavoured to impoſe upon God himſelf. For Dr. Goodwin, his creature and trencher-chaplain, uſed this expreſſion in his prayer during the time of his ſickneſs; "Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou haſt already granted, and aſſured us of, but for his ſpeedy recovery." At this time I was in the county of Eſſex, and according to a former reſolution I had taken, went to London to attend my father Oldſworth, and to bring him into the country, whither he deſigned to come with my mother Ludlow. On the Monday afternoon I ſet forward on my journey, the morning proving ſo tempeſtuous that the horſes were not able to draw againſt it; ſo that I could reach no farther than Epping that night. By this means I arrived not at Weſtminſter till Tueſday about noon, when paſſing by Whitehall, notice was immediately given to Cromwel, that I was come to town. Whereupon he ſent for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and ordered him to enquire concerning the reaſons of my coming in ſuch haſte, and at ſuch a time. The lieutenant-general accordingly deſired by a meſſage that I would come to him the next morning, which I did, and underſtood from him that Cromwel ſuſpected I was come with a deſign to raiſe ſome diſturbance in the army, and that he was deſirous to know the occaſion of my journey. I aſſured him, that as it was not in my power to cauſe any commotion in the army, ſo neither was it in my thoughts at this time; and that I came to town in order to bring our family together into the country, according to a reſolution taken a month ſince, and before I heard of Cromwel's indiſpoſition. He then told me, that the protector had been ill, but that it was now hoped he was recovering. I ſaid, that I wiſhed him ſo well, that I was not deſirous he ſhould die in the way he

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was in at present, and assured him, that I should be glad of the prolongation of his life, if he would employ it to the publick good, which ought to be more dear to us than life itself.

At Whitehall they were unwilling to have it known that he was so dangerously ill; yet by reason of a clause in the "humble petition and advice" (which was the rule of government they pretended to act by) that the protector should have power to nominate his successor, the commissioners of the great seal attended for signing the declaration of the person to be appointed to succeed him. But whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions to leave the succession to his son, lest thereby he should, in case of recovery, disoblige others, whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was so discomposed in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or lastly, whether he would have named or did name any other, is to me uncertain. But certain it is that the commissioners were not admitted till the Friday following, when the symptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, whilst he manifested so little remorse of conscience for his betraying the publick cause, and sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed above all concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon; and the news of his death being brought to those who were met together to pray for him, Mr. Sterry stood up and desired them not to be troubled. For, said he, this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions.

Different were the effects that the death of Cromwel produced in the nation: those men who had been sharers with him in the usurped authority were exceedingly troubled, whilst all other parties rejoiced at it; each of them hoping that this alteration would prove advantageous to their affairs. The commonwealth's-men were so charitable to believe that the soldiery being delivered from their servitude to the general, to which they were willing to attribute their former compliances, would now open their eyes and join with them, as the only means left to preserve themselves and the people. Neither were the cavaliers without great hopes that new divisions might arise, and give them an opportunity of advancing their minion, who had been long endeavouring to unite all the corrupt interests of the nation to his party. But neither the sense of their duty, nor the care of their own safety, nor the just apprehensions of being overcome by their irreconcileable enemy, could prevail with the army to return to their proper station. So that having tasted of sovereignty under the shadow of their late master, they resolved against the restitution of the parliament. And in order to this it was agreed to proclaim Richard Cromwel, eldest son to Oliver, protector of the commonwealth, in hopes that he, who by following his pleasures had rendered himself unfit for publick business, would not fail to place the administration of the government in the hands of those who were most powerful in the army. Accordingly the proclamation was published in Westminster, at Temple-bar, and at the Old

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Exchange, with as few expreſſions of joy as had ever been obſerved on the like occaſion. This being done, the council iſſued out orders to the officers of civil juſtice, to act by virtue of their old commiſſions till new ones could be ſent to them: and that nothing might be omitted to fortify the new government, various means were uſed to procure addreſſes from all parts, which were brought in great numbers from the ſeveral counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and alſo from divers regiments of the army. One of the firſt acts of the new government was, to order the funeral of the late uſurper; and the council having reſolved that it ſhould be very magnificent, the care of it was referred to a committee of them, who ſending for Mr. Kinnerſly maſter of the Wardrobe, deſired him to find out ſome precedent by which they might govern themſelves in this important affair. After examination of his books and papers, Mr. Kinnerſly, who was ſuſpected to be inclined to popery, recommended to them the ſolemnities uſed upon the like occaſion for Philip the ſecond, king of Spain, who had been repreſented to be in purgatory for about two months. In the like manner was the body of this great reformer laid in Somerſet-houſe: the apartment was hung with black, the day-light was excluded, and no other but that of wax-tapers to be ſeen. This ſcene of purgatory continued till the firſt of November, which being the day preceding that commonly called All-ſouls, he was removed into the great hall of the ſaid houſe, and repreſented "in effigie," ſtanding on a bed of crimſon velvet covered with a gown of the like coloured velvet, a ſcepter in his hand, and a crown on his head. That part of the hall wherein the bed ſtood was railed in, and the rails and ground within them covered with crimſon velvet. Four or five hundred candles ſet in flat ſhining candleſticks were ſo placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave ſeemed like the rays of the ſun: by all which he was repreſented to be now in a ſtate of glory. This folly and profuſion ſo far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his eſcucheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerſet-houſe. I purpoſely omit the reſt of the pageantry, the great number of perſons that attended on the body, the proceſſion to Weſtminſter, the vaſt expence in mourning, the ſtate and magnificence of the monument erected for him, with many other things that I care not to remember.

THE neceſſities of the government daily increaſing, it was thought expedient to call a parliament, as they termed it. Whereupon the council being ſummoned, three queſtions were debated among them.

1ſt. WHETHER the elections ſhould be made by the counties, cities, and conſiderable towns, according to the diſtribution agreed on by the long parliament, and practiſed by Cromwel in his time; or whether they ſhould be made by the counties, cities, and boroughs, according to the antient law of the land.

THE 2d was concerning the thirty members to ſerve for Ireland, and thirty for Scotland; whether, or how, they ſhould be choſen, there having been as yet no diſtribution of powers to elect, as it was ordered there ſhould be in the humble petition and advice.

THE 3d was touching the writs of ſummons to be iſſued to thoſe of the other houſe.

FOR the firſt, the council learned in the art and myſtery of the law, adviſed, That ſeeing there was a clauſe in the "petition and advice," that all

all ſhould be done according to law, it was the moſt ſafe way to iſſue out the writs of election according to the antient form; and this method, after ſome debate, was reſolved upon, principally becauſe it was well underſtood that mean and decayed boroughs might be much more eaſily corrupted than the numerous counties and conſiderable cities. The motion for proceeding according to law prevailed with them alſo, in reference to the writs for members to ſerve in the "other houſe," which were accordingly iſſued out in the ſame form with thoſe that had been formerly ſent to the peers. The ſecond queſtion touching the members for Scotland and Ireland was long debated, the moſt prudent being of opinion, that ſince writs were to go out in the ancient manner, to elect members to ſerve for England in parliament, there could be no pretence for thoſe of Scotland and Ireland to ſit with them: however, the majority concluded, that members ſhould be choſen for Scotland and Ireland, as had been practiſed in the time of Cromwel, with this proviſo, That they ſhould not be admitted to ſit as ſuch, till the conſent of thoſe choſen for England were firſt obtained. The time of election drawing near, the court uſed their utmoſt endeavours to procure ſuch men to be choſen as were their creatures, and had their dependencies on them, in which they had no ſmall advantages. For beſides the power of diſcountenancing and puniſhing thoſe that were not their friends, they had all the preferments as well military as civil in their diſpoſition. The officers of the admiralty and navy had a great influence, not only upon the cinque ports, but alſo upon all ſea-towns whatſoever, and could preſs at their pleaſure any inhabitant to ſerve at ſea, and thereby ruin both them and their families. The ſheriffs, who generally were men choſen for ſuch purpoſes, contributed no little aſſiſtance to their deſign, by diſpoſing the writs to whom they pleaſed, and making themſelves judges of the fitneſs and due qualifications of all thoſe who ſhould vote at the ſeveral elections.

In the mean time divers perſons who continued unſhaken in their zeal and affection to the commonwealth, met at the houſe of Sir Henry Vane, where they conſulted what would be moſt proper for them to do, in caſe any of them ſhould be elected to ſerve in the approaching aſſembly: and after mature deliberation reſolved, that if they ſhould be fairly choſen, and that no unjuſt or diſhonourable thing were required of them, they ſhould accept the employment, and therein uſe the beſt of their endeavours to ſerve the publick, being perſwaded, that it is the duty of a good man at all times and in all places, when an opportunity offers itſelf, to be uſeful to his country. Neither did they think that their preſence and aſſiſtance in ſuch an aſſembly, could by any means be interpreted to be an acknowledgment, that they were a parliament, in prejudice of the right of the long parliament, which, tho' under a force, yet was never legally diſſolved. In conſequence of this reſolution, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Weaver, colonel Kendrick, and divers others of known affection to the commonwealth, being choſen to ſerve, ſat in the aſſembly. Preſident Bradſhaw was returned by the ſheriff for the county of Cheſter; but ſome of that county having returned another perſon, he was not preſent at their firſt meetings, the aſſembly having made an order, That in caſe of a double return, neither of the competitors ſhould ſit till the matter ſhould be heard and decided. Great endeavours were uſed by the court to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane; and tho' their officers refuſed to return him at Hull and Briſtol, at both which places it was ſaid he had the majority, yet at laſt he was choſen and returned for the

borough

borough of Whitchurch in the county of Southampton. The people of this place were adviſed to this choice by Mr. Robert Wallop; at which the court-faction were ſo enraged, that they had ſent a menacing letter to him, which was ſubſcribed by moſt juſtices of the peace for the county, to let him know, that they would oppoſe his election for the ſhire, if he perſiſted to recommend Sir Henry Vane to the choice of the people. But Mr. Wallop deſpiſing their threatnings, continued to aſſiſt Sir Henry Vane, and was choſen for the county in deſpite of them.

Those that governed at Whitehall had ordered an oath to be adminiſtered to all ſuch as ſhould be admitted to ſit in the houſe, whereby the members were to oblige themſelves not to act or contrive any thing againſt the protector. This oath I was unwilling to take, and therefore declined going into the aſſembly; but being one day walking in Weſtminſter-hall, and meeting Sir Walter St. Johns, who was one of the perſons appointed to adminiſter the oath, he aſked me why I came not to the houſe. I told him, that tho' I had heard divers arguments for taking the oath, yet my doubts not being fully ſatisfied by them, I had hitherto abſtained. Whereupon he deſired me to meet him in the lobby the next morning, promiſing to carry me in with him, which, ſaid he, will create a belief in the houſe that I have given you the oath. Accordingly I attended, but not finding Sir Walter there, I went in, and the houſe being at prayers, I ſtood amongſt the reſt of the members till they were ended, and then went up to the ſpeaker's chamber, where, and in the gallery, I ſat with as much privacy as I could. Thus I continued to do for about a week, when news was brought, to the great mortification of the court, that Sir Henry Vane was choſen to ſerve in this aſſembly for the borough of Whitchurch, as was mentioned before. Sir Henry Vane being come to town, and informed that I ſat in the houſe, he was pleaſed to make me a viſit, and to inquire by what means I had procured admiſſion, for he had been acquainted with my ſcruples touching the oath. I aſſured him, that my doubts remained ſtill unſatisfied; but that I had ventured to go into the aſſembly, where I ſat as yet without any interruption. Within a day or two a member informed me of an intention in ſome to complain to the houſe againſt me, for ſitting amongſt them without the qualification of the oath: to which I anſwered, that it was no more than I expected. And accordingly one of the members called Bodurdo, the ſame day preſſed to be heard touching a matter which, he ſaid, concerned the very being of the houſe; having been informed that there ſat a perſon amongſt them, who had not taken the oath required to be adminiſtered to every member before his admiſſion. He therefore moved the houſe to inquire into it, and to give order that all men that ſat there might be upon an equal foot. This motion was oppoſed by ſome, who alledged that it was of far leſs importance than many other things that were before them. But Mr. John Trevor, a leading man of the court-party, ſeconded the former motion, tho' with much civility and reſpect, urging that he could not but think it very ſeaſonable, and of conſequence, conſidering the worth, as he was pleaſed to ſay, of the perſon concerned. So the debate was entered upon, and divers gave their opinions, that the oath ſhould be peremptorily required. But Mr. Weaver and ſome others oppoſed them, alledging, that for the moſt part, oaths proved only ſnares to honeſt men, it being generally obſerved, that thoſe who were leaſt conſcientious in keeping an oath, were the moſt forward to take it. Colonel Eyres alſo informed the houſe, that he had ſat in the

long parliament without taking the oath then prescribed, and that he was fully perswaded that my omission therein proceeded not from a spirit of opposition, but from a real scruple of conscience; that his case had formerly been the same with mine; and tho' no man could question my affection to that parliament, yet I had moved the house in his behalf, and was the person nominated by them to bring him into the house without taking the oath. This debate continuing for two or three hours, was at length interrupted by the discovery of a person sitting in the house, who had not been elected so to do: his name was King, and being called to the bar, the house demanded of him, whether he were a member. To which he answered, That he knew not whether he were or no; for meeting with an alderman of London, who asked him if he were chosen, he demanded of him the reason of his question: whereupon the alderman saying that he had seen the name of one King upon the list of returns, he came down to the house, and had continued so to do, that he might not be wanting in his duty. This man being ordered to withdraw, many of the members willingly left the debate, and others did so too from their great zeal against him, supposing him to be a dangerous person, because he had been observed that morning in the speaker's chamber to approve and promote a paper which was there delivered, tending to shew the wickedness of the designs that were carrying on by the court-faction, and the necessity incumbent on the assembly to restore the commonwealth. So the merits of this person having been debated also, and the house being informed by one of the members serving for the city of London, that the man was distempered in his head to that degree, that his relations were often obliged to bind him hand and foot, they contented themselves to send him to Newgate for a day or two, and then ordered him to be discharged. By this means the assembly was diverted from resolving to impose the oath; and tho' they were much inclined to get rid of my company, yet partly by finding so great opposition, and partly by discovering that there were some of another interest which they liked better, that had not taken it, they were discouraged from resuming that debate for the future, tho' they did sometimes mention it by way of reflection, when I moved any thing displeasing to them.

All men were in great expectation what the resolutions of the house would be concerning the government. The sounder part of them were very desirous to secure themselves in the two essential points which had been the ground of the quarrel between the king and the parliament, viz. "the militia" and the "negative voice," and to establish them in the representative of the people, before they should enter upon any other business. But whilst these important matters were under consideration, Mr. Thurloe a member of the assembly, and secretary to Mr. Richard Cromwel, presented them with a declaration ready drawn, wherein was contained an acknowledgment of the said Richard Cromwel to be protector, and the "petition and advice" to be the rule of government for these nations. This action was, by impartial men, esteemed to be a great injury to the assembly; but he had a sufficient strength amongst them to carry him through whatsoever he thought fit to undertake, and therefore he was not only defended for what he had done, but it was resolved that the declaration should be received and debated. Hereupon it was moved, that the instrument might be produced, wherein, according to "the petition and advice," the successor ought to be nominated, and the great seal affixed; but they having no such thing to shew, over-ruled that motion.

Not being able to obtain this, and being extremely desirous to place the militia in the parliament, and to make void any pretence to a negative voice in a single person, as well as to do some other things for the people's safety and welfare, the court-party refused to consent to any thing of that nature for the present, craftily insinuating and making large promises, that such things as were necessary should be done hereafter at a more convenient season. In the next place it was desired, that since it appeared the present power had no legal foundation, and that it would be most safe for the protector to derive his authority from a right source, the words in the declaration of "recognizing" him might be altered for "agnizing" him; that so his right might appear to be founded upon the consent of the people represented in this assembly. But this proposition, tho' inforced with many weighty reasons, was rejected as the former had been, tho' it was thought convenient to divide the house upon it. Upon this success, the court presuming to carry all before them, grew unmeasurably insolent, and all that could be done was only to lengthen out their debates, and to hang on the wheels of the chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this means time was gained to infuse good principles into divers young gentlemen, who before had never been in any publick assembly, in hopes that tho' for the present their previous engagements should carry them against us, yet upon more mature deliberation they might discover where their true interest lay. Neither were our endeavours without success, for having frequently held the house nine or ten days in debate before they could come to a question, many gentlemen who came to Westminster prepossessed in favour of the court, confessed that the reasons of the commonwealth-party were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them. And because all parties had confederated against us, we, in order to lessen their numbers, impeached divers of them for having been of the king's party, by which means we procured some of them to be expelled, and frighted away some others who knew themselves to be in the same condition. The court to requite us brought Mr. Marvin Touchet a papist, and brother to the lord of Castlehaven, to accuse Mr. Villars, who had voted with us, of serving in the king's army; and tho' it appeared that he was forced so to do by those who had the government of him, he being then but sixteen years of age, and that he came into the parliament's quarters as soon as he had an opportunity, yet all that could be said, proving not sufficient to excuse him, he was likewise voted out from the house. The next thing we endeavoured, was to remove the Scotish and Irish members, who had intruded themselves into the house, and to have the question put, "Whether those members chosen by Scotland ought, by the law of the land, to sit as members of this parliament." The reasons used to justify the wording of the question in this manner were: 1. That there was no colour, by the antient law of the land, for their sitting as members of the parliament of England, having always been a distinct kingdom from it. 2. That there had been no distribution of powers to elect, as was required by the "humble petition and advice." The court would by no means permit the question to be put in the manner before-mentioned, but moved that it might be thus proposed in the following words, "Whether the house thought fit, that those returned from Scotland should sit as members of this parliament:" by this means, turning a question of right into a question of conveniency. However, because our question was first proposed, we insisted that it might also be first put; and likewise moved, that those sent from

Scotland and Ireland being the persons concerned in the question, might be ordered to withdraw, and not be permitted to sit judges of their own case: and this we thought we might with more reason demand, because their own party had already waved the legality of their election by the form of words they had used in the question they proposed: but the pretended members for Scotland and Ireland, except only one Mr. Swinton who modestly withdrew, as they had debated their own case with much confidence, so by the support of the court they resolved to decide it in their own favour. When we saw ourselves thus overpowered by violence and number, we had the question put for leaving out the words, "By the law of the land," which being carried in the affirmative; and therefore to be entered in the journal, we let fall words in the house to insinuate that they were not a legal parliament, having no countenance from the authority by which they acted: and as to their prudential way of admitting the Scots and Irish on the account of conveniency, we said it would weaken all that should be done by this assembly, whose actions would be weighed and duly considered by those that should come into power when they were gone: that the laws of this assembly, tho' it were granted that they were a legal parliament, would not bind the people of Scotland, who are not governed by the common law of England, and therefore that it was unreasonable that those chosen by that nation should have any part in making laws for the people of England; and that it was intolerable, that they who had fought against a commonwealth should be consulted with in the framing of our constitution, and so vote us out of that with their tongues, which they could never fight us out of with their swords. But all our arguments were answered by calling for the question, which they carried by a great number of votes, as they did also that for admitting those returned for Ireland.

The court having overcome these difficulties, doubted not to obtain the establishment of their house of lords, which they called the "other house;" and therefore moved for recognizing them also. The commonwealthsmen proposed that the assembly would first take into their consideration the powers wherewith the "other house" should be vested before they proceeded to the recognition of them, lest our qualifying them with the title of a house, and our approbation of the persons that were to fill it, might be a means to procure them more power than otherwise we should think fit to give them. But the court party alledged that the "other house" being already constituted, it was no more in the power of the commons to alter their establishment, than in the power of the "new house" to make any change in that of the commons. Then we endeavoured to shew them the unreasonableness of imposing such a house upon the nation, telling them, that in antient times those that came to parliament sat there by virtue of the lands they possessed, and that he who had twenty fees, each of twenty pounds yearly rent, might demand his place in the house as an earl; and that whosoever was possessed of thirteen fees, whereof one third part was military, had a right to sit in the same house as a baron: that this method continued till the greater barons finding themselves overvoted, withdrew into a distinct house. But king Henry the third having obtained a victory against the barons, deprived them of their antient usages, and permitted none of them to come to parliament without a writ of summons from him. We shewed them that the house of lords antiently consisted of persons, on whom the commons had their dependance; and being for the most part retainers to them, were clothed in their liveries:

but the balance being now altered, and the greateſt part of the lands of England devolved upon the commons, they inſtead of wearing the lords blew coats, did now give wages to moſt of thoſe who pretended to be members of the "other houſe." But notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid, the confederacy for them was ſtrong enough to carry all before them, the cavalieriſh party, who were very numerous, joining with them, in expectation that it might prove a good ſtep towards the return of the former peerage: ſo the queſtion was put, "Whether this houſe ſhould tranſact with the other houſe," and carried in the affirmative. We then deſired, that ſeeing this houſe was undeniably more honourable in the members of it than the other, and much more in relation to thoſe whom they repreſented, that the members of this houſe might not go to them with meſſages as formerly, unleſs the members of the "new houſe" would reſpectively come to us with their meſſages; or, that the maſters in chancery, who were accuſtomed to be the lords meſſengers, might be divided between the two houſes for that purpoſe: but this alſo was denied, and we were told, "That a feather might hinder the motion of a clock as well as a piece of iron." The ſubject of our firſt tranſaction with the "other houſe" was touching a declaration for a faſt, which, by ſome expreſſions in it, "of taking ſhame to ourſelves for neglecting to ſettle the government of the church, and having permitted ſo many erroneous and heretical opinions to be divulged," with others of the like nature, diſcovered plainly in what mint it was forged. This declaration being agreed to, it was ordered to be carried to the "other houſe" for their concurrence by one Mr. Grove, who was accompanied by divers young gentlemen, and many of the cavalier-party, all of them attending like ſo many lackeys at the bar of the "other houſe," whilſt the ceremonies of preſenting it were performed, which were the ſame that had been formerly uſed to the peers on the like occaſion. Thoſe of the "other houſe" were wonderfully pleaſed with this application to them, having waited near three months for it, and having no buſineſs to do, had conſumed great ſtore of fire to keep them warm at the publick charge: yet upon the debate they found not ſo great an unanimity as in the receiving it; for Mr. Cromwel's party and the preſbyterians fell violently upon the independents and ſome of the army, concerning ſome clauſes therein inſerted, as they ſaid, by thoſe of their party. Theſe diviſions were not confined within the walls of that houſe, but broke out in the army itſelf, the officers every where diſcovering their jealouſies one of another. They were divided into three parties, and neither of them much ſuperiour to the other in number. One party was known to be well affected to the commonwealth, and conſiſted chiefly of the following officers, viz. colonel Aſhfield, colonel Lilburn, colonel Fitz, lieutenant-colonel Maſon, lieutenant-colonel Moſs, lieutenant-colonel Farley, major Creed, with divers captains and other inferior officers. A ſecond party was known by the title of the Wallingford houſe, or army-party, who had advanced Mr. Richard Cromwel in expectation of governing all as they pleaſed: of theſe were lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Deſborough, colonel Sydenham, colonel Clarke, colonel Kelſey, colonel Berry, major Haines, treaſurer Blackwel, and ſome others. The third party was that of Mr. Richard Cromwel, who having caſt off thoſe that had taken the pains to advance him, joined himſelf to men that were more ſuitable to his inclinations; ſuch were colonel Ingoldſby, colonel Gough, colonel Whalley, colonel Howard, colonel Goodrick, lieutenant colonel Keins, with many others, and more particularly

cularly those that were officers in the Scots and Irish forces. But his cabinet council were the lord Broghil, Dr. Wilkins, and colonel Philip Jones. The differences between these parties being already very great, were yet much increased by the following accident. Colonel Whalley, whom Richard had lately made commissary-general of the horse, meeting with colonel Ashfield in Westminster-Hall, and discoursing with him concerning the "other house," about which their sentiments were very different, the commissary-general fell into such a passion, that he threatned to strike the colonel, who thereupon daring him to do it, Whalley chose rather to make his complaint to Mr. Richard Cromwel. Colonel Ashfield being summoned to appear, the pretended protector threatned to cashier him as a mutineer, for speaking in such a manner to a general officer of the army. But the colonel desiring a fair and equal hearing by a council of officers, he was ordered to attend again. At the time appointed it was contrived that colonel Gough, colonel Ingoldsby, colonel Howard, lieutenant-colonel Goodrick, and other creatures of the court should be present to decide the matter in dispute, who unanimously enjoined colonel Ashfield to acknowledge his fault, and to ask the commissary-general's pardon for the same: but their endeavours herein proved ineffectual, for the colonel denying that he had offended the commissary-general, refused to desire his pardon. Another thing happened about the same time that proved very disadvantageous to the interest of Mr. Richard Cromwel: for a certain inferior officer having publickly murmured at the advancement of some that had been cavaliers to commands in the army, he was carried to Whitehall to answer for the same. Mr. Richard Cromwel, besides other reproachful language, asked him in a deriding manner, whether he would have him prefer none but those that were godly? "Here," continued he, "is Dick Ingoldsby who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all." Those imprudent, as well as irreligious words, so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army and city of London, to his great prejudice. And from this time all men among them who made but the least pretences to religion and sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he governed, and thereupon soon formed a resolution to use their utmost endeavours to divide the military from the civil power, and to place the command of the army in lieutenant-general Fleetwood.

THE Wallingford house party finding themselves abandoned by Mr. Richard Cromwel, and being very desirous, if not to get the whole power into their hands, yet at least to preserve what they were already possessed of, and to render themselves formidable, desired to renew a correspondence with the commonwealths men, and to that end ordered colonel Kelsey, one of their members, to let me know that if I would go to Wallingford house, I should meet with a welcome reception from the lieutenant-general and the rest of the company. Accordingly I went thither, and perceiving them to agree that the measures then taken would inevitably bring in the common enemy, I could not forbear telling them that tho' I was heartily sorry for the sad consequences such a revolution might bring upon the people of England, yet with respect to themselves they had merited whatsoever had already happened, or was justly to be feared, in that they had advanced a single person over us, when it was in their power to put us into a full possession of our liberties. However, that I presumed it was not yet too late, if they would resolve to join themselves to that part of the army who were well affected to the commonwealth, and who in con-

junction with them would in all appearance be enabled to reſtore that government, which had coſt the nation ſo much blood to eſtabliſh. I told them that it would be convenient to give ſome earneſt of the ſincerity of their reconciliation with us, in order to recover that truſt and confidence from the commonwealth-party, which was ſo neceſſary to our preſent undertaking; and to that end propoſed that they would ſupport and defend colonel Aſhfield, who was like to ſuffer for his affection to the commonwealth. They acquainted me that they had already appeared for the colonel, and promiſed to do him the beſt offices they could in his affair, yet expreſſed an unwillingneſs to ruin ſome of their friends, who were of Mr. Cromwel's party, and particularly named colonel Whalley. I replied, that if colonel Whalley was ſo good a man to deſerve that conſideration from them, I perſuaded myſelf he would not oppoſe them; but if he were otherwiſe, they could not juſtly be thought worthy of the honour of being imployed in the reſcue and deliverance of their country, who ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be ſo much governed by private intereſts and engagements. Nothing more of moment paſſed between us in this converſation, except that they deſired to keep a good correſpondence with us, and to that end moved that they might ſee Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haſlerig, or at leaſt be made acquainted with their opinion concerning the publick affairs, and receive their advice touching their future proceedings. I told them, it was my opinion, that thoſe two gentlemen were too prudent to appear publickly in a matter of this nature, before full ſatisfaction that thoſe of Wallingford houſe were in earneſt, and had done ſomething that ſhould put them paſt all retreat: yet I promiſed them to inform myſelf concerning their ſentiments, and to advertiſe them from time to time what meaſures they ſhould think moſt proper to be taken. The next day I acquainted Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haſlerig with what had paſſed, and they approved the way that was propoſed, and promiſed that when they ſaw it ſeaſonable they would be ready to aſſiſt them in all things tending to the publick ſervice. With this anſwer I went to colonel Sydenham, and deſired him to impart it to the reſt of the company at Wallingford houſe; and then aſking him concerning their proceedings, he told me they deſigned to procure a general council of officers to be called, which if they could effect, he hoped it would be of great advantage to their affairs. After two or three days ſome of the principal of the party finding Mr. Cromwel alone, took the opportunity to perſuade him of the neceſſity of calling a general council of officers, in order to preſent ſomething to the houſe for the regulation and maintenance of the army: he not ſuſpecting their deſign, conſented to the propoſition, and having iſſued out an order to that purpoſe, a general council of officers met. Both parties endeavoured to take advantage of this meeting, and the lighteſt veſſels being uſually moſt noiſy, the Iriſh officers firſt moved that the council would petition the houſe that the protector might be declared general of the army, as the only means to put an end to the diviſions that were amongſt them: but this motion found ſo little approbation, that the court party began to doubt of their ſucceſs at this meeting, and had much more reaſon ſo to do, when they heard the hum that was given upon a propoſition made to this effect, That it would be more advantagious to the army, and more conducing to the good of the nation, if the military and civil power might be placed in different hands, that the one might be a balance to the other. The temper and inclinations of the council being thus tried, they were adjourned to another day. In the mean time

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the party of Wallingford houſe beginning to appear more publickly, colonel Deſborough and colonel Sydenham ſent an officer to deſire me to give them a meeting in the chamber where the committee for the army uſually ſat, and to bring with me two or three perſons, in whoſe affections to the publick I had the moſt confidence. Accordingly I made choice of colonel Dixwel, and my couſin Mr. Wallop, and with them went to the place appointed, where our diſcourſe tended chiefly to give reciprocal aſſurances of our reſolution to join together in order to promote the publick good, promiſing to uſe our endeavours to remove all doubts and ſcruples that might remain in any of us, that by a mutual truſt and confidence in each other, we might be the better enabled to prevent the return of the common enemy. The ſecond time the general council of officers met, they went a ſtep farther, and declared their apprehenſions, "That the common cauſe was likely to be ruined by the ſubtilty and artifices of thoſe who had never been able to do it by open force;" and therefore deſired that the command of the army might be intruſted to the care of ſome fit perſon, in whom they might all confide. This propoſition found ſo general an approbation, that it was impoſſible for the courtiers to reſiſt the ſtream, and ſo the meeting was adjourned to another day. In the mean time Mr. Cromwel and his party were exceedingly alarm'd at theſe proceedings; and not daring to truſt to their own authority in this matter, they contrived it ſo as to engage the parliament in their defence. Accordingly ſome members of the commons houſe charged the council with mutinous words there ſpoken againſt the government, and againſt the reſolutions of the parliament itſelf. This accuſation was ſo well ſeconded, that the houſe reſolved to diſſipate the ſtorm, and to that end paſſed a vote, "That the officers of the army ſhould no more meet as a general council." Yet for all this they met again at the time appointed, in order to proceed in their deſign: but the houſe having notice of it, and being very deſirous to enable Mr. Cromwel to make their vote effectual, declared him to be general of their army, authorizing him to diſperſe the officers to their reſpective charges, to remove from their commands ſuch as ſhould diſobey, and to place others in the room of them. They alſo voted it to be high treaſon in the officers to meet in council contrary to their order, and promiſed to cauſe the arrears of thoſe that ſhould yield obedience, to be forthwith paid, with aſſurances to take care of them for the future. Mr. Richard Cromwel having notice of theſe votes, immediately went to the place where the council of officers was aſſembled; and having informed them of what had paſſed, he told them that he expected their preſent obedience. The officers not being then prepared to diſpute his commands, withdrew themſelves; but the chief of them continued their meetings in a more private manner, making uſe of all means imaginable to oblige Mr. Richard Cromwel to a compliance with them: but he relying on the ſtrength of his new friends, refuſed to hearken to them; ſo that they perceived it to be high time to provide for the ſecurity of themſelves. Information being given at court that ſomething extraordinary was in agitation, the protector Richard ſent a meſſage to lieutenant-general Fleetwood to come to him, but the meſſenger returned without an anſwer. Then he ordered ſome of the guard to be ſent for him; but they deſired to be excuſed. The lieutenant-general having notice of this deſign, retired to St. James's, where many officers of the army reſorting to him, it was concluded between them, that the whole army ſhould rendezvous at St. James's. The news of this reſolution being brought to Mr. Cromwel, he alſo appointed a counter-rendezvous to be

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at the ſame time at Whitehall. Accordingly colonel Gough ſent orders for his regiment to march to Whitehall; but the major had already prevailed with them to draw to St. James's. Three troops of colonel Ingoldſby's horſe marched alſo to St. James's, with part of two more, ſo that he had only one entire troop of his regiment to ſtand by him. Colonel Whalley's regiment of horſe for the moſt part left him, and went off to St. James's, which he ſeeing, opened his breaſt, and deſired them to ſhoot him. Colonel Hacker's regiment of horſe being drawn up near Cheapſide, Mr. Cromwel ſent a meſſage to the colonel, with an order to require him forthwith to march to Whitehall; but he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid that he had received orders from lieutenant-general Fleetwood to keep that poſt. Many alſo of Richard's own guard went to St. James's, and moſt of thoſe that ſtaid with him, declared they would not oppoſe any that ſhould come to them by order from lieutenant-general Fleetwood. Thus here was a general without an army, and divers great officers without ſoldiers; who having boaſted of their intereſt in the army, and having thereby led the houſe into their late raſh proceedings, now being utterly diſappointed in their hopes and expectations, knew not what to adviſe, or what to do. About noon colonel Deſborough went to Mr. Richard Cromwel at Whitehall, and told him that if he would diſſolve his parliament, the officers would take care of him; but that, if he refuſed ſo to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to ſhift for himſelf. Having taken a little time to conſider of it, and finding no other way left to do better, he conſented to what was demanded. This great alteration was made with ſo little noiſe, that very few were alarm'd at it. The next morning the houſe met, and divers members made extravagant motions, rather, as was ſuppoſed, to vent their own paſſions, than from any hopes of ſucceſs: for whatever were the reſolutions that had been made by the court junto, they could not ſuddenly be brought to a vote, becauſe the contrary party was conſiderably increaſed by this change of affairs. Few of the houſe knew of the reſolution taken to put a period to them, or if they did, were unwilling to take notice of it; ſo that when the uſher of the black rod, who attended the "other houſe," came to let the ſerjeant at arms know, that it was the pleaſure of the protector that the houſe of commons ſhould attend him at the "other houſe," many of them were unwilling to admit the ſerjeant into the houſe to deliver the meſſage; but the commonwealth party demanded and obtained that he ſhould give the houſe an account of what the gentleman of the black rod had ſaid to him. The aſſembly being under this confuſion, adjourned themſelves till eight of the clock the next morning; but care was taken to prevent their meeting again by publiſhing a proclamation, declaring them to be diſſolved, by ſetting a padlock on the door of the houſe, and by placing a guard in the court of requeſts, with orders to refuſe admittance to all thoſe who ſhould demand it. The army having broken this aſſembly, were not ſo unanimous in reſolving what ſtep to take next. The chief of them were moſt inclined to patch up ſome agreement with Mr. Richard Cromwel, if they could effect it with advantage to themſelves. In the mean time they permitted the ordinary court of juſtice to run in his name, whilſt they themſelves diſpoſed of the offices of the army at their pleaſure, removing ſuch as had appeared active againſt them at the time of their general rendezvous, and filling the vacancies with their own creatures. They took major-general Lambert into their councils, and reſtored him, together with colonel Packer;

Packer, and captain Gladman, to their ſeveral commands. Sir Charles Coot went poſt for Ireland to carry the news of this great alteration to colonel Henry Cromwel, and to conſult what might be done to continue their reign. Colonel Henry Ingoldſby haſtned after him on the ſame account; and ſoon after their arrival, all poſſible care was taken to maintain themſelves. To that end Sir Charles Coot was ſent into Connaught, lieutenant-colonel Flower into Ulſter, the lord Broghil into Munſter; and the troops they moſt confided in were ordered to march towards Dublin. This being done, a council of officers was called together by colonel Cromwel, and a propoſition made to them, that they would declare themſelves ready to ſtand by and defend Mr. Richard Cromwel; which they declined to do at that time, deſiring to ſee what courſe would be taken by the army in England before they ſhould declare themſelves. In England there were not wanting ſome who endeavoured to ſupport this tottering government; but finding themſelves hopeleſs of ſucceſs in or about London, they reſolved to act their parts farther off. In order to this they made choice of the north, principally by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Scotland, where the forces were commanded by colonel George Monk, a perſon of an ambitious and covetous temper, of looſe, or rather no principles, and of a vicious and ſcandalous converſation. The chief inſtruments made uſe of in this deſign were the lord Falconbridge and colonel Howard, who, tho' they had attended on lieutenant-general Fleetwood before they began their journey, to aſſure him of their reſolutions to acquieſce, yet had both tampered with their regiments, in order to fit them to their purpoſes, and alſo held a correſpondence with colonel Monk, who was not a little ſuſpected by the confederated officers of Wallingford-houſe.

The Wallingford-houſe party, who had thus poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſupreme power, were every day preſſed from all parts, and eſpecially from the city of London, to reſtore the long parliament, as the only means to ſatisfy the people, and to eſtabliſh an equal and juſt government amongſt us in the way of a commonwealth. Neither were there wanting divers officers of the army, who poſitively declared that they would not reſt contented with any thing leſs. Beſides, the commonwealth party had abſolutely refuſed to hearken to any propoſitions of accommodation with Mr. Richard Cromwel, and great endeavours had been uſed by the ſon of the late king, in conjunction with the preſbyterians, to raiſe tumults and inſurrections in England. To which may be added, the great probability that appeared of a peace to be concluded ſpeedily between France and Spain, who would then be at leiſure to aſſiſt the common enemy. Theſe things being ſeriouſly conſidered by thoſe of Wallingford-houſe, and finding themſelves deſtitute of all other means to ſupply the neceſſities of the army and navy, they were compelled at laſt to admit the debate of the reſtitution of the long parliament amongſt other propoſitions that were under their conſideration. They alſo reſtored ſome officers to their commands, who had ſuffered for their affections to the parliament; and amongſt others colonel Okey and colonel [illegible] who had been caſhiered by Oliver Cromwel on that account. The propoſition of reſtoring the parliament met with great opposition from many of thoſe who had taſted the ſweetneſs of power and profit in the uſurpation of the Cromwels, and who feared a change of things; and therefore they every where [illegible] ſufficient number of members left to make [illegible]

John Owen having desired me to give him a list of their names, I delivered him one, wherein I had marked those who had sat in the house since the year 1648. and were yet alive, amounting to the number of about one hundred and sixty. The doctor having perused it, carried it to those at Wallingford-house, who, for the reasons before-mentioned, appointed a committee of their associates to treat with some members of that parliament, in order to a clearing of some particulars which seemed most considerable to them, before they should proceed to a final determination in this great affair. The place of meeting was Sir Henry Vane's house at Charing-Cross; the persons of and from the army were major-general Lambert, colonel John Jones, colonel Kelsey, colonel Berry, &c. Those of the parliament were Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, major Saloway, and myself. The things demanded by those of the army were,

1. To be secured by an act of indemnity for what was past.

2. That some provision of power might be made for Mr. Richard Cromwel, as well as for the payment of his debts, and future subsistence in a plentiful manner, they having promised to take care of him in these particulars.

3. That what should stand in need of regulation both in the law and clergy, should be reformed and amended.

4. That the government of the nation should be by a representative of the people, and by a select senate.

For the first, it was thought reasonable that something of that nature should be done, as well to gratify those who should contribute to our return, as for our own future peace and quiet.

Touching the second proposition concerning a provision to be made for Mr. Richard Cromwel, we said, that tho' the parliament and nation had been greatly injured by the interruption they had received, yet seeing those that were at present in possession of the power had engaged to make some provision for him, we were contented for ourselves, that those debts which he had contracted on the publick account should be paid, that so he might be enabled to subsist comfortably: but that we could by no means consent to continue any part of his late assumed power to him, neither could we believe, that such a proposition would ever be hearkened to by the members of the parliament, if they should come together.

The third proposition was easily agreed to, all of us declaring, that we would use the utmost of our endeavours to rectify and reform whatsoever should appear to be amiss, either in church or state.

In the fourth proposition we found a greater difficulty, not being all of the same opinion, with respect to that part of it relating to the "senate." Whereupon, finding that out of a desire to avoid any thing that might prove an obstruction to the return of the parliament, or possibly from an inclination in some to the thing itself, there was an intention by a general silence about that matter, to give them hopes of our compliance; therefore, that they might have no just occasion to say hereafter, that we had dealt doubly with them, keeping fair in that particular before our admission, and after we were admitted, declaring against it, I thought it my duty to let them know, that if by a select senate they understood a lasting power, co-ordinate with the authority of the people's representative, and not chosen by the people, I could not engage to promote the establishment of such a power, apprehending that it would prove a means to perpetuate our differences, and make it necessary to keep up a standing

force to support it. But if they proposed to erect such an authority only for a short time, and in order to proceed with more vigour to an equal and just establishment of the commonwealth, I presumed it might be very useful, and that the people would readily acquiesce, when it should be evident, that it was designed to no other end than to prevent them from destroying themselves, and not to enslave them to any faction or party. After four or five hours debate concerning these particulars, we desired them to consider that whatsoever had been said by us in this conference, ought only to be taken as proceeding from private men, and that we durst not presume to promise any thing on the part of the parliament. However, we encouraged them to hope, that if we four joined in proposing any thing in the house for the publick good, we might probably bring it to effect. At the conclusion of our conversation, major-general Lambert assured us, that he would represent to the general council what had passed between us, as fairly and with as much advantage as we could desire. After three or four days, the same company met again at the same place, where those that were employed by the council of officers, declared the resolution of themselves, and of those they represented, to be, That the parliament should be restored, and thereupon pressed us, that the members might meet with all possible expedition, being perswaded that delays, in a matter of such importance, might hazard the success of all. Therefore it was resolved, that notice should be given to such members as were in town, to meet on the Thursday following at Mr. Lenthal their speaker's house, and that the officers of the army should come thither, and there acquaint us with the desires of the army. At the time appointed, about sixteen of us went to the speaker's house, and having informed him of the cause of our coming, he began to make many trifling excuses, pleading his age, sickness, and inability to sit long. Soon after the committee from the general council came, and major-general Lambert, in the name of the rest, acquainted the speaker, That in order to reconcile our differences, and to unite all those that were well affected to the publick, it was the desire of the army, that the parliament would return to the discharge of their duty, according to the trust reposed in them by the people of England, promising to stand by them, and serve them to the utmost of their power. The speaker, who had been lately at court, where they had prevailed with him to endeavour to render this design, which they feared above all things, ineffectual; and on the other hand, being unwilling to lose his late acquired peerage, renewed his former excuses, with this addition, that he was not fully satisfied, that the death of the late king had not put an end to the parliament. To this it was answered, That by a law made by an undisputed authority, the parliament could not be dissolved without their own consent, which had never yet been given. And therefore they desired him, as he valued the peace and happiness of the nation, to send his letters to such members as were about the town, requiring them to meet the next morning in the lords house, in order to resume their places in the house of commons, so soon as they might make up a "quorum." He replied, That he could by no means do as we desired, having appointed a business of far greater importance to himself, which he would not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. We then pressed him to inform us what it might be: to which he answered, That he was preparing himself to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take on the next Lord's day. Upon this it was replied, That mercy is

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more acceptable to God than ſacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himſelf for the foreſaid duty, than by contributing to the publick good. But he reſolving to perform ſome part of his promiſe to Mr. Richard Cromwel, would not be perſwaded to ſend letters to the members, as it was deſired. So that we found ourſelves obliged to tell him, that the ſervice of the publick had been too long obſtructed by the will of ſingle perſons; and that if he refuſed to iſſue out his letters to the members, we would cauſe it to be done by other means: and thereupon gave orders to ſuch clerks as we then had there ready for that purpoſe, to draw directions for the meſſengers who were to ſummon the members, and to divide the liſt amongſt them, in ſuch a manner as might beſt provide for the expedition of the buſineſs. In the morning about thirty members being come, and the number increaſing continually, the ſpeaker, who had appointed his ſpies to bring him word whether we might probably make up a houſe or not, being informed that we wanted not above three or four, notwithſtanding the ſalvation of his ſoul, thought it time to come to us, and ſoon after the requiſite number was compleated. About twelve o' clock we went to take our places in the houſe, Mr. Lenthal our ſpeaker leading the way, and the officers of the army lining the rooms for us, as we paſſed through the painted chamber, the court of requeſts, and the lobby itſelf, the principal officers having placed themſelves neareſt to the door of the parliament-houſe, every one ſeeming to rejoice at our reſtitution, and promiſing to live and die with us. The ſame day, the houſe appointed a committee of ſafety, with authority to ſeize and ſecure ſuch as might juſtly be ſuſpected of any deſign to diſturb the publick peace, and alſo to remove ſuch officers of the army as they ſhould think fit, and to fill their places with others, till the parliament ſhould take farther order therein. The perſons conſtituted to be of that committee were Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Sydenham, major Saloway, colonel John Jones, and myſelf. Theſe were of the houſe, and to them were joined from without, major-general Lambert, colonel Deſborough, and colonel Berry. The time appointed for the duration of their power was, if I miſtake not, eight days, by which time it was ſuppoſed the houſe would be able to conſtitute a council of ſtate, to take care of affairs of that nature. The parliament referred to the committee to give notice to foreign ambaſſadors reſiding in England, and to the miniſters of this nation employed in foreign parts, of their return to the exerciſe of their authority. They likewiſe directed them to inform themſelves what alliances England had abroad, and to report the ſtate of that affair to the houſe. They impowered them alſo to make inquiry into the miſcarriages of officers during the late confuſions, to remove ſuch as they found guilty, and to put others in their places, and then to lay the whole matter before the parliament for their approbation. To the members of the houſe that were of the committee, they added Mr. Scott; and then ordered them to take a view of all the civil officers of the nation, authorizing them to diſplace thoſe that ſhould be found unfit to ſerve, and to place others in the room of them, and to report what they had done to the houſe. Writs and all proceedings at law were directed to run as formerly, in the name of the "keepers of the liberties of England." And leſt the judges who were members of the houſe might, by their influence there, prevent the intended reformation of the law, it was reſolved, that no member of parliament ſhould be a judge in any court. Information being given to the committee, that colonel

Norton

Norton governour of Portsmouth had let fall some expressions of discontent, they knowing the place to be of great importance, sent down colonel Whetham, who formerly had been governour thereof, to take possession of the government of it; at which, tho' the colonel was much disturbed, yet in a letter to me written by him soon after, he assured me he should be very well satisfied, if we would proceed to the settlement of an equal commonwealth. A committee for the sea-affairs was also appointed by the parliament, who being informed of the disaffection of some that managed the business of the admiralty to the present government, the house was earnestly pressed to pass a vote for excluding them from that employment; but at last they were prevailed with to refer it to the committee which they had already appointed for nominating officers, to propose some for that charge. The committee having resolved to acquaint the persons they designed to propose to the parliament, with their intentions before-hand, demanded of colonel Kelsey if he would accept of it, and easily obtained his consent, tho' they told him, they could not promise him any other salary than what he should merit by a diligent performance of the duties of the place. The same proposition being made to colonel Clark, he told them, he would consider well before he would engage so far with the present authority. This carriage of the colonel caused me to suspect that the army had still some design on foot, more than appeared openly; and I was the rather induced to this suspicion by his relation to Thurloe the late secretary, and his familiarity with colonel Desborough; especially considering that the way was still open to reconcile themselves to Mr. Richard Cromwel, who yet remained at Whitehall without making any preparations for his removal. The officers also, under colour of inquiring into the miscarriages of the late governments, and modelling the affairs of the army, had frequent meetings, wherein greater care was taken to maintain their own faction, than to provide for the publick service. It was very evident by the lists of officers presented to them by the committee, that the Wallingford-house party was not so averse to the creatures of Mr. Richard Cromwel, as they were to those who had been sufferers on the account of the commonwealth. So that major-general Overton, colonel Rich, colonel Alured, and captain Bremen, were not without great difficulty received into the service. The regiment of horse that had been commanded by colonel Howard was given to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and a day or two after, it was proposed that I should be colonel of that which had been commanded by colonel Gough; Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway earnestly pressing me to accept of it. But being unwilling to intermeddle with any employment of advantage under the parliament, that I might give my voice in the house with more freedom and impartiality, I desired to be excused. Having taken this resolution, Sir Arthur Haslerig came to me and told me, that unless I did accept it, he would quit the regiment he commanded, which he protested to have taken, not with a design to make any advantage of it, being resolved not to receive any pay, but only to have a right to be present at the councils of war, whereby he might be enabled to do some good, and possibly to prevent more mischief. Having weighed these things, and considered that our greatest danger was likely to arise from the army, the principal officers of which had been debauched from their duty by Oliver Cromwel, and had learned their own strength when they obstructed his design to be king; that they had placed his son in the same power after his death, and pulled him down again upon their dislike of his

government, I consented to undertake the command of the regiment that was offered to me. The parliament having many important affairs under their consideration, were not yet at leisure to constitute a council of state, and therefore continued the powers granted to the committee of safety for a longer time, and declared their intentions to be, that the nation should be governed in the way of a commonwealth, without a king, single person, or house of lords. They also ordered that Whitehall should be cleared with all convenient speed for the use of the publick; that care should be taken of the goods and furniture belonging to it, and that the committee should take care that Mr. Richard Cromwel might have notice of these their resolutions. In the mean time the parliament took into their consideration what powers and instructions were requisite for the council of state, and voted their number to consist of thirty one, whereof twenty one to be of the parliament, and ten to be of such persons as were not members of the house. And the better to shew the consideration the parliament had for some eminent persons who were not of their body, and principally for the officers of the army, it was first agreed, That the lord president Bradshaw, the lord Fairfax, major-general Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Berry, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir Horatio Townsend, should be members of the council. The next morning the parliament proceeded to the election of twenty one of their members to be of the council of state, according to their former resolution, and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major Saloway, colonel Morley, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, colonel Algernon Sidney, Mr. Henry Nevil, colonel Walton, colonel Dixwel, Mr. Wallop, chief justice St. Johns, Mr. Thomas Scott, colonel Thomson, Mr. Robert Reynolds, colonel Sydenham, colonel John Jones, the lord commissioner Whitlock, Sir James Harrington, colonel Downes, and myself. Then to compleat the number of ten, who were to consist of persons that were not members, they chose the lord Warriston, Sir Robert Honywood, and Mr. Josias Berners. The officers of the army were not at all pleased with this election, perceiving they should not be permitted to act arbitrarily, as they desired, and therefore seldom came to the council; and when they condescended to come, carried themselves with all imaginable perverseness and insolence. They scrupled to take the oath "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, in opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single person," which the parliament had appointed to be taken by every member of the council before he took his place. And because they were ashamed to own themselves dissatisfied with the substance of the oath, they pretended to be unwilling to take any; yet professing a readiness to promise as much as the oath required. This distinction seemed very nice to most of us; but that there might be no difference about ceremonies, the parliament was prevailed with to grant liberty to the council, to alter the engagement into such a form as might give them satisfaction. Notwithstanding all which condescension they were hardly perswaded to take it, and when they had done it, they seldom came to discharge their duty at the board. Things being in this posture, the enemies to the government thought it a proper time to attempt something, before a good agreement might be made between the parliament and army: in order to which, great numbers of arms were bought up by them in London, whereof notice was given to a committee of the council of state. A chest filled with arms was sent to the house of one Mr. Overbury of Glocestershire, of which he gave notice to captain

Crofts, who commanded the county-troop; and the captain having cauſed the trunk to be opened, found in it ten caſe of common piſtols, one fine pair, with the name of one Harman Barnes the maker upon them, together with a complete ſuit of armour. The committee of the council of ſtate ſent for the ſaid Harman Barnes, and upon examination, found him to have been gunſmith to prince Rupert, and ſo confuſed in his anſwers, that we thought it neceſſary to ſecure him and his arms, amounting to the number of two hundred carabines, and as many pair of piſtols ready fixed, beſides a great number unfixed, tho' he had affirmed to us, that he had no more than thirty pair of piſtols in his houſe. The cavalier party having boaſted to divers perſons, that Mr. How of Glouceſterſhire had given them aſſurances of his ſervice, the committee ſent for him to appear before them, which he did, and in his examination acknowledged, that he had a certain number of arms in his houſe, which he had purchaſed at the time of the late diſpute between Richard's and the commonwealth party, that he might be ready to ſerve the publick on that occaſion, if there had been any neceſſity; and had given aſſurance to Sir Arthur Haſlerig and me of the ſame good intentions. Hereupon, tho' I could not but juſtify the committee in ſending for him, on account of the informations we had received, yet I thought myſelf obliged to do him juſtice, and accordingly informed the committee, that on the day of the diſſolution of Richard's convention, Mr. How came to me in Weſtminſter-hall, and aſſured me of his affection to the commonwealth, and that whenſoever I ſhould ſignify to him, that there was occaſion for his ſervice, he would be ready to hazard both life and eſtate in the defence of it. The council being ſatisfied with this teſtimony, gave preſent orders for his diſcharge. In the mean time, the Wallingford-houſe party not forgetting their deſign, drew an addreſs to the parliament, and preſented it by the hands of the chief officers of the army, that ſo it might either have a greater influence upon the houſe, or, if it prevailed not there, that it might be a means to unite them all againſt the parliament. The principal heads of the addreſs were, that thoſe who had acted under the late power might be indemnified by an act of parliament; that lieutenant-general Fleetwood might be appointed commander in chief of the army; that the debts of the protector might be ſatisfied, and that he might have ten thouſand pounds by year added to his revenue; that the government of the nation might conſiſt of a repreſentative of the people, and of a ſelect ſenate; that care might be taken for the payment of the army, and that liberty of conſcience might be ſecured to all ſuch who profeſſed faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and were not ſcandalous in their converſation. The parliament gave them for anſwer, That they would take their deſires into their ſpeedy conſideration, and give them ſatisfaction therein as far as ſhould be poſſible. And that for the future, no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to ſerve his ambition, as had formerly been practiſed, a bill was prepared and brought in, conſtituting the ſeven perſons following, viz. lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, major-general Lambert, colonel Deſborough, colonel Berry, Sir Henry Vane, and myſelf, to be commiſſioners for the nomination of officers to be preſented to the conſideration and approbation of the parliament. Another bill was brought in to conſtitute lieutenant-general Fleetwood commander in chief, and it was reſolved, that his commiſſion ſhould continue during the preſent ſeſſion, or till the parliament ſhould take farther order therein; and inſtead of authorizing the lieutenant-general to grant commiſſions to ſuch officers as

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ſhould be appointed by the parliament, it was ordered that the ſaid commiſſions ſhould be ſubſcribed by the ſpeaker, and received from his hands, by which it was endeavoured to bring the military ſword under the power of the civil authority, as it ought to be in a free nation. But obſerving that theſe things were greatly diſliked by the officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our cauſe, to maintain a good correſpondence between the parliament and army, I earneſtly preſſed the houſe not to inſiſt upon the reſtrictions before-mentioned, eſpecially conſidering that they conſiſted rather in form than ſubſtance: for tho' the time of a commiſſion be not expreſly limited, yet it can laſt no longer than during the pleaſure of thoſe that give it; and if it ſhould happen to be uſed to the deſtruction of thoſe from whom it was received, it actually puts a period to itſelf. Neither could it be thought very material, whether a commiſſion was ſigned by one perſon or another, ſo long as it was derived from the ſame authority. Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway were of the ſame opinion, but Sir Arthur Haſlerig, colonel Sidney, Mr. Nevil, and the majority of the houſe, carried it for the ſaid limitations and reſtrictions; and many of the houſe began to entertain a hard opinion of me on the account of this moderation, as if I had eſpouſed the intereſt of the army againſt the parliament. The two acts being paſſed, it was ordered that notice of them ſhould be given to the army, and that the houſe expected that the commander in chief, with the reſt of the officers approved by the parliament, ſhould take their commiſſions from the hands of the ſpeaker as he ſat in the chair. Hereupon, a council of officers being ſummoned to colonel Deſborough's houſe, to conſult about this affair, Sir Arthur Haſlerig deſired me not to fail to meet him there. The council being met, divers officers, and eſpecially thoſe of the firſt rank, openly manifeſted their diſcontent againſt the clauſes before-mentioned; major-general Lambert ſaying that they implied a diffidence of the army, and that they had no aſſurance that the parliament would continue them in their imployments, which, he ſaid, was contrary to the promiſes made to them before the reſtitution of the parliament. It was anſwered, that no private perſons either could, or had promiſed more than to uſe their endeavours in the houſe to procure certain things to be done, and that whatſoever had been ſo promiſed by any of us, had been fully effected by the parliament: for they had continued the commands of the army in ſuch hands as had been agreed on; neither was there any colour for them to ſuſpect any intention to alter the ſame. They were told, that the parliament could not juſtly be blamed, if they endeavoured to preſerve their authority, that had been ſo eminently violated of late: that it was our duty to judge favourably of the actions of the parliament, and eſpecially ſince they had given ſuch evident demonſtration to the world, that they deſigned not to perpetuate their authority, by a late vote that had paſſed with the two acts complained of, "That the parliament ſhould be diſſolved in the month of May next enſuing:" whereby they had engaged themſelves, as they tendered their own preſervation, to make a ſpeedy proviſion for the ſettlement of the government, and the ſecurity of the common cauſe, in which the officers of the army were as much concerned as any perſons whatſoever. We deſired them to conſider well, of how great importance it was to the people of England, to preſerve a good correſpondence between the parliament and the army at this time, when the common enemy had no hope left but in our diviſions; that they would not gratify their enemies, nor diſcourage their friends, by entertaining groundleſs ſuſpicions and jealouſies;

jealousies of those whose interest was the same with theirs. But notwithstanding all that could be said, the dissatisfaction of the chief officers, who had another game to play, still remained, and their confidence to carry all before them was so great, that colonel Desborough openly said, that he accounted the commission he had already, to be as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. Yet for all this ruffling insolence of the chief officers of the army, who thought they could have influenced all the rest, colonel Hacker, with the officers of his regiment, came the next morning by the perswasion of Sir Arthur Haslerig, to the parliament-house, and received their commissions from the speaker according to the directions of the act. The next day I was attended by the officers of my regiment, and we all together received our commissions in the same manner. The ice being thus broke by colonel Hacker and me, the rest of the officers began to consider better of the matter, and divers of them growing more moderate, came also, and took out their commissions. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood received three commissions, whereof one was for a regiment of horse, another for a regiment of foot, and the third appointing him to be commander in chief, with the limitations above-mentioned, and a clause requiring him to obey such orders as he should receive from the parliament, or the council of state.

Mr. Richard Cromwel not removing from Whitehall, tho' he received a message to that end, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scott, and I, according to the command we had from the parliament, attended him there, and received for answer, that he would do it with all convenient speed. But the parliament being impatient of his delays, sent the chief justice St. Johns, and another person to require him to give them a positive answer touching his removal, which he did to their satisfaction, declaring his acquiescence in the providence of God, and his resolution, not only to submit to the authority of the parliament, but also to use the best of his endeavours to perswade all those, in whom he had any interest, to do so likewise. The parliament having received his answer, ordered 2000 pounds to be presently paid him, to enable him to remove, and passed a resolution to pay those debts, which it was said he had contracted on the publick account.

The army in Ireland being informed that the parliament was returned to the exercise of their authority, sent over commissioners to them to propose divers things relating as well to the civil as military government of that nation. The council of state having heard their propositions, prepared such of them as they thought reasonable for the consideration of the parliament; in particular, those concerning the establishment of the army, in the possession of those lands which had been assigned them in payment of their arrears; as also to confirm the adventurers and others, in the possession of theirs, as far as might consist with the rules of justice. Then the parliament proceeded to put the administration of affairs there, into such hands as they could best confide in, declaring the government should be again managed by commissioners, as it had been formerly; and having nominated the persons to serve in that imployment, they ordered the council of state to draw up instructions for them, and to report them to the house, together with whatsoever else they should think necessary to be done there. They resolved that colonel Henry Cromwel should be required to come over, to give an account of the state of things in Ireland,

and empowered the commiſſioners, or any two of them, to take care of the ſafety of that nation till farther order.

THE committee of ſafety having diſpatched a meſſenger to our fleet in the Sound before the election of the council of ſtate, to acquaint them with the reſtitution of the parliament, the officers of the ſeveral ſhips aſſembled, and ſent an acknowledgment of their authority, with all poſſible demonſtrations of ſatisfaction. Notwithſtanding which, being highly ſenſible of how great importance the ſea-affairs are to this nation, we ordered ſix frigates to be equipped with all diligence, and gave the command of them to Lawſon, making him at the ſame time vice-admiral of the fleet. And this we did as well to prevent an invaſion from Flanders, with which the cavalier party threatened us, as to balance the power of Montague's party, who we knew was no friend to the commonwealth. We treated alſo with myn heer Nieuport, ambaſſador from the ſtates of Holland, that a good correſpondence might be maintained between the two commonwealths, and that an accord might be made between the two kings of Denmark and Sweden, who were then enemies, by the interpoſition of the two ſtates, who agreeing upon equitable terms, might be able to impoſe them on the refuſer. And this we were in hopes to accompliſh the rather, becauſe neither the Dutch nor we pretended to any more than a freedom of paſſing and repaſſing the Sound, which could not well be, if the command of it were in the hands of either of thoſe princes. The Dutch ambaſſador ſeemed very deſirous to finiſh the treaty, but by ſeveral demands which he made in the behalf of their merchants, delayed it ſo long, that our agent in Holland had already concluded an agreement with the ſtates, whereby the two commonwealths became engaged to compel that king that ſhould refuſe to accept of the conditions which they thought juſt and reaſonable. In order to put this reſolution in execution, the ſtates of Holland appointed their plenipotentiaries, and we on our part did the ſame, ſending thither colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honywood, and one Mr. Boon, a merchant, to that end. The parliament having taken ſome meaſure of care of foreign affairs, began to make proviſion for the better execution of juſtice in England, and eſtabliſhed judges in the upper bench, common pleas, and exchequer; but deſigning the reformation of the practice of the law, they, for the preſent, nominated no more than were ſufficient to make a quorum in each court. The lord preſident Bradſhaw, ſerjeant Fountain, and ſerjeant Tyrell, were made commiſſioners of the broad ſeal. And that the juſtices of the peace throughout England might be fitly qualified for that employment, the houſe referred to the committee of nominations for civil offices, the conſideration of that matter; but finding this work to be full of difficulty, and attended with much envy, the parliament ordered the members for each county, to agree on a liſt of ſuch perſons as they ſhould think moſt proper for that office, and to ſet their hands to each liſt. And in caſe of any difference of opinion, the houſe, upon hearing both parties, determined the matter. Colonel Zanchey, colonel Laurence, Mr. auditor Roberts, and major Wallis, by the advice of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, drew up a liſt of officers for the army in Ireland, and preſented it to the committee of nominations, and agreed to make it their requeſt, that I might be appointed commander in chief of thoſe forces; whether, from an opinion that I ſhould thereby be rendered leſs able to oppoſe their deſigns, than by continuing my attendance in

in parliament, or, that none of their grandees could be spared from their cabals at Wallingford-house, is uncertain. But true it is, that no man was less desirous than myself, that I should have that command, well knowing the envy and difficulties that accompanied it, and having ample experience how much easier it was to undertake great employments, than duly to perform the functions of them. Yet finding the officers of Ireland, the committee of nominations, the council of state, and the parliament all concurring to design me for that post, I thought myself obliged in duty to accept it: tho' I was resolved not to suffer myself to be banished thither, as I had been formerly by Oliver Cromwel, but to return to England as soon as I should have done what might be necessary for the security of that country, to contribute my endeavours towards the settlement of a just and equitable constitution of government at home, and to prevent those mischiefs which I perceived the ambition of the army to be bringing upon us. Having opened myself freely concerning these particulars to Sir Henry Vane, it was obtained, that the parliament, after they had voted me to be commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, passed likewise an order, That when I had put the affairs of that country into a posture of security, I should have liberty to return to England. It was my design at the next sitting of the committee of nominations, to move them to propose that Sir Henry Vane might succeed me as colonel of that regiment which the parliament had entrusted me with, that he might thereby be enabled to discover and prevent the ill designs of the army. But the presbyterian party in the house, immediately after the parliament had appointed me for the service of Ireland, moved that colonel Herbert Morley might be made colonel of my regiment, and carried it. Divers officers who had faithfully served the commonwealth, and amongst them colonel Rich, were restored to their commands, tho' not without difficulty: and that major-general Lambert might be altogether inexcusable if he should act against the parliament, they granted him a regiment of horse and one of foot. Then they gave order for raising a troop of horse for their own guard, and gave the command of it to colonel Alured, who had been a great sufferer on the account of the commonwealth, and very active for the restitution of the parliament. The troop consisted of about one hundred and thirty chosen men, nominated by the committee, and approved by the house. Colonel Alured scrupled to accept it, thinking it not equivalent to a regiment of horse which he had commanded, tho' the pay was appointed to be the same. Being in this disposition, he came to me, and having proposed his doubts, I took the liberty to inform him, as well as I could, of the honour and usefulness of that employment; and having assured him, that if it were offered to me, the circumstances of my affairs permitting, I would prefer it before any other command, he was contented to accept it. Our treasury was so low, through the male-administration of the late governments, that tho' our plenipotentiaries to the two northern crowns had received their instructions, yet they were obliged to stay a fortnight longer, before they could receive the sum of two thousand pounds which had been ordered for the expences of their voyage, the taxes coming in but slowly, and the city of London terrified with the reports of an expected insurrection, being very backward in advancing money. Yet considering the great importance of the town of Dunkirk to the trade and navigation of England, the parliament took the first occasion they could, to send one month's pay for the garison there, to colonel Lockhart governour of that place, with instructions to

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go on with the fortifications, and to have a vigilant eye as well upon the French as the Spaniard. They ordered him to draw the regiments that had been lent to the king of France as near to the town as he could, being under ſome fears that they might be either detained by the French, or obſtructed in their return by the Spaniſh forces. And having received information that the treaty between thoſe two nations went proſperouſly on, they gave him commiſſion, when he had provided for the ſecurity of Dunkirk, to go to the French court as agent from the parliament; and if he found encouragement from cardinal Mazarin, to take upon him the title and character of ambaſſador, and then to repair to the place where the treaty was carrying on between the two crowns. Colonel Lockhart, according to his inſtructions, having put all things into a good condition at Dunkirk, and drawn the Engliſh regiments out of the French quarters, departed for Paris, and being arrived, was very well received by the cardinal, and from thence went to St. John de Luz, which was the place of the treaty. In the mean time the parliament being very deſirous to reſtore the trade with Spain to this nation, and being informed from Flanders that the Spaniſh miniſters were willing to come to an accommodation with us, cauſed divers ſubjects of Spain, whom Cromwel had made priſoners, to be releaſed, and would not ſuffer any act of hoſtility to be uſed againſt thoſe of that nation.

THE act of indemnity had been read twice, and the houſe was as deſirous to diſpatch it as their affairs would permit; yet the neceſſary time ſpent in the debate and conſideration of it was made great uſe of to incenſe the army againſt the parliament: divers warm motions were made for excepting ſome perſons from the benefit of it, who had gotten great eſtates by their compliance with the uſurpation of Oliver Cromwel, and abetting the advancement of his ſon, and alſo to except thoſe who had ſold places, and received money for them; but the chief-juſtice St. Johns had ſuch an influence upon the houſe, that he procured a clauſe to be inſerted in the bill to indemnify him for ſuch offices as he had ſold in Cromwel's time: which partiality I appeared againſt ſo earneſtly, that I made him thereby my declared enemy, tho' I never had expected any ſincere friendſhip from him, becauſe he knew me to be zealous for the regulation of the practice of the law, and himſelf an obſtructer of all endeavours to that end. The two commiſſions of major-general Lambert being prepared and ſigned by the ſpeaker, he attended at the door of the houſe in order to receive them; and being admitted, he was informed by the ſpeaker, That the parliament having a good opinion of his abilities and fidelity, had intruſted him with the command of one regiment of horſe and one of foot, for which he then by their order delivered the commiſſions to him. The major-general anſwered, That as his own inclination and intereſt led him to promote the ſervice of the parliament, ſo the obligation they laid on him by ſo great a truſt ſhould doubly excite him to fidelity and obedience to their commands. And I hope he then intended what he promiſed, tho' he afterwards proved an inſtrument of much diſorder and confuſion amongſt us. Mr. Henry Nevil, a perſon of ſingular affection to the commonwealth, moved the houſe that lieutenant-general Fleetwood might be made ranger of St. James's Park, and this he did that no occaſion of obliging the army might be omitted; which motion was readily conſented to by the parliament: and indeed the lieutenant-general, had he not been too much influenced by his wife's relations, who pretending that he had injured his brother-in-law by contributing to lay him aſide, continually

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preſſed him to irregular proceedings, in order to make him ſome ſatisfaction, might have proved a perſon as fit to command the forces in chief, as the parliament could have choſen: tho' I am not able to ſee how he could have ſerved him better, unleſs peradventure by not conſenting to his advancement to the protectorſhip, than to procure him to be removed with ſo little detriment to himſelf and reflection on his family; conſidering how great a truſt his father had betrayed, what diſhonour he had brought on the nation, what hardſhips he had put upon many good men, to the hazard of that juſt cauſe which had coſt ſo much blood and treaſure of the people.

At this time the opinions of men were much divided concerning a form of government to be eſtabliſhed amongſt us. The great officers of the army, as I ſaid before, were for a ſelect ſtanding ſenate to be joined to the repreſentative of the people. Others laboured to have the ſupreme authority to conſiſt of an aſſembly choſen by the people, and a council of ſtate choſen by that aſſembly to be veſted with the executive power, and accountable to that which ſhould next ſucceed, at which time the power of the ſaid council ſhould determine. Some were deſirous to have a repreſentative of the people conſtantly ſitting, but changed by a perpetual rotation. Others propoſed that there might be joined to the popular aſſembly, a ſelect number of men in the nature of the Lacedemonian Ephori, who ſhould have a negative in things, wherein the eſſentials of the government ſhould be concerned, ſuch as the excluſion of a ſingle perſon, touching liberty of conſcience, alteration of the conſtitution, and other things of the laſt importance to the ſtate. Some were of opinion that it would be moſt conducing to the publick happineſs, if there might be two councils choſen by the people, the one to conſiſt of about three hundred, and to have the power only of debating and propoſing laws; the other to be in number about one thouſand, and to have the power finally to reſolve and determine: every year a third part of each council to go out, and others to be choſen in their places. For my own part, if I may be permitted to declare my opinion, I could willingly have approved either of the two latter propoſitions, preſuming them to be moſt likely to preſerve our juſt liberties, and to render us a happy people.

Some members of the council of ſtate propoſed at the board, that the parliament ſhould be moved to appoint twenty of their own number, and ten of the principal officers of the army to conſider of a form of government to be reported to the parliament; and if they ſhould approve it, that then the whole army ſhould be drawn out, and declare their conſent to it: which propoſition, tho' it ſeemed then to find a general approbation, yet proved abortive, and the parliament themſelves paſſed a reſolution that on every Wedneſday the houſe ſhould go into a grand committee to conſider of that matter.

In the act of indemnity a clauſe had been inſerted to reſtrain the favour of the parliament in regard of thoſe who under the uſurpation had received exorbitant and double ſalaries, to the great diſcontent of divers conſiderable perſons, who feared they might be concerned in it. In particular, major-general Lambert meeting me the next morning after the act was paſſed, moſt bitterly exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, amongſt other things, that tho' there was no ſecurity given by the act to indemnify them for what they had done, yet the parliament had taken care to make them liable to be queſtioned for whatſoever they had received. To which I anſwered, that

in my opinion, all the ſoldiers were indemnified for what they had received, and that if the parliament ſhould ever make uſe of that clauſe, it would only be againſt thoſe who had enriched themſelves by the ruin of the commonwealth, and had oppoſed the return of the parliament to the exerciſe of their authority; that I perſuaded myſelf he could not think that ſuch a ſort of men deſerved the favour and conſideration of the parliament equally with thoſe who had contributed towards their reſtitution. Having ſaid this, Sir Arthur Haſlerig joined us, and the converſation continuing on the ſame ſubject, Sir Arthur affirmed, that the act was as full and comprehenſive as could juſtly be deſired; but the major-general ſaid that it ſignified nothing, and that it left them ſtill at mercy. "You are," ſaid Sir Arthur, "only at the mercy of the parliament who are your good friends." "I know not," ſaid Lambert, "why they ſhould not be at our mercy as well as we at theirs." Theſe words, as they ſounded very harſh to my ears, ſo they did confirm me in the ſuſpicion I had of the deſign that was then on foot: and tho' Sir Arthur Haſlerig contented himſelf only to ſhake his head, becauſe divers officers were there preſent; yet meeting me the next morning in the ſpeaker's chamber, he told me, that if the two regiments had not been already given to major-general Lambert, he ſhould never have them with his conſent.

The order requiring colonel Cromwel to come over from Ireland, and to give an account of affairs there, being ſignified to him, he retired to a houſe called the Phenix, belonging to the chief governour of Ireland, leaving colonel Thomas Long in the caſtle of Dublin; whether with an intention of keeping it, I am not aſſured: but the commiſſioners ſuſpecting the worſt, and being very deſirous to be poſſeſſed of it, imployed Sir Hardreſs Waller to ſurprize the place, who finding the power of colonel Cromwel to decline, and that of the parliament to increaſe, was very willing to attempt it, and being ready to enter by a poſtern into the caſtle, the place was immediately ſurrendred to him. Colonel Cromwel perceiving it to be to no purpoſe to ſtay longer in Ireland, departed for London, and being arrived, acquainted me with the time that he deſigned to attend the council of ſtate, and deſired me that I would be preſent; but I could not: for the houſe of Hampton Court having been ordered to be ſold that day, which place I thought very convenient for the retirement of thoſe that were imployed in publick affairs, when they ſhould be indiſpoſed, in the ſummer-ſeaſon, I reſolved to endeavour to prevent the ſale of it, and accordingly procured a motion to be made at the ſitting down of the houſe to that end, which took effect as I deſired. For this I was very much blamed by my good friend Sir Henry Vane, as a thing which was contrary to the intereſt of a commonwealth: he ſaid, that ſuch places might juſtly be accounted amongſt thoſe things that prove temptations to ambitious men, and exceedingly tend to ſharpen their appetite to aſcend the throne. But for my own part, as I was free from any ſiniſter deſign in this action, ſo I was of opinion, that the temptation of ſovereign power would prove a far ſtronger motive to aſpire by the ſword to gain the ſcepter, which when once attained, would ſoon be made uſe of to force the people to ſupply the want of ſuch an accommodation. Colonel Henry Martin moved at the ſame time that the chapel belonging to Somerſet-houſe might not be ſold, becauſe it was the place of meeting for the French church, and this requeſt was alſo granted; but the houſe itſelf was ſold for the ſum of ten thouſand pounds. Then it was moved that Whitehall might be alſo ſold, and it was ſaid that threeſcore thouſand pounds might be

be had for it, in order to erect new buildings on the ground where it ſtands, but nothing was done farther in this matter.

And now I began to think it time to haſten my journey into Ireland, where my ſtation was aſſigned to me for ſome time; and in order to my departure I received four commiſſions from the hands of the ſpeaker, as the parliament had directed. By the firſt I was appointed commander in chief of all the forces in Ireland; the ſecond was for a regiment of horſe; the third was for a regiment of foot; and by the fourth I was made lieutenant-general of the horſe. Which laſt commiſſion being read before the committee of nominations by Sir Arthur Haſlerig, who in this whole affair of regulating the army had ſerved the parliament for ſecretary without any ſalary, colonel Deſborough deſired that it might be explained how far it ſhould extend, ſuſpecting that it might intrench upon the command of the horſe in England and Scotland, which ſome thought he deſigned for himſelf. But Sir Arthur Haſlerig declined to give him any other anſwer than that it was well enough. In this commiſſion a clauſe was inſerted, which had been omitted in the other three, becauſe not thought of before, requiring me to obey not only ſuch orders as I ſhould receive from the parliament and council of ſtate, but alſo all ſuch as ſhould be ſignified to me from time to time from the commiſſioners of the parliament for the affairs of Ireland. This I was ſo far from diſliking, that I procured another order to be made, that the pay of the army ſhould be iſſued out by the commiſſioners, and that no money, except only for contingencies, ſhould be iſſued out by the commander in chief. Having prepared myſelf for my journey, I took leave of the principal officers of the army, and on that occaſion moſt earneſtly requeſted of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Lambert, colonel Deſborough, colonel Sydenham, colonel Berry and others, that as they valued the good of the publick and their own ſafety, they would be careful not to violate the authority of the parliament, who I perſuaded myſelf were more ready to do any thing that might tend to the preſervation of our liberties than we were to aſk it: and at my parting with Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Henry Nevil, Mr. Scot, major Saloway, and the reſt of my good friends that were members of the parliament, I took the liberty to beg of them not to put any unneceſſary hardſhips upon thoſe of the army, but rather to gratify them in whatſoever they could, that if after all the condeſcenſions and favours of the parliament to them, they ſhould be ſo unjuſt and ungrateful to offer violence to the houſe, they might be left inexcuſable in the ſight of God and men.

Being on my way to take ſhipping for Ireland, accompanied by colonel John Jones, and being come as far as Whitchurch, one captain Whetway of Cheſter met us there, and informed us of a deſign to riſe in and about that country by the preſbyterian and cavalier parties in conjunction; who gave out that Sir George Booth, the earl of Darby, the lord Cherbury, and other perſons of quality and eſtate, were concerned with them. We, according to our duty, immediately gave an account of what we had heard to the council of ſtate, and deſired them to inquire into the matter. Then we proceeded in our journey, and being arrived at Holy-head, we found a ſmall veſſel carrying about ten guns, ſent thither by the commiſſioners of the parliament to tranſport us to Ireland, they having at that time no ſhip of greater force on that coaſt. Here we met my couſin Edmund Ludlow, who was then newly landed from Ireland; but finding us ready to ſet ſail, he returned thither with us. Upon our arrival within the

Dublin, we found Mr. juſtice Cook and my brother-in-law attending with their coaches; by which means we had an opportunity to go that evening to my houſe at Moncktown. The next morning before I could get out, the mayor and aldermen of Dublin came to welcome me into the country, and to pay the uſual civilities. And at the Rings-end I found the guard that had formerly attended colonel Cromwel, drawn up by the order of Sir Hardreſs Waller, with colonel Theophilus Jones inthe head of them, all of them expreſſing their readineſs to ſerve me, and ſo accompanied me to the city. Being arrived at Dublin, I went immediately to wait on the commiſſioners of parliament who were then ſitting, and had been debating touching the manner of their deportment towards me, the reſult of which they informed me was, That each of them ſhould ſucceſſively take the chair for one month; that they would deſire me to give them my aſſiſtance when the affairs of the army would permit; that I ſhould ſit with them when they ſat as commiſſioners, in the next place to the chair-man, and that in all other places I ſhould have the precedency. I returned them my thanks for the honour they did me, and earneſtly deſired to be excuſed in the laſt particular, having always declared it to be my opinion, that the military ought to ſubmit to the civil power. But they told me, that ſince it had been ſo reſolved, they would not permit me to ſpeak any more about it. Then I delivered to them a warrant from the council of ſtate, authorizing Mr. Blackwel and Mr. Standiſh the deputy treaſurers for Ireland, to charge by bill of exchange or otherwiſe the treaſurers of war in England with thirty thouſand pounds for the ſervice of Ireland. Which having done, I went into another room, where the officers of the army were appointed to be, and gave them an account of the return of the parliament to the exerciſe of their authority, by whoſe wiſdom and juſtice ſo many things had been formerly done for the advantage and glory of the Engliſh nation; and by whoſe care and good oeconomy they themſelves had been provided for, in ſuch a manner as had never been practiſed in later times, nor indeed could reaſonably be expected from any other perſons than from thoſe, who as they are called the fathers of the country, ſo they have the tenderneſs and affection of parents for all thoſe who take care to deſerve their kindneſs and protection. I aſſured them of their good intentions for the publick happineſs, and to them in particular: and that as they were paſſing an act to ſecure to the ſoldiers the poſſeſſion of thoſe lands that had been aſſigned to them for their arrears, ſo they would take care to cauſe their armies to be conſtantly paid for the future: that the parliament themſelves had appointed ſuch officers to be placed over them, as had given demonſtration of their affections to the publick in the late times of defection. I alſo informed them that the parliament had done me the honour to appoint me to be commander in chief of their forces in Ireland, as they might more fully underſtand by the commiſſion itſelf, which I then ordered to be read in their preſence: and that done, I proceeded to tell them, that being ſenſible of my own imperfections, and the great weight and importance of my preſent employment, I had neither directly nor indirectly endeavoured to obtain it; but conſidering that my ſuperiours by virtue of their authority, at the deſire of divers officers commiſſionated by this army, had called me to the exerciſe of it, I was reſolved to endeavour faithfully to diſcharge the duty of my ſtation, and to adventure the utmoſt hazards for the publick good, wherein I doubted not of their cheerful and ready aſſiſtance. The officers ſeeming well ſatisfied with what I had ſaid, I diſmiſſed them for that time.

of Hampſhire, went and joined the body that was commanded by Sir George Booth. Sir Thomas Middleton, who had made me a viſit when I was going to Ireland, and had aſſured me of his reſolution to continue ſtedfaſt in the intereſt of the commonwealth, did, either through dotage, being almoſt fourſcore years of age, or through the importunity of others, or the natural depravity of his own heart, appear at the head of the cavalier party at Wrexham, and there waving his ſword about his head, cauſed Charles Stuart to be proclaimed king in the market-place. Which encouraged the enemy ſo much, that they immediately ſent out a party to poſſeſs themſelves of Shrewsbury; but tho' the male-contents were very numerous in that town, and ready to join with them, yet captain Waring with the militia troop, in conjunction with many well-affected perſons that went to him from Wrexham, and ſome others which he got together on a ſudden, prevented their deſign, and ſecured that place for the parliament. This was a great diſappointment to the enemy, not only becauſe it kept their friends in thoſe parts from riſing, but in a great meaſure obſtructed their correſpondence with the weſtern counties. However, it being reported, that Coventry had declared for them, they received freſh incouragement, and hoped that it might prove an occaſion to divert the London forces from advancing towards them, and were not without expectations of a party to appear for them in or about London. Neither were their hopes in this particular without foundation: for the presbyterian party did ſo greatly favour this abominable deſign, wherein the whole popiſh party was likewiſe engaged, that many of them, tho' they could not be drawn to join in the dangerous part of acting againſt the parliament, yet openly denied their aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs the enemy. Of this ſort was colonel Fotherby who commanded the forces in the county of Warwick, and had faithfully ſerved the parliament to this time, yet now refuſed to act for them. So that old colonel Purefoy, who had one foot in the grave, was obliged to undertake that employment in thoſe parts, wherein he uſed ſuch diligence, and ſucceeded ſo well, that he kept the city of Coventry and the adjacent country in the obedience of the parliament. And tho' the contagion had infected many within the city of London, yet the vigilance and diligence of the parliament prevented it from manifeſting itſelf in an open revolt, by a timely ſeizing or frighting away, ſuch as were moſt dangerous to the publick peace. The meſſenger that had been ſent to Ireland from the council of ſtate, brought orders to me for one thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to be ſent to their aſſiſtance in England. And tho', conſidering the poſture of our affairs, the ſuſpicion we had of the Scots, the number of the Iriſh, and that ſpirit of revenge they were poſſeſſed with, together with the condition of our own forces, who had been debauching for ſome years from the intereſt of the commonwealth, we ſeemed rather to ſtand in need of relief from England, than to be in a capacity of ſending any thither, yet having received ſuch orders from our ſuperiors, we thought it our duty to obey them. And therefore, by the advice of the field-officers, it was reſolved to draw together thoſe forces that lay moſt convenient for tranſportation; and that the publick ſervice might not ſuffer by any delay that could be avoided, the commiſſioners of parliament cauſed an embargo to be laid upon all the veſſels then in the harbour. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood having, in a letter to me, deſired that colonel Zanchey might command the forces to be ſent from Ireland, I readily conſented to it, having no ſuſpicion of any deſign concealed under that requeſt; and being informed by colonel Axtel, that he alſo had

had ſome important affairs in England, which he had left unſettled, I appointed him to command the foot. Lieutenant-colonel Walker, major Rawlins, major Bolton, and major Godfrey, were the reſt of the field-officers. I ordered that the party to be tranſported to England ſhould be drawn to Dublin; and as ſoon as a conſiderable number of them were arrived there, orders were diſpatched for their tranſportation, on aſſurance that the ſpeedy landing of our forces from Ireland would tend to the diſcouragement of our enemies, and great encouragement of our friends. Having drawn the firſt party, which was to be imbarked, to the water-ſide, conſiſting of about four hundred, we cauſed two months pay to be advanced to them, one to enable them to pay their debts in Ireland, the other was put into the hands of lieutenant-colonel Walker, who commanded them, to be delivered to them as ſoon as they ſhould arrive in England. The officers and ſoldiers undertook the ſervice with all imaginable cheerfulneſs; and one of the veſſels that was appointed to carry captain Jacomb and his company, not being able to approach ſo near the ſhore as to make it convenient for the ſoldiers to imbark, the captain put himſelf into the water, which his men ſeeing, they ſoon followed his example, and all together, with the ſea almoſt up to the ſhoulders, marched through to the ſhip. They had a very favourable paſſage, and landed ſeaſonably in England; for it happened that the third day after their arrival, lieutenant-colonel Walker took up his quarters at a town in Carnarvanſhire, where many diſaffected gentlemen and others of thoſe parts had appointed to rendezvous the next day: but fearing he might ruin the country, if they appeared in arms, they quitted their deſign, and kept themſelves at home.

The parliament, tho' they had reſolved to ſend ſome forces againſt Sir George Booth, yet they were doubtful to whom they ſhould commit that province. And whilſt that matter was under their conſideration, ſome perſons of the king's party addreſſed themſelves to the wife of colonel Lambert, endeavouring to perſwade her to ſolicit her huſband to be the inſtrument of the king's return, with large offers of whatſoever terms he would demand. She acquainted the colonel with their propoſitions; but he having reſolved to play another part, diſcovered the whole intrigue to Sir Henry Vane, who having communicated it to Sir Arthur Haſlerig, and knowing there had been ſome late differences between the colonel and Sir Arthur, he perſwaded them to renew their former friendſhip, with promiſes on each part, to unite their endeavours in the ſervice of the parliament. By this means chiefly it was, that colonel Lambert was ſoon after appointed to command thoſe forces that were deſigned to ſuppreſs the inſurrection in Cheſhire. In this conjuncture, the parliament ſent an order to colonel Monk, who then commanded their forces in Scotland, to ſend them two regiments of foot and two of horſe; but he excuſed himſelf, under colour of the enemy's ſtrength and inclination to revolt, tho' there were not wanting ſome who then thought that his engagements with the common enemy were the true reaſons of that refuſal. And it is certain, that a gentleman from the king had been with him; and tho' what paſſed between them was not made publick, yet ſince he did not ſeize him, as it was his duty, but permitted him to return ſafely from whence he came, he may juſtly be ſuſpected, even then, to have betrayed thoſe whom he pretended to ſerve. The ſecond party I ſent for England was commanded by colonel Axtel; and the third by colonel Zanchey, to whom I gave alſo a commiſſion to command the whole brigade of horſe

and

and foot, requiring him to take all advantages againſt the enemy, to relieve our friends, and to obey all ſuch orders as he ſhould from time to time receive from the parliament, the council of ſtate, colonel Lambert, or me. Thus the whole number of the forces demanded by the parliament was ſhipped off within ten days after I had received their order, tho' ſome of them were quartered at a great diſtance from Dublin; and both horſe and foot landed very ſeaſonably in England, tho' not without a ſad loſs. For the ſhip wherein major Bolton and major Rawlins, with above thirty private ſoldiers, had embarked, ſprung a leak in her paſſage, and ſunk down. The Iriſh brigade being joined and arrived at Cheſter, they ſent to colonel Croxton, to let him know, that if he ſhould be driven to extremity before any relief ſhould come to him from London, they had reſolved to attempt it themſelves.

On the 6th of Auguſt, 1659. colonel Lambert, at the head of three regiments of horſe, one of dragoons, and three regiments of foot, marched from London againſt Sir George Booth and his party, who were about four thouſand in number. The enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of the town of Warrington, and had placed a party of about three hundred to defend it, having lodged their main body on the other ſide of the river, and poſted a good number of men to keep the bridge againſt ours. At this place the forces on each ſide met, and the enemy began the action, by ſending out a party to ſkirmiſh with an advanced party of colonel Lambert. But being repulſed, and retreating beyond the bridge, their body of horſe conſiſting of about ſeventeen or eighteen hundred, one half whereof they reported to be gentlemen, began to run before our horſe could come up to charge them, leaving their foot to be cut in pieces, except only about thirty or forty of their horſe commanded by captain Morgan, who endeavouring to ſecure their retreat, was killed in the action. Many of their foot eſcaped by leaping over the hedges, and hiding themſelves. But their ſureſt protection was their having engaged againſt thoſe that were more ready to ſave than deſtroy them. So that tho' the whole force of the enemy was intirely defeated, yet there were not above forty of them killed. About ſix or ſeven hundred of their horſe in ſcattered and broken parties fled to Cheſter; but not thinking themſelves ſafe there, they went into North-Wales, and the town was delivered up to colonel Lambert. Sir George Booth, after his defeat, put himſelf into a woman's habit, and with two ſervants hoped to eſcape to London, riding behind one of them. The ſingle horſeman going before, went to an inn on the road, and, as he had been ordered, beſpoke a ſupper for his miſtreſs, who he ſaid was coming after. The pretended miſtreſs being arrived, either by alighting from the horſe, or ſome other action, raiſed a ſuſpicion in the maſter of the houſe, that there was ſome myſtery under that dreſs. And thereupon reſolving to make a full enquiry into the matter, he got together ſome of his neighbours to aſſiſt him, and with them entered the room where the pretended lady was. But Sir George Booth ſuſpecting their intentions, and being unwilling to put them to the trouble of a farther ſearch, diſcovered himſelf. Whereupon they took him into their cuſtody, and ſent him up to London, where the parliament committed him priſoner to the Tower. From the ſad conſideration of theſe and other unſucceſsful attempts, the cavalier party, and thoſe that ſided with them, began to deſpair, and to give their cauſe for loſt, unleſs by diviſions amongſt ourſelves we ſhould render our victories uſeleſs to us: which fell out ſooner than they expected. For the officers of the

army, whom nothing could satisfy less than an absolute tyranny over the nation, notwithstanding the solemn engagement they had taken before the parliament, at the time when they received their commissions from the hands of the speaker, and all their expressions of sorrow for their former apostacy so often repeated in their last declarations; these wretched men, I say, contrary to their faith, and the duties of common honesty, resolved to destroy the parliament, and in imitation of their late master Oliver, to sacrifice the common cause to their insatiable ambition. In order to this, lieutenant-general Fleetwood moved the house, at the time when they had received the account of Sir George Booth's defeat, that they would appoint colonel Lambert to be major-general of their army; and this was done, upon certain assurance, that Sir Arthur Haslerig and other members would endeavour to obstruct it; whereby they doubted not the colonel would be so far disobliged, as to be ready to join with them in their detestable design. And it succeeded according to their expectations: for Sir Arthur Haslerig, well knowing that in a free commonwealth no man ought to be trusted with too great power, and especially such as had made very ill use of it before, prevailed with the parliament to declare, that they would not create any more general officers than those that were so already; which method they took, that they might not seem to put a negative upon him in particular. The lieutenant-general having attained his end in the first motion, was encouraged to move again, that seeing the house had not thought fit to do as he had proposed, they would be pleased to present the sum of five hundred or a thousand pounds to colonel Lambert, as a mark of their favour, to be conferred on him in consideration of his late service. This proposition was most willingly entertained, Sir Arthur Haslerig concurring with those who were for the greater sum, which was paid to him accordingly. But the parliament's refusal to gratify him with the title before-mentioned, was aggravated to that degree, that he, together with many officers more amongst whom he had an interest, became most implacable enemies to the parliament. In the mean time, a committee was sent to examine Sir George Booth in the Tower, touching the design wherein he had been engaged, and the persons that had promised to join with him. He confessed to have received a commission from the king, and that many of the nobility and gentry had promised to appear with him, whereof he discovered some, and desired more time to recollect himself concerning others.

During these transactions, I had endeavoured as well as I could, to dispatch those affairs in Ireland which were intrusted to my care. I had delivered out new commissions to the officers there, and had disposed of several commands, that were either vacant by the refusal of some to take the engagement enjoined by the parliament, or in the hands of persons disaffected to the government. I had furnished the garisons with provisions and ammunition for three months, and settled a militia in each county as considerable as the army itself, consisting for the most part of men that had experience, and had readily engaged to be true and faithful to the commonwealth. This work was attended with many difficulties; for I found divers of the officers guilty of habitual immoralities, many of them accustomed to detain the pay of the private soldiers, and most of them debauched in their principles by the late usurpation of the Cromwels. I endeavoured to clear the army of such as were most guilty, and thereby hoped to reform the rest. I also appointed fit persons to inquire into the principles and practices of the private soldiers, as well horse as foot; an

upon full information, diſmiſſed ſuch as appeared incorrigible, and placed others in the room of them, of whom we had better hopes, together with as many of thoſe as we could find, who had been caſhiered on account of their affection to the parliament.

Upon the news of our ſucceſs againſt Sir George Booth, colonel Lockart our ambaſſador at the Pyrenean treaty, began to be courted by the Spaniard, as he had been before by the French; and our plenipotentiaries met with good ſucceſs in their mediation for an agreement between the two northern crowns; and the Dutch not daring to attempt what they had deſigned for the king of Denmark, the two kings were in a fair way to a peace, tho' the king of Sweden had expreſſed his diſcontent, that the two commonwealths ſhould form conditions to be impoſed upon crowned heads. But being told by colonel Algernon Sidney, that the friendſhip of England was not to be obtained on any other terms, he ſeemed to acquieſce. But to return from my digreſſion.

In the month of September, 1659. a petition came to my hands, that had been addreſſed to the parliament, from the officers of the brigade which was commanded by colonel Lambert, and ſigned from Darby; wherein they aſperſed the parliament for not endeavouring to ſuppreſs the late rebellion with ſuch vigour as the ought, for not puniſhing thoſe who had been engaged in it, and for not rewarding the officers who had defeated the enemy. They preſſed for a ſettlement of the government after their own mode, in a repreſentative of the people, and a ſelect ſenate. And for the better diſcovery of their arbitrary deſigns, they demanded that lieutenant-general Fleetwood might be made commander in chief of the army, without any limitation of time; colonel Lambert appointed major-general, colonel Deſborough lieutenant-general of the horſe, and colonel Monk major-general of the foot. To which they added, that no officer of the army ſhould be diſmiſſed from his command, unleſs by a court-martial. Copies of this petition were ſent by colonel Zanchey into Ireland, accompanied with letters to deſire that it might be communicated to the officers there, and their concurrence procured. Being ſenſible of the ill effects that might ariſe from this wicked attempt, if it ſhould ſucceed according to their hopes, amongſt the officers in Ireland, I ſummoned as many of them as were quartered near Dublin, to meet there; and being met, I endeavoured to convince them of the deformity and hazard of this deſign of the army, deſiring them to remember how ſucceſsful they had been whilſt they contained themſelves within their proper ſtation, and how all their attempts had miſcarried when they intermedled with thoſe things that did not belong to them; and that they would not forget how well the army had been paid as long as the parliament had the management of affairs, and how much they had been in arrears ſince that time. I ſhewed them that the parliament could not fail of coming to a ſpeedy determination touching the ſettlement of a juſt and equal government, ſince they had declared that a period ſhould be put to their ſitting in the month of May next following: that the nation would never endure to be governed by the ſword: that it was a meer calumny to ſay, that the parliament had not contributed their endeavours towards the ſuppreſſion of the late tumults; for nothing could have been attempted againſt the enemies but by their orders: that it was manifeſt they had gratified thoſe that had been inſtrumental in that ſervice, having freely given the ſum of a thouſand pounds to colonel Lambert, and two hundred pounds to lieutenant-colonel Duckenfield; and that no private ſoldier, who had been concerned

cerned in that action, might remain unrewarded, they had given the personal estate of Sir Thomas Middleton, amounting to about three thousand pounds, to be distributed amongst them. I endeavoured to perswade them, that the commission granted to lieutenant-general Fleetwood was as full and ample as could justly be desired, he being thereby appointed to continue in his command till the parliament should find cause to the contrary: that if they had refused to make more general officers, it was because they knew it to be unnecessary and dangerous; and that colonel Lambert, without the title of major-general, had done as good service as if he had been graced with that addition. Then the council of officers entered upon the debate of the heads of the petition from point to point, and after mature deliberation unanimously declared their dislike of it, and their resolutions to acknowledge the supreme authority of the nation to be in the parliament, and to stand by them in the prosecution of the common cause wherein they had been employed. And because a petition to that effect could not be immediately drawn, I sent away the said resolutions that very day to Sir Arthur Haslerig, with a promise of a farther declaration as soon as possible, resolving not to neglect this opportunity, out of a belief that our proceedings might be of use, as well to encourage our friends, as to discourage our enemies in England. It may be observed, that in this conjuncture colonel Monk sent also letters to the parliament, declaring his resolution not to join in the dangerous counsels of the army; but to keep the officers that were under his command within the rules of modesty and obedience.

The army, not unmindful of their grand design, perswaded some of their friends in the parliament, to move for an order to continue alderman Ireton, then mayor, and one of their confidents, in that office for the next succeeding year. And the parliament seemed at the first inclined to grant their request, having perceived great discontents amongst the citizens of London at the time of the late insurrections: but the spirit of sedition being much allayed since the suppression of the rebels, the city petitioned the parliament to permit them the enjoyment of their privilege to elect their mayor, promising to employ that favour, and all that they had, for their service. Whereupon they were permitted to proceed in that affair according to custom; and Sir Thomas Allen, a man of a moderate spirit, being chosen, they invited the parliament and chief officers of the army to a splendid entertainment at dinner.

By this time I had almost compleated a list for new-modelling the army in Ireland, in order to be presented to the committee of nominations; and thinking it necessary, before my departure for England, to remove such persons as gave the greatest cause of suspicion, I filled their places with those, in whom I might best confide, and who had given evident proof of their affection to the publick. There remained another business of the greatest importance, and wherein I found it difficult to come to a resolution, and that was to appoint a person to command the forces in Ireland in my absence. My inclinations led me to lodge that power with the commissioners of the parliament: but lieutenant-general Fleetwood pressed me so earnestly against it, that I was prevailed with to lay aside that thought. 'Tis probable that the lieutenant-general was unwilling to have it discovered, that such an office might be managed by more than one, lest it should tend to the diminution of his own power, he being commander in chief of the forces in England and Scotland. But the parliament having made no distinction amongst the colonels by any superior

titles, I was much embaraſſed how to proceed. Colonel Zanchey was the eldeſt colonel, and moſt earneſtly deſired the imployment; but when I conſidered his carriage in the contriving, abetting and promoting that baſe petition, lately ſent from Darby by the officers of the army to the parliament, as I mentioned before, I could not think him to be a man proper for ſo great a truſt. Sir Hardreſs Waller had been major-general of the foot, one of the late king's judges, and of good ability and experience in war: but he having complied with every party that had been uppermoſt; and eſpecially having not yet received the parliament's confirmation for the regiment he commanded, I durſt by no means intruſt him with the command of the intire forces. After much deliberation, I reſolved, as the beſt expedient I could find, to nominate colonel John Jones to command the forces of Ireland in my abſence; he being a member of parliament, one of the late king's judges, and one of the commiſſioners of parliament for the adminiſtration of the civil government in Ireland: by virtue of which qualifications, I hoped he might be approved by the parliament, acceptable to the officers of the army, and ſtedfaſt in the defence of the common cauſe. Having taken this reſolution, and being willing to keep a good correſpondence with the army in England, I informed lieutenant-general Fleetwood with my intentions, deſiring, that if he approved my choice, he would procure the parliament to be moved to give their approbation. But he having, it ſeems, caſt off his reſpect to the parliament, returned me in anſwer, that I was ſufficiently authorized in my commiſſion, to conſtitute one to command in chief during my abſence; and that I had made, in his opinion, a very good choice. All this while, I had not acquainted colonel Jones with my reſolution touching him, nor intended to do it till the time of my departure drew near, and till I had prepared the officers of the army to give him their aſſiſtance in the execution of his charge. To this end I diſcourſed with Sir Hardreſs Waller, and freely told him the reaſons why I had not appointed him to command in chief, aſſuring him, that I had committed that imployment to one of the commiſſioners of the parliament, in a great meaſure out of reſpect to him, that I might not be obliged to lodge it with colonel Zanchey, who tho' he was a younger officer, yet being the firſt that was commiſſionated by the parliament, expected it of courſe. Sir Hardreſs ſeemed well ſatisfied with what I had ſaid, and promiſed his hearty aſſiſtance to colonel Jones. There was no neceſſity to labour ſo much, to give ſatisfaction to Sir Charles Coote in this particular: for he ſeemed to aim at nothing more than to keep his government in Connaught, of which province he was preſident by act of parliament, and to have his regiment of foot and troop of horſe continued to him. I aſſured him of my endeavours, that all thoſe things might be confirmed to him by the parliament, in hopes that he would imploy them in the defence and preſervation of that authority, under which he had done ſo many ſervices, and from whom he had received ſo many marks of favour. This he promiſed to do, and added, that he was fully convinced that his intereſt was wholly involved in the preſervation of the parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had oppoſed the late king in his arbitrary deſigns, ſo he would continue to act in conformity to thoſe actions, well knowing that if the ſon ſhould happen to prevail, the Engliſh intereſt would be loſt in Ireland; and the Iriſh reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands, according to an agreement paſſed between them. So having given me theſe aſſurances, he took his leave, in order to return to his government.

The petition before-mentioned that had been agreed on by the officers of the army at Darby, coming to the knowledge of the parliament, with the endeavours that were used to procure subscriptions to it; some, who knew it to be a contrivance of colonel Lambert, moved that he might be sent to the Tower: and it had been well, either that the motion had better succeeded, or that it had never been made. But it ended only in passing a vote to disapprove the petition and the proceedings thereupon, and to require lieutenant-general Fleetwood to send letters to all parts to obstruct any farther progress therein. One of the said letters was sent to Ireland, which, in effect, was answered before it came, we having drawn up a petition in consequence of our vote, which I mentioned before; wherein, after we had asserted our cause, desired a just and equal magistracy, and the reformation of such things as should be found amiss in church and state, we assured the parliament of our readiness to lay down our lives in their service, and in the prosecution of those great ends. This affair being dispatched, colonel Lawrence, who, I am perswaded, was accessary to the design carried on at Wallingford-house, suspecting that whilst I staid in Ireland, the army there could not be wrought upon by that faction, advised me to hasten my departure, telling me, that Ireland being now settled, I might do more good in England, where my assistance might be wanted. I suspected not the sincerity of his counsel, and having divers reasons to move me to it, I prepared myself for my journey, and, with much difficulty, prevailed with serjeant Steel, who had supplied the place of chancellour during the usurpation, to remain in Ireland, tho' he earnestly desired to go over with me about some affairs relating to his office: but I thought it might prove too great a discouragement to our friends, if we should both leave them together, and therefore promised him to endeavour, that nothing might pass the parliament relating to the courts of justice in Ireland, till he should be heard concerning it. These things done, I acquainted colonel Jones with my resolution, who after some expressions of modesty and gratitude accepted the imployment, and promised to apply himself, with all possible fidelity and diligence, to the discharge of it. Upon which promise and acceptance, I went to the commissioners, and desired their approbation. But colonel Thomlinson, who was one of them, either from a belief that I had not power to constitute a deputy, or resenting that he was not the person, or at least joined in the commission with colonel Jones, moved the rest of the commissioners not to intermeddle in that affair, tho' without effect. For it was carried against his opinion at the board, and colonel Jones approved, in virtue of a clause in my commission, authorizing me to depute whom I thought fit for leading and conducting the army. In consequence of this, they passed an order to confirm my choice, and to require all colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and other inferior officers, &c. to yield obedience to him, in the execution of the commission which he had received from me. Then I called a council of officers, and informed them that the commissioners of parliament and myself had impowered colonel John Jones, of whose fidelity to the publick, and peculiar affection to them, they had large experience, to command the army during the time that their service might detain me in England; desiring them to afford him the best of their assistance in the execution of that trust, which they unanimously promised to do. Before my departure, the mayor and aldermen of Dublin having formed the militia of that place, whereof both officers and soldiers had taken the engagement, they were desirous to give some publick expression of their

fection to the commonwealth; and to that end, on the day I deſigned to imbark, they drew their forces into the field, conſiſting of about twelve hundred foot, and one hundred and twenty horſe, that I might view them, and report to the parliament their readineſs to ſerve the publick. Accordingly, the commiſſioners in their coaches, and I, with the officers of the army, on horſeback, took a view of them, as they were drawn up on the College-green, being all very well equipped, and drawn up in good order, and indeed ſo exact in the the performance of their exerciſe, that one would have thought them to have been long in the ſervice. Here they repeated their reſolutions to ſerve the cauſe of God and their country, with the utmoſt of their endeavours, and promiſed to live and die with us in the aſſertion of our juſt rights and liberties. When they had finiſhed their exerciſe, I took leave of each officer at the head of his reſpective company, and went that evening to my houſe at Monck-town, in order to imbark for England. The commiſſioners of the parliament did me the honour to accompany me about half a mile out of town, and the officers of the army would have attended me to my houſe. But becauſe it was late, I would not permit Sir Hardreſs Waller and the reſt of the officers to go further than half way. The next day, after I had ſigned ſuch commiſſions and orders as I thought neceſſary, and was ready to go on board, colonel Jones, Sir Hardreſs Waller, with moſt of the officers about Dublin, and my good friend chief juſtice Cook, came down to me, and accompanied me to the ſea-ſide, where we took leave of each other, with mutual recommendations to the direction and protection of almighty God. The next day I arrived in the road without the bay of Beaumaris, and there meeting with ſome veſſels coming from Cheſter, I inquired of them if the Iriſh brigade were yet put to ſea for Ireland, having been aſſured that the council of ſtate had given orders for their tranſportation. They informed me, that the ſaid brigade had lain long at the water-ſide, in order to imbark, and had prepared many veſſels to that end; but that all the ſhips were now diſcharged, upon orders received from colonel Zanchey for thoſe forces to march for London. This information gave me occaſion to ſuſpect what was ſoon after confirmed to me: for at my arrival in the bay, which was in the evening, the governour of Beaumaris and another officer came to me on board, and informed me that the army had offered violence a ſecond time to the parliament, and reſumed the power into their hands. This aſtoniſhing news put me into a doubt, whether I ſhould return to my command in Ireland, or continue my journey to London. On the one hand, I conſidered that thoſe who were under my particular care and conduct being in Ireland, my preſence might be neceſſary amongſt them, to excite them to the performance of their duty. On the other ſide, when I called to mind that I had done as much as I could to ſecure their ſervice to the parliament, that I had brought a declaration from them to that purpoſe, and left the chief command in the hands of a perſon, that had great reaſons to move him to be faithful in his charge, I was inclined to go forward in my journey. And when I conſidered the miſchiefs likely to follow, upon a breach between the parliament and army, which I concluded would inevitably prove the ruin of both; and that it was not impoſſible that I might contribute ſomething towards a reconciliation: in concluſion, knowing that in my way I ſhould have an opportunity of conferring with the Iriſh brigade, I reſolved to continue my journey; and the next morning, as I paſſed the ferry at Conway, I perceived a perſon riding poſt towards us, who coming

ing nearer, appeared to be one colonel Barrow, dispatched from the council of officers at London, with a message to me and the rest of the officers in Ireland, to give us an account of their proceedings, and what satisfaction they could concerning them. He delivered to me two letters, one from the council of officers directed to me, and to be communicated to the army in Ireland: the other from lieutenant-general Fleetwood to myself. In that from the officers, they endeavoured to put the best gloss they could upon their late action, pleading the force of necessity in their excuse, and protesting to improve every opportunity to promote the publick good, with this expression inserted, "That they had been necessitated to obstruct the sitting of the parliament for the present." That from lieutenant-general Fleetwood was much to the same purpose, desiring me to exercise my charity to them, and labouring to clear his own integrity in the late transaction. Colonel Barrow also endeavoured to perswade me, that the parliament had on many occasions manifested such a spirit of imposition, as was become intolerable; that they had designed to ruin their most antient and best friends; and that the officers had taken the power into their own hands, only to imploy it to the full satisfaction of all honest men. I told him, that tho' I should be extremely glad to see it so imployed, yet when I considered how grosly the nation had been formerly abused under the same pretences, I had not the least expectation of it, being well informed, that all their discontents had no other foundation, than the experience they had, that the parliament would not permit the officers of the army to be their superiors, and the sword to tyrannize over the civil power. After I had spent about an hour with colonel Barrow, in conversation touching this affair, I found no cause to alter my resolution concerning my journey, but was rather confirmed in my opinion, that my endeavours to adjust the differences between the parliament and army might prove successful; and therefore, having perused the letter from the officers at London, which was to be communicated to those in Ireland, I delivered it again to colonel Barrow, with another for colonel Jones, wherein I desired him to take all possible care, that the common enemy might not be able to take advantage from this sad conjuncture, to disturb the publick peace. Then I proceeded in my journey towards Chester, and being arrived within three miles of that town, I found the officers of horse belonging to the Irish brigade, who gave themselves the trouble to wait my coming, and accompanied me to the city, where the foot were drawn up, and had lined the streets to the place where I was to lodge. The next day being Sunday, I staid there, and taking that occasion to speak with the officers of the said brigade, together with colonel Croxton governour of Chester, I told them freely my thoughts concerning the late precipitate enterprize of the army, and, as I was able, endeavoured to convince them of the imprudence and injustice of it; delivering for my opinion, that the late address, contrived at Darby, had given birth to this unnatural attempt, as it was itself the offspring of pride and ambition: that it was apparent the army had not put this affront upon the parliament for having omitted the performance of their duty in relation to the publick, but meerly on account of themselves and their own private interest, having expressed their resentment in the most outrageous manner against the parliament, for not advancing some officers of the army to such powers and titles as had formerly proved fatal to the government; tho' they might have seen by the late success of colonel Lambert, that victory is not entailed upon empty titles.

During

During this conference there was not one word ſaid in excuſe of the late horrid act committed by the Wallingford-houſe party, but only by one captain Winckworth a creature of colonel Zanchey; all the reſt ſeeming to be convinced of the truth of what I had ſaid, affirming that they had been ſurprized, and prevailed upon to ſign it, without having ſufficiently weighed the conſequences it might produce. In particular lieutenant-colonel Walker, the chief officer then upon the place, aſſured me, that it being ſuddenly preſented to him with a letter from colonel Zanchey, he had too haſtily ſigned it; but after better conſideration, he had reſolved to ſtop the paper at the poſt-houſe, which he had done if it had not been diſpatched away ſooner than he expected.

WHILST I was at Cheſter there came a meſſenger from the officers of the army at London with letters for thoſe in Ireland, which he preſented to me, as they were directed. Upon the peruſal of them I found my former ſuſpicions juſtified, and that the army would be contented with nothing leſs than to have the government eſtabliſhed in a court-martial. To this end they had agreed that lieutenant-general Fleetwood ſhould be commander in chief of all the forces of the commonwealth, colonel Lambert major-general of the army, colonel Deſborough lieutenant-general of the horſe, colonel Monk major-general of the foot; and that all officers of the army who ſhould by their ſubſcriptions teſtify their ſubmiſſion to this agreement, ſhould be confirmed in their commands, from thence never to be diſcharged, unleſs by a court-martial: that all officers to be preſented to any command that ſhould be vacant by diſmiſſion, death, or otherwiſe, ſhould be nominated by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, major-general Lambert, colonel Deſborough, colonel Berry, myſelf, or any three of us; and to receive their commiſſions from lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who alſo was to grant new ones to thoſe that were already poſſeſſed of any military command. We were informed alſo by this meſſenger, that the council of officers had agreed upon one and twenty perſons, with whom they pretended to intruſt the adminiſtration of all civil affairs, under the title of a "committee of ſafety," reſolving to obey them ſo long as they would do what ſhould be preſcribed to them. This number, tho' filled up with men of almoſt all parties, yet was ſo craftily compoſed, that the balance was ſufficiently ſecured to thoſe of their own faction. The names of the committee were as followeth; lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Lambert, colonel Deſborough, Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, the lord Warriſton, colonel Titchburn, commiſſioner Whitlock, colonel Berry, Mr. Walter Strickland, colonel Hewetſon, Mr. Cornelius Holland, Sir James Harrington, alderman Ireton, colonel Sydenham, Mr. ſerjeant Steel, Mr. Henry Brandriff, colonel Monk, Sir Gilbert Pickering, one perſon more, and myſelf. Notwithſtanding all this bad news, I reſolved to purſue my journey; and having viewed the caſtle of Cheſter, exhorted the officers of the Iriſh brigade to perſiſt in their reſolutions of fidelity to the parliament, and written to the officers in Ireland to the ſame purpoſe, I departed from thence on Monday about noon, the ſtreets being lined with ſoldiers as at my arrival. The horſe accompanied me about three miles on my way, and there I found another troop waiting to attend me to Whitchurch, where I lay that night. But the next morning having permitted them to accompany me about a mile from the town, I diſmiſſed them with thanks for their affection, and extremely pleaſed to be freed from ſuch ceremonies, admiring how it ſhould come to paſs that ſo many men delight in numerous and magnificent

train,

trains, which, besides the trouble it puts others to, must necessarily render those for whose service they are designed, less useful and easy to themselves. At Coventry I found some of the forces that had been in the service of the king of France, and lately brought to England by order of the parliament, upon the insurrection of Sir George Booth's party. I discoursed with the officers concerning their duty in this conjuncture, and exhorted them to continue stedfast in their obedience to the parliament, which they promised to do. The next night I lay at Northampton, and was informed by some passengers who came from London, that colonel Monk had declared against the late proceedings of the army. Which news was so welcome that I could not give intire credit to it, till it was confirmed to me the next night at Dunstable, and the day after by my wife, who came to meet me at St. Albans. Being arrived at London, I went to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who endeavouring to persuade me to go into a council of officers that was then assembled at Wallingford-house, to consider of letters brought from colonel Monk, I desired to be excused from intermeddling in their consultations, being very ill satisfied with their proceedings, accounting them to be founded upon a selfish bottom, and therefore not likely to produce any good to the publick. He requested me to put a charitable construction on their actions, making solemn protestations of his own integrity, and adding, That whatsoever opinion I might have conceived of them, I should certainly find that Monk's intentions were neither sincere nor honest. To which I replied, That tho' I knew not what designs he might have to carry on, yet it ought to be confessed that his publick declaration had a better appearance than theirs, who demanded nothing less than a government by the sword. By him and others whom I conversed with, I was fully acquainted with the grounds and causes of this second violence offered to the parliament, which had been designed soon after their restitution, when the grandees of the army perceived they would not be governed by them; and had been more speedily put in execution, if the late tumults of the cavaliers and presbyterians had not caused it to be put off till they were suppressed. The parliament on their part being sensible of their danger, were not wholly negligent of the means to prevent it; tho' I cannot say they gave no advantages to the faction of the army, by disgusting the sectarian party, and falling in with the corrupt interests of the lawyers and clergy, wherein the army did not fail to outbid them when they saw their time. But Sir Arthur Haslerig supposing that a conjunction with these men would contribute much to deter the officers from any attempt against the parliament, closed with them, and thereby dissatisfied many of the commonwealth-party. Neither did it a little contribute to this disorder, that Sir Arthur, who took upon him to be the principal manager of affairs in parliament, was a man of a disobliging carriage, sower and morose of temper, liable to be transported with passion, and to whom liberality seemed to be a vice. Yet to do him justice, I must acknowledge, that I am under no manner of doubt concerning the rectitude and sincerity of his intentions. For he made it his business to prevent arbitrary power wheresoever he knew it to be affected, and to keep the sword subservient to the civil magistrate. To this end he had procured many officers to be chosen into the army, with whom he hoped to balance that faction that appeared every day more and more amongst them. He had recommended colonel Fitz to the parliament for lieutenant of the Tower, and took care on all occasions to oblige colonel Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland. He presumed upon the fidelity of the

fleet and forces in Ireland, on account of the paſt ſervices of thoſe that commanded them, and their former oppoſition to the uſurpation of Cromwel. He had procured a guard of choſen horſe commanded by major Evelyn, to attend the parliament, and was aſſured of colonel Morley's regiment, with thoſe of colonel Hacker, colonel Okey, and ſome others that lay in or near the town. In the mean time the officers at Wallingford-houſe had not been idle, and accounting it lawful for them to do whatſoever they had power to do, they agreed on that petition which I mentioned before to have been ſent from Darby, and privately ſent it down thither to be ſigned and diſperſed, and then to be returned to London, as if it had been drawn at Darby, and by no means to be preſented to the parliament, unleſs it were firſt approved by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and ſigned, at his recommendation, by the officers about London. The lieutenant-general having received this pernicious paper, being one morning at a committee in the ſpeaker's chamber before the houſe was ſat, ſhewed it to Sir Arthur Haſlerig, acquainting him how it came to his hands, pretending his diſlike of it, and a reſolution to put a ſtop to it. Sir Arthur ſaid not much to him concerning it, either ſuſpecting him to be in the plot, or thinking that if ſpeedy care were not taken, it would be paſt all remedy: and therefore procured the ſpeaker immediately to take the chair, and to ſend for the members from the committee into the houſe. Which being done, he obtained an order for ſhutting the door, and bringing the keys to the table, alledging that the buſineſs which he had to impart to the parliament required that care. Then he communicated to them the petition itſelf, which being read, he aggravated the heinouſneſs of the attempt, and moved that colonel Lambert, who commanded that part of the army amongſt whom it was ſaid to have had its beginning, might be accuſed of high treaſon, and committed to the Tower; and that one major Creed and colonel Zanchey might alſo be taken into cuſtody. The major part of the houſe, finding their very being ſtruck at by this combination, ſeemed very ready to agree with thoſe who were the moſt zealous for the ſuppreſſion of it. But the lieutenant general affirming, that, according to the beſt of his information, the petition had been begun and carried on by the inferiour officers of the brigade, without the knowledge or conſent of colonel Lambert: that it was not to have been preſented to the parliament without the approbation of himſelf, and the reſt of the officers about London; and that he had taken a reſolution to ſuppreſs it; the houſe inclined to more gentle methods, and contented themſelves with paſſing a vote, to expreſs their diſlike of the ſaid petition, requiring thoſe of the army to forbear any farther proſecution of it, and commanding lieutenant-general Fleetwood to iſſue out his letters to that effect to the ſeveral quarters of the army, which he did accordingly. But for all this a council of officers was ſummoned to meet at Wallingford-houſe; and tho' it was pretended to be only in order to declare their acquieſcence in the reſolution of the parliament, yet the officers fell into debates of the utmoſt rage and madneſs, colonel Lambert, who was preſent, ſitting ſtill as a perſon altogether unconcerned, and not reproving them in the leaſt for their exceſſes. The reſult of all was, that a committee of the council of officers was directed to prepare an addreſs to the parliament, wherein, after the ſpecious promiſes of obedience, they deſired that thoſe who ſhould hereafter miſinform the houſe, as had been done in their caſe, might undergo the cenſure of the parliament: that a commander in chief might be conſtituted without limitation of time: that no officer might be diſ-

placed

placed unless by a court-martial: that the act of indemnity might be enlarged: that the revenue of Mr. Richard Cromwel might be augmented, and that his debts might be paid; with other particulars, most of which were as absurd for the army to ask, as for the parliament to grant. However, the parliament being willing to leave no means unattempted that might give satisfaction to the army, taking hold of that clause in the address wherein they had promised obedience, gave them thanks for their affection expressed therein, and promised to take the particulars of the petition into their speedy and serious consideration, to do therein according to justice, and as far as they could to their satisfaction. In pursuance of this promise the parliament proceeded to the consideration of the several parts of the address, and had made a good progress in it, when colonel Okey communicated to them a letter subscribed by colonel Lambert, colonel Desborough, colonel Berry, colonel Clerk, colonel Barrow, who were of a committee nominated by the council of officers, which had been sent to him to encourage subscriptions to the petition lately read in the house. By which proceeding it was manifest, that they intended the petition to be the ground on which they designed to unite the army against the civil authority. The parliament finding that the ways of compliance which they had been taking served only to encourage the army to mutiny and rebellion, resolved upon sharper counsels. And to that end, having caused the door of the house to be locked, and fully informed themselves of the matter of fact, they voted the commissions of those who had subscribed the said letter to be void. They voted the commission of lieutenant-general Fleetwood to be void also, and placed by an act the power of commander in chief of all the forces in England and Scotland in the seven following persons, viz. lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Monk, Sir Arthur Haslerig, colonel Walton colonel Morley, colonel Overton, and me. Then they caused the speaker to demand of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who was present in the house, if he would submit to this resolution of the parliament; to which he answered, that he would. They also declared, that no tax should be laid or levied upon the people, unless by act of parliament, under the penalty due to those that are guilty of high treason. This business, tho' carried with as much privacy as it could be, yet came to the notice of the officers without doors, who being surprized at the resolution of the parliament, and convinced that the least delay might prove dangerous, used all possible diligence in drawing together their party, and preparing themselves for their designed work.

In the mean time the parliament ordered the regiments of colonel Morley and colonel Moss to march forthwith to Westminster for their security, and sent for the rest of the troops that were about the town to draw down to them also with all convenient speed. In pursuance of which order colonel Okey endeavoured to bring down his regiment of horse, but the greatest part of them deserted him. For most of the old officers whom Cromwel had by his example corrupted with the horrid vices of ambition and treachery, found it easy to delude the inferior officers and private soldiers, who had either utterly forgot their trades, or were unwilling to return to an industrious life, into a compliance with any design, in order to get a living. Colonel Lambert was the person that made the first attempt against the parliament's guard, endeavouring at the head of a party of horse to break in upon that part where colonel Morley was posted with his regiment.

ment. But the colonel advancing, and aſſuring him, that if he perſiſted, he would fire upon him, Lambert anſwered, "I will then go the other way," which he did, after he had given order to block up the avenues by the Mill-bank with carts and other impediments, to prevent the guards of the parliament from ſallying out upon them by that way. The army had alſo placed a party of theirs in King-ſtreet, and in the church-yard near the Abby, ſome of colonel Morley's regiment having already poſſeſſed themſelves of the Old palace-yard. In this poſture they continued all night. The next morning that guard of the army which lay in the church-yard advanced with one major Grimes at the head of them towards thoſe of colonel Morley's regiment, who were in the Palace-yard: of which motion the colonel being informed, drew out thoſe that he had with him, and haſtned to their relief. Both parties being come within piſtol-ſhot, and each of them ready to fire, thoſe of the army began to invite colonel Morley's men to go over to them, deſiring them to remember that they had hitherto fought together, and that it was unreaſonable now to become enemies. In like manner colonel Morley's party endeavoured to perſuade thoſe of the army to join with them in the defence of the parliament, who, they ſaid, had been always ſucceſful in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, and to whom the officers of the army had ſo lately promiſed obedience, when they received their laſt commiſſions: who had always taken effectual care for their conſtant pay, and who were the only authority that could do ſo for the future. The chief officers at length interpoſing, it was agreed, that both parties ſhould for the preſent retire to their former ſtations. On the other ſide colonel Lambert being advanced near that party which was commanded by colonel Moſs, demanded of them if they would ſuffer nine of their old officers, who had ſo often ſpent their blood for them and with them; to be diſgraced and ruined with their families. The colonel anſwered, that tho' that ſhould be the caſe, yet it were much better that nine families ſhould be deſtroyed, than the civil authority of the nation trampled under foot, who deſigned not the ruin of any, but only to remove from their commands nine officers, who by their ſeditious carriage had rendered themſelves unworthy of that truſt. But colonel Lambert's oratory was more prevalent with the perſon that commanded the parliament's guard of horſe, who perceiving that divers of his men had left him and revolted by the treacherous perſuaſions of one Cathneſs his lieutenant, diſmounted in the head of his troop at the command of Lambert. Some of colonel Moſs his regiment went off alſo, each party uſing their rhetorick to bring over as many as they could. On the other part ſome came over to the parliament's party, and particularly three intire companies of colonel Sydenham's regiment. But at laſt the army gained their point, and placed guards both by land and water, to hinder the members of parliament from approaching the houſe, tho' Sir Peter Wentworth being rowed by a crew of able watermen, broke through their guard on the river, and got into the houſe. In the mean time the ſpeaker endeavouring to paſs in his coach through the guards of the army, was ſtopped near the gate of the Palace-yard by lieutenant-colonel Duckenfield; and being demanded whither he was going, the ſpeaker anſwered, to perform his duty at the houſe: then turning himſelf to the ſoldiers, he told them, that he was their general, and expected their obedience. But theſe men having reſolved to deſtroy the civil authority, and to ſet up the ſword in the room of it, forced his coachman to drive back, and as he paſſed by Wallingford-houſe, would have

compelled him to drive in at the gate, telling the speaker, that he must go to lieutenant-general Fleetwood. But the speaker commanded the coachman to drive home: and having told the officers, that if lieutenant-general Fleetwood had any business with him, he might come to his house, they desisted from giving him any farther trouble at that time.

During those disorders, the council of state still assembled at the usual place; and at one of their meetings, colonel Sydenham, who was one of them, made a speech, wherein he endeavoured to justify these proceedings of the army, undertaking to prove that they were necessitated to make use of this last remedy by a particular call of the divine providence. But the lord president Bradshaw, who was then present, tho' by long sickness very weak and much extenuated, yet animated by his ardent zeal and constant affection to the common cause, upon hearing those words, stood up and interrupted him, declaring his abhorrence of that detestable action, and telling the council, that being now going to his God, he had not patience to sit there to hear his great name so openly blasphemed; and thereupon departed to his lodgings, and withdrew himself from publick employment. The army having resolved to finish the work, appointed a select number of persons, consisting for the most part of themselves and their creatures, to have the administration of civil affairs, calling them, as I said before, "A committee of safety:" and knowing that it was of great importance to secure the forces in Ireland and Scotland to their interest, they dispatched colonel Barrow, formerly mentioned, to Ireland, and colonel Cobbet to Scotland, on that design.

The news of this great change being brought to Ireland, was at first received with great sadness and discontent; but after three or four days, when colonel Barrow had given assurances of favour and advancement to divers officers, he easily perswaded many of them, that the army would make use of their power to good ends. Yet so much dissatisfaction remained in the major part of them, that the colonel could not obtain any publick approbation from them of the proceedings of the army in England: only they sent a letter inclosed in one to me, and directed to the council of officers at London, advising them to be very circumspect in their actions, lest they should happen to split, as formerly, upon the rocks of pride and ambition. At the same time, I received letters from Sir Hardress Waller, colonel Cooper, and other officers, to inform me, that those who had the management of affairs in Ireland, endeavoured on all occasions to impose upon them, and therefore earnestly desired my presence there. Colonel Cobbet had not so good success in Scotland: for colonel Monk, who had another part to play, having secured to himself the fidelity of most of his officers who had been with him for many years, and by the particular favour of Sir Arthur Hasserig had not been altered by the committee of nominations, seized colonel Cobbet with some officers that he suspected might oppose his designs, and sent them prisoners into one of the islands. After that, he declared for the parliament, and writ three letters, whereof the first was directed to the speaker, the second to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, the third to colonel Lambert. In that to the speaker, he assured him, that he would expose himself and the forces with him to all hazards for the restitution of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, in obedience to the commission he had received from them. In his letters to the lieutenant-general and colonel Lambert, he endeavoured to perswade them to use their interest and power to restore the parliament, declaring his own resolution in that

matter. I alſo received a letter from him, wherein he acquainted me with his intentions touching the parliament, and deſired my aſſiſtance therein.

In this confuſion of things it was brought about, chiefly by the intereſt of Sir Henry Vane with colonel Lambert, that the ſaid Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, and myſelf, ſhould meet and confer with lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Lambert, colonel Sydenham, and colonel Deſborough, concerning the preſent condition of affairs. Accordingly we met in one of the council-chambers at Whitehall, where colonel Lambert, in the firſt place, demanded of me, If I could give him my hand. I anſwered, That tho', according to my information, his part in the late action appeared to me very unwarrantable; yet if it might make me more capable of ſerving the publick, and recommend my endeavours for the peace of the nation, and the reconciliation of the differences amongſt us, I could not only give him my hand, but my heart alſo. *Then he laboured to juſtify his late proceedings, proteſting that he had* no intention to interrupt the parliament till the time that he did it, and that he was neceſſitated to that extremity for his own preſervation, ſaying, That Sir Arthur Haſlerig was ſo enraged againſt him, that he would be ſatisfied with nothing but his blood. I endeavoured to take him off from that opinion, by telling him, that being aſſured of Sir Arthur's ſincere affection to the commonwealth, I could not think that he would do any thing to the prejudice of thoſe that were friends to it. I told him alſo, that according to my notion of things, the aim and deſign of Sir Arthur Haſlerig was good, even in that matter, which had been the firſt occaſion of difference between them, concerning new titles and powers, which had proved ſo fatal to the parliament in former time, and which he thought very unſafe under an equal and moderate government. I aſſured him, that Sir Arthur had a perſonal reſpect for him, which he had manifeſted on ſeveral occaſions; particularly, I deſired him to remember, that he had prevailed with the parliament to grant him the command of two regiments, and ſided with thoſe members who were for the greateſt ſum to be given him, in acknowledgment of his ſervice in Cheſhire. In concluſion, I told him, that Sir Arthur was well known not to be of an obliging carriage; and therefore, if ever he had been uſed too roughly by him, it would become him to pardon it, and to charge it upon his temper, eſpecially ſince he had not ſpared the beſt of his friends, of which I gave him divers inſtances, ſome of which related to myſelf. After this diſcourſe, the officers declared to us their reſolution to do great things for the publick good, and preſſed us earneſtly to come amongſt them to their committee of ſafety: but we deſired to be excuſed, till ſuch time as the common cauſe might be ſecured to the ſatisfaction of good men, and therefore agreed upon another meeting, wherein this affair might be fully debated. In the mean time, I endeavoured to moderate the warmth of ſome of the parliament-party, and to bring them to deſire a reconciliation with the army, that by that means the publick might be preſerved from ruin; and to this end, a meeting was appointed between Mr. Scot, colonel Morley, Mr. Say, myſelf, and one perſon more, whoſe name I have forgot; where after much debate on that ſubject, I ſhewed them the addreſs which I had brought from all the officers in Ireland, as well general as inferior, to whom it had been tendered, and informed them, that the Iriſh brigade had aſſured me at Cheſter, that they would continue faithful to the parliament, and had acknowledged their error in ſigning the petition

from

from Darby. Hereupon they desired me to publish the address from Ireland, together with what had passed between the Irish brigade and me, supposing it might be of great service in that conjuncture. I told them, I would consider of it, and that for the present I had nothing to object against the publication of those papers, except my fear, that by so doing I might so far exasperate the army, as to render all my offices to reconcile them to the parliament utterly ineffectual. When the company was separated, and Mr. Scot and I going away together, he earnestly pressed me to improve the opportunity, he said, I had in my hands, to be highly serviceable to the publick, which if neglected, I should repent it as long as I had an hour to live. I told him, that I thought he had laid too much weight on my interest: but yet desired him to inform me, what he thought it my duty to do. He said, that I ought by all means to declare against the proceedings of the army, and to join with Monk in opposition to them. I replied, That tho' I knew not what the design of Monk might be, yet I had entertained a charitable opinion of him, by reason of his declaration for the parliament: but that it was my judgment, that if either the parliament or the army should entirely prevail one against the other in this conjuncture, it would hazard the ruin of both; and therefore, I thought myself obliged in duty to use the utmost of my endeavours to bring them to a reconciliation, before I should think of declaring myself. For, as there was no appearance that the army could long subsist without a due provision for their payment, which the parliament only could make to the content of the people, especially since the passing of the vote against levying money unless by their authority; so also it was necessary for the parliament to have the assistance of the army in the great work they had before them, to establish a just and equal government in the nation.

After this I waited on Mr. Lenthal the speaker of the parliament, and gave him also an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and that I had many things to offer to the parliament from that nation, which I hoped speedily to do, when he should return to the chair of the house.; to which end I assured him I would imploy all my interest, being fully convinced of the injustice of the army in the late violence, and that no authority but that of the parliament can render any form of government agreeable to the people. I acquainted him also with the sentiments of the Irish brigade, with all which he declared himself much satisfied; and having given me a relation of his own gallantry towards those of the army that had mutinied against him, as before-mentioned, I took my leave for that time. Some of the council of state writ letters to colonel Monk, to incourage him in his resolutions for the parliament; and lieutenant-general Fleetwood sent one captain Lloyd with an answer to that which he had received from the colonel, and to promise on his part all the advantages that he could desire. Colonel Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, and about six or seven officers more, drew up an answer to Monk's letter directed to me in Ireland, and sent it to me at London for my approbation, together with the letter itself. Having perused both, I perceived a great alteration in many of the officers of Ireland, and a great defection from their duty. For in their answer they manifestly took part with the army, and required Monk to desist from his undertaking, charging the blood that might be shed in this quarrel on his head, with much more to the same effect. With these letters I received others from colonel Cooper and major Warren, complaining of the said breach, and of the hardships which, they said,

ſaid, were put upon them, by thoſe whom I had intruſted with the command of the forces, and earneſtly preſſing me to return to them. I thought myſelf obliged to anſwer theſe letters, and in that to colonel Jones, I expreſſed my diſſatisfaction with what he and ſome others had written to colonel Monk, wherein they had eſpouſed the intereſts of the army, contrary to the truſt they had received from the parliament and me, which thing deſerved the more blame, becauſe the army had as yet declared for no other government than that of a court-martial; whereas colonel Monk, whatever his deſigns might be, had hitherto aſſerted the authority of the parliament. To the ſame purpoſe, I writ to colonel Cooper and major Warren, adviſing them to be careful not to join themſelves to a faction in oppoſition to the civil authority of the nation; and ſent orders to colonel Cooper, who was a good officer, and very acceptable to the beſt ſort of people in the northern parts, to command the forces there, and to be vigilant on all occaſions to promote the publick ſervice: and tho' the letters which had been ſent to Ireland by the council of officers at Wallingford-houſe were for the preſent laid aſide; yet being informed, that endeavours were uſed privately to make them take effect, and to engage thoſe forces to the faction of the army, I went to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and deſired him, that to prevent ſetting the army in Ireland together by the ears, the proceedings in that matter might be let fall, telling him, that if they abſolutely required the officers there to ſubſcribe their confederacy, it would come to paſs that many of them would lay down their commiſſions, and thereby a way would be open to fill their places with corrupt and ſcandalous perſons, who might not only prove the cauſes of great diſorders in that country, but alſo would be ſo fixed in their ſtations, as not eaſily to be removed again, it being one of the articles of their papers, that no officer ſhould be diſplaced but by a court-martial. The lieutenant-general, avowing that he had not foreſeen either of thoſe inconveniencies, promiſed to deſiſt from any farther proſecution of that matter.

In the mean time the officers at Wallingford-houſe were not negligent, and having drawn up an engagement, as I ſaid before, they required thoſe of the army who deſired to continue in their imployments, to ſubſcribe it. By this means, colonel Okey, colonel Morley, colonel Alured, lieutenant-colonel Farley, and divers others who were not of their faction, were removed from their commands; tho' colonel Moſs and colonel Rich were permitted to continue in their charges without ſubſcribing. Colonel Rich was the more willing to retain his regiment, that he might be the better acquainted with the deſigns of the army, and have more opportunities of rectifying the miſtakes of ſuch officers, who, tho' honeſt and well meaning men, yet might happen to be deluded by the plauſible pretences of their ſuperiors. But that which principally perſwaded him to continue amongſt them, was the intereſt and friendſhip which he had with vice-admiral Lawſon, who commanded the Fleet at that time, and who very much depended upon the advice of the colonel for the meaſures he ſhould take to ſerve the publick. Their committee of ſafety alſo nominated lieutenant-general Fleetwood, commiſſioner Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, colonel Tichburn, and me, to conſider of a form of government for the three nations, and to report our opinions to them. And tho' ſome of us were very unwilling to have any part in an affair of this nature, yet ſeeing we were now under the power and government of the ſword, we reſolved to procure the beſt ſettlement we could get, if we could not obtain ſuch a one as we deſired, hoping at leaſt to procure the

regulation of what was most amiss. And therefore we had several meetings on this subject, wherein we agreed upon the principal points in dispute. But the greatest difficulty was in what manner the result of our debates should receive a sanction. The army-party desired, that the forces on foot in the three nations should be drawn together, and that they, with such of the people who would join with them, should give their consent to the form agreed on in a publick assembly. This I could not approve, but resolved, if we could come to any agreement, to procure it to be laid before the parliament for their approbation, or never to assent to it.

During these transactions, colonel Monk having received the answer of colonel Jones, and other officers in Ireland, to the letter he had written to them, and not liking the contents of it, seized major Barret, by whom it was sent; and resolving to march to London with all possible expedition, he fell upon new-modelling his men; wherein he had two notable advantages, the one from divers of his officers, who being of the Wallingford-house party, voluntarily surrendered their commissions to him, whose places he immediately filled with his own creatures: the other from the late act of parliament, whereby he was constituted one of the seven generals appointed to command the army, by virtue of which authority he undertook so to regulate his forces, as might be most for his purpose. Before his departure from Scotland, he procured a sum of money from the Scots, with which he paid his soldiers, and thereby obliged them the more to his service, especially at this time, when they knew the army in England were in want of it, and knew not well how to raise any, having interrupted the civil authority, by whom alone money might rightfully be raised. The army-party being informed of his design, resolved to draw a body of their troops together, to be sent against him, with orders, if possible, to possess themselves of Newcastle, a place of great importance to the city of London, and to fight him, if an opportunity should be offered. Four thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, were appointed for this service, together with the Irish brigade, commanded by colonel Zanchey, who notwithstanding his late carriage, came with great confidence to me to receive my orders; but I was very reserved to him in that particular, knowing how instrumental he had been in promoting the present disorders. The committee of the army intrusted colonel Lambert with the command of these forces, who having dispatched his orders to the soldiery that were quartered in the north to draw together, and to seize on the town of Newcastle, went himself by post for that place. Before his departure, he desired those who had been appointed to consider of a form of government, to proceed in their consultations, and to send the result of them to him, promising to give his assent and approbation to it. But some of us earnestly pressed, that we might come to an agreement before he began his journey, assuring him, that it would very much tend to facilitate his present undertaking, especially if the establishment designed might be so just and equal, that a good man might reasonably adventure his life in the defence of it; whereas, on the contrary, if things were left uncertain, and no form of government agreed upon, men would not easily be perswaded to engage for a party, against those who at least pretended to act for the civil authority. He acknowledged the force of these reasons, but could not be prevailed upon to stay till it should be perfected, tho' he desired it might be sent after him with all possible expedition.

In the mean time, colonel Jones, and thoſe officers who were in and about Dublin, ſent lieutenant-colonel Dobſon to be their agent in England, and to inform them of publick affairs. He had been uſed ill by Oliver, and unjuſtly removed from his command; which being repreſented to me when I was there, I advanced him to be a field-officer: but being a man of ſlender ability, and little acquainted with publick affairs, he was eaſily deluded by the fair pretences of the Wallingford-houſe party, and became their creature, rather than the agent of thoſe that ſent him. And now colonel Jones, deſpairing to prevail upon the council of officers, whilſt together, to ſubſcribe the deſign of governing the three nations by a council of war, diſperſed them to their reſpective quarters, and ſent the Wallingford-houſe paper to be ſubſcribed by them when they could not have an opportunity of conſulting together, accompanied with letters from himſelf to preſs them to it: and having declared openly, that if they refuſed to ſubſcribe, the army in England would find a way to detain the pay that had been aſſigned to them by the parliament; many of thoſe who had ſigned an engagement to the parliament, which I had carried over to England, and therein expreſſed their ſorrow for the interruption of the civil authority, together with their firm reſolution to adhere conſtantly to them for the future, were now brought to ſign an engagement directly contrary to the former. Of which being informed, I thought myſelf obliged to write to colonel Jones, and other officers of the army, and to expoſtulate with them concerning the foulneſs of theſe practices, that were not only contrary to their late ſolemn promiſes, and pretended ſorrow for their former evil compliances, but alſo tending in a high degree to ſet up the power of the ſword upon the ruins of the civil authority. Colonel Jones in his anſwer excuſed himſelf, as not having foreſeen the inconveniencies of the foreſaid paper, affirming that he had only permitted it to be promoted at the inceſſant importunities of others; but yet he expreſſed ſome diſcontent that I ſhould lay ſo heavy a charge upon him, who had undertaken his imployment at my deſire, and had managed it according to the beſt of his underſtanding. He concluded, that he earneſtly deſired I would return to my command, and eaſe him of the burden that was upon him. About the ſame time ſerjeant Steel, one of the commiſſioners in Ireland, being nominated of the committee of ſafety, took that opportunity to go into England, as he had long deſired to do, by whoſe departure the affairs of Ireland ſuffered much, he being generally eſteemed to be a man of great prudence and uncorrupted integrity. At London he refuſed to act in the committee of ſafety; and tho' he ſometimes went to Wallingford-houſe, and diſcourſed with lieutenant-general Fleetwood and ſome others about things relating to a future eſtabliſhment, yet he always declared his opinion to be, that the parliament were the only proper judges of that matter, and uſed the beſt of his endeavours that they might be reſtored to their authority. After his departure, the commiſſioners of the parliament in Ireland fell in with the party of the army, and altered their title in the orders and commiſſions ſigned by them, from that of commiſſioners of the parliament, to that of commiſſioners of the commonwealth; and being informed that the gariſon of Air in Scotland had diſcharged their governour, and declared for Monk, they ordered a ſhip of war to cruize on that coaſt, to prevent their correſpondence with the northern parts of Ireland. Colonel Lambert being now in the north of England, and his forces in poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle, divers meſſages paſt between him and colonel Monk, the latter

always declaring his resolution, as he had done before to the generals commissionated by the parliament, to be assisting to them in settling the government on the foot of a commonwealth, without a king, single person, or house of lords: and seeing that the army had begun to treat with him, he nominated colonel Wilkes, colonel Knight, and lieutenant-colonel Clobery, to be commissioners to adjust the present differences with those of the Wallingford-house party.

The Irish brigade, tho' colonel Zanchey and others endeavoured to perswade them to join heartily with those of the army, had not quite forgot our discourse at Chester, and therefore they resolved not to engage against Monk, till they might see that what they were about to fight for, was worth the hazard they were to run. To this end they signed a paper in the nature of an association, whereby they obliged themselves to live and die together; one of the principal officers informing me by a letter, that if colonel Lambert designed to advance himself, he must chuse another pole to climb by than the Irish brigade, who were fully resolved not to assist him in such an attempt. Lambert being made acquainted with the foresaid paper, concluded that the jealousy they had of him arose from the influence I had upon that brigade, and thereupon wrote to Sir Henry Vane, desiring him to procure a letter from me to them, to remove that prejudice which they had entertained against him. Accordingly Sir Henry Vane came to me, and having assured me that colonel Lambert had rather been made use of by the Wallingford-house party, than that he had been in any manner the principal contriver of the late disorders, and that he would be an impediment to them in their design of advancing a single person, I consented to desire our brigade, that they would be careful to inform themselves well before they should determine what course to take, that they might not, out of a jealousy of one person, contribute to the advancement of others, who might possibly prove to be worse. Upon the receit of my letter, which I sent to one of the principal officers amongst them, to be communicated to the rest, they marched nearer to the forces of colonel Lambert, who thereupon sent me a letter of thanks, acknowledging that I had exercised my charity to him in an extraordinary manner, considering the late transactions; protesting that he designed not the violence that was offered to the parliament, and was wholly innocent from promoting that petition which had a tendency to it; that he knew not of any interruption to be given to the house, till the day it was put in execution; and that he had no further design therein, than to preserve himself from destruction, which he conceived was intended against him. He concluded with assurances, that he would take all opportunities to advance the good of the commonwealth, and desired my friendship no farther than he should act in order to that end.

About this time I went to Sir Arthur Haslerig, whom I knew to be of a most rigid and inflexible spirit, and endeavoured as well as I could to perswade him of the necessity incumbent on us all to lay aside our private animosities, and unite our whole strength to preserve the vessel of the commonwealth from sinking. I desired him to entertain a better opinion of Sir Henry Vane, and some other persons, than he seemed to have, assuring him, that it was impossible to prevent that ruin which threatened us, but by a hearty reconciliation, and a solid union amongst ourselves. I acknowledged his care of the publick, in the endeavours he had used to hinder the accumulation of extraordinary powers and titles upon any person, and to render the sword subservient to the civil magistrate. But

I could not forbear to acquaint him, that in my poor opinion, he had not taken the right way to that great end, having lately eſtranged himſelf from his ancient friends, and fallen in with the lawyers and clergy, putting thoſe, who would have been his principal ſtrength in times of neceſſity, into deſpair of receiving any good from him, and relying upon men whoſe principles and practices are inconſiſtent with a juſt and equal government. I agreed with him, that nothing could recover us from the preſent confuſions, but the reſtitution of the parliament to their authority; tho' I thought myſelf obliged to add, that if he and others ſhould return to the exerciſe of their power, with a ſpirit of revenge againſt thoſe that had wronged them and the publick, and not rather contribute their utmoſt to reconcile all thoſe whoſe intereſts were involved in that of the commonwealth, they would certainly ruin themſelves, and every one that wiſhed well to the parliament and the common cauſe. Sir Arthur ſeemed ſo ſenſible of the truth of what I had ſaid, that he aſſured me, if ever he returned to ſit in parliament, and thereupon ſhewed himſelf revengeful to any man, he would permit me to ſpit in his face. In the mean time, many members of the parliament had frequent meetings with their friends to conſult about the moſt proper means to be uſed for their reſtitution, to which I was never called, they having conceived a ſuſpicion that I had too much ſided with the army. And on the other ſide, thoſe of the army were jealous of me, as indeed they had more cauſe, for my adherence to the parliament. For I had openly declared my diſſatisfaction with their late proceedings, and my doubts of the ſincerity of their proteſtations to improve their power to the publick advantage. I had refuſed to be preſent at their committee of ſafety, or in that of nominations; tho' conſiſting of the ſame perſons the parliament had formerly appointed, excepting only Sir Arthur Haſlerig. And being one day in the next room to that where they uſed to ſit, and lieutenant-general Fleetwood, with others, preſſing me to go in, telling me, that they wanted one to make a quorum, and that the officers to be approved were honeſt men, and ſuch as I eſteemed; yet I utterly refuſed to have any thing to do with them. But Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway did prevail with themſelves to act with them in their committees, and to diſcharge the office of commiſſioners of the navy, to which they had been nominated by the parliament, and continued by the officers of the army.

It being reſolved by the members of parliament to open a way, if poſſible, for their return to the houſe, they prevailed with colonel Whetham, then governour of Portſmouth, to admit Sir Arthur Haſlerig, colonel Walton, and colonel Morley, with ſome forces, into that important place: who thereupon immediately declared for the parliament, and iſſued out orders for more forces to come to their aſſiſtance. They alſo diſpatched letters to Monk to warrant his undertaking, and invited the fleet to join with them. The commiſſioners that had been appointed by colonel Monk to treat with thoſe of the army, had no ſmall part in promoting this diverſion of the forces of the army; yet to colour their deſigns, they endeavoured at the ſame time to lay aſleep the Wallingford-houſe party, and to make them believe that they deſigned nothing more than a good underſtanding with them. By which artifice they cauſed them to neglect thoſe means which they had in their hands to reduce Monk and his party, who were not to be compared with the forces of the army, either in number, experience, or unanimity. For tho' by his ſolemn proteſta-

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tions and publick declaration of his firm resolution to adhere to the parliament and their cause against a king, single person, or house of peers, he had deluded divers of those who were at a distance from him, and who from their enmity to the faction of the army, were ready to trust any that might probably rescue them from that servitude; yet those who approached him nearer, and understood him better, finding him on all occasions to encourage the most vicious, and to prefer men of monarchical principles, tho' of the most scandalous lives, to all the offices that became vacant, saw so clearly into the drift of his design, that most of the officers who had any sense of religion or common honesty abandoned him, and joined themselves to colonel Lambert; and after them about three hundred horsemen, leaving their horses and equipage behind them, did the same. But this proved very prejudicial in the consequence to the publick service. For those officers that deserted Monk gave him an opportunity of filling their commands with his own creatures, whereas if they had continued with him, they might have had a considerable influence upon the whole party, to make use of as opportunities had offered. The horse likewise that abandoned him made room for others, who were mounted and equipped without expence, and composed of such as were fit for his purpose. Yet for all this the treaty went on between him and the army, and seemed to draw near to a conclusion, it being agreed that he should have one part of a sum of money that had been appointed to pay his forces: that he should be one of their committee for the nomination of officers to such places as should be vacant in the army: that a representative of the people should be called with all convenient speed; and to that end commissioners should be appointed by the military power of the three nations, to consider and agree upon the qualifications of such as might be elected, and sit as members. Accordingly, those entrusted by Monk nominated Mr. Scot, Sir James Harrington, and colonel Thompson, on their part: lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, and major Saloway, were appointed for the army or Wallingford-house party; and on the part of the forces in Ireland, colonel Barrow and lieutenant-colonel Dobson were joined with me, to be commissioners to consider of the qualifications of the persons to be elected, as aforesaid. A general council of officers was also appointed to meet at Whitehall on a certain day, and to consist of two persons of each regiment in the three nations, to be chosen by the officers of the several regiments. It was desired also, that the fleet would send their deputies to this assembly, who were to prepare matters for the consideration of the representative that they pretended to call. I was altogether a stranger to these counsels, the articles having been drawn up by a private junto; yet I know not how, I was perswaded to be present when they were read to the council of officers for their approbation, where I absolutely refused to consent to any part of it, except that whereby two of each regiment in the three nations were proposed to meet in a general council. Which I accounted to be the most probable way of finding out the true sense of the armies, into whose hands the power was most unhappily fallen, and much less dishonourable, if not more safe, than to continue longer under the servitude of the faction at Wallingford-house, who had presumed to give law both to the parliament and the army. I cannot omit, that at this meeting some persons having moved that the commissioners from Monk might be required to produce their powers, that it might appear whether he would stand obliged to what should be agreed, they could not be perswaded to shew any orders from him to that

purpoſe; and yet lieutenant-general Fleetwood and his cabinet council were contented to treat with them, tho' they had never ſeen any commiſſion that they had. And now it began to be ſuſpected, that the deſign of Clobery and the reſt of the commiſſioners was only to prolong the treaty, in which they were engaged, that the forces of the army might be kept from attacking Monk, which he was afraid of, having found his own party wavering and doubtful. They well knew, that if they could ſpin out the time in treaty till the expiration of the taxes that had been laid by the parliament, which would happen in the month of January next enſuing, the army would then be driven to great ſtraits for want of money, wherewith Monk's forces had been ſupplied by the Scots. Of this Sir Henry Vane was very ſenſible, and gave both army and parliament for loſt when they began to treat. But the chief officers of the army having already parted with their honeſty, by driving on their own private intereſt, were now reſolved to ſhake hands with their reaſon alſo, and ſent down to Scotland one Dr. Clarges, brother to Monk's wife, and a known loyaliſt, with a commiſſion to perſwade him to an accommodation with them. They diſpatched alſo ſome forces for the reduction of Portſmouth, but gave the command of them to ſuch as were either little acquainted with their ſoldiers, or inclining in their affections to the parliament. And tho' they knew not how to procure money for the payment of their ſtanding army, they raiſed the militia in divers parts, and gave out commiſſions for horſe and foot to be levied, promiſing pay to all. Some of them earneſtly ſolicited me to raiſe two regiments, one of horſe, another of foot; but I told them, they had already as many as they could pay, and I feared more than would be well employed. They endeavoured all this while to keep fair with Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, and me, making large proteſtations of the ſincerity of their intentions, and the great deſigns they had to promote the ſervice of the publick, hoping that by our continuing to come amongſt them, it would come to paſs that thoſe who had a good opinion of us, would extend it alſo to them and their actions. But they were obliged to diſcover themſelves more openly on the following occaſion. The parliament had manifeſted before the laſt interruption, an inclination to eaſe the people of the payment of tithes, and in lieu of them, to appropriate a certain ſum of money for the maintenance and encouragement of the miniſtry, to be diſtributed in a more equal manner than had been formerly practiſed; hoping, if this could be effected, that the clergy would no longer have any other intereſt to promote than that of the whole commonwealth, nor be a diſtinct party from the people. It was well known alſo to the lawyers, that they ſtill retained the deſign of regulating the practice of the law, and relieving the people in that particular. Theſe two parties therefore being equally concerned to perpetuate the abuſes practiſed amongſt them, became equally ſenſible of the common dangers. And in order to prevent it, Whitlock and St. Johns for the lawyers, with Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye for the clergy, who at this time had frequent meetings in the Savoy, entered into a private treaty with the principal perſons of the Wallingford-houſe party, and offered to raiſe a hundred thouſand pounds for the uſe of the army, upon aſſurance of being protected by them in the full enjoyment of their reſpective advantages and profits; with this farther condition, that they ſhould oblige themſelves not to hearken any longer to the advice of Sir Henry Vane. Whereby we were left deſtitute of hope to ſee any other reformation of the clergy than what they themſelves would conſent to,

any other regulation of the law than the chief-justice and the commissioner of the seal would permit, or any more liberty for tender consciences than the lord Warriston would be pleased to grant, who representing the Scotish interest, made up the third estate of our reformation.

I BEGAN now to think all my time lost that I had spent in endeavouring to reconcile our broken and divided counsels, and had no hopes left, but from the general council of officers, which was to consist of two persons to be nominated by each regiment in the three nations, as I said before. In order to this meeting, warrants were signed and issued out for their election to the armies in England and Ireland; and Monk's commissioners departed for Scotland to procure, as they said, all things to be done there according to their agreement. But Monk kept himself upon the reserve, and instead of making good what his commissioners had promised, he desired time to consider of the articles of the treaty, and required an explanation of several particulars therein contained: so that much time was spent in messages between him and Lambert. Amongst others colonel Zanchey was sent to tempt him with promises and offers of advantage; but he having struck a bargain in another place, made use of Zanchey's presence only to keep the army-party in expectation of his compliance, thereby gaining time, which he knew would shortly bring the affairs of the army to the last extremities. He gave out no orders to the regiments that were with him to elect members for the general council of officers, as had been agreed by his commissioners, but formed new difficulties every day to avoid confirming the treaty; and under pretence that colonel Wilkes, one of his commissioners, had too much inclined to the interest of the army, he dismissed him from his command. Notwithstanding which, such folly and stupidity had seized those of the army, that upon loose and general promises of compliance they continued their correspondence with him. The time fixed for the meeting of the general council of officers being come, tho' the deputies from Ireland were not arrived, nor any from the army under colonel Lambert; and tho' it was well known that none were chosen to represent the forces with Monk in Scotland, yet those of Wallingford-house resolved to act as if they had all been present. I had written to some of the officers in Ireland, that if they should take a resolution to send any persons to this council, they would do well to make choice of such as were most inclined to the restitution of the parliament; but that, as to my own particular, I was not willing to have any thing to do amongst them. Notwithstanding which I soon received a letter by the hands of colonel Salmon from the officers in Ireland, to desire me to act for them at the general council; which having imparted to some of my friends, and they concurring to encourage me to it, I would not refuse to serve them. Being in the council, I did what I could to procure the restitution of the parliament, wherein I was much assisted by colonel Rich. Five or six days we spent in a debate concerning the form of government, which had been drawn up, as I said before, expecting the arrival of those that should be chosen for Ireland, Scotland, and the army in the north of England, during which time colonel Rich and I took frequent occasions of informing the officers concerning the publick affairs, desiring them to be cautious of engaging themselves in any design, of which they might have cause afterwards to repent, and exhorting them to contribute their endeavours towards settling such a government as all good men might concur in, and live happily under. We met with such success in our discourses with the officers, that tho' the Walling-

ford-houſe party had influenced the elections as much as they could, and under pretence that the fleet was at too great a diſtance, and divided into too many ſquadrons to be in a capacity of chuſing in due time, had cauſed the committee of the admiralty to nominate whom they pleaſed to ſerve for the fleet, yet they found their wheels to move ſo ſlowly, that to facilitate their buſineſs they were obliged to ſend away divers officers to their commands, under colour that their preſence was neceſſary in their reſpective ſtations, by reaſon of the dangers that threatned them from all parts; when indeed, the true reaſon of their diſmiſſion was taken from the diſſatisfaction they began to ſhew with the proceedings of the chief officers. By theſe and other means it came to paſs that the grandees of the army reſolved to ſpend no more time in the debate touching the form of government, and therefore deſired a conference with Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, who being unwilling to meet them without me, prevailed with me to accompany them to Wallingford-houſe; where lieutenant-general Fleetwood expreſſed great uneaſineſs on account of the publick diſtractions, and deſired them to adviſe him what meaſures to take to remove the preſent difficulties, and to prevent greater miſchiefs which ſeemed impending over us. Theſe gentlemen ſuſpecting the deſigns of Fleetwood and his party, kept themſelves on their guard, and in an ironical manner told him, that the moſt certain way to cure all things would be to ſet up Richard again. "Juſt as I thought," ſaid Fleetwood, "it has happened, that the coming of my Lord Richard to Hampton-Court would give an occaſion of jealouſy," and then proteſted that his removal thither proceeded from himſelf, that he had not been adviſed to it by them, and that they had no intention to ſet him up again. We believed what we thought moſt reaſonable concerning his removal to that place. But to that of his reſtitution, major Saloway aſked them, whether things might not be brought to that paſs as to make it neceſſary, tho' they intended it not? which Fleetwood denying, the major preſſed him farther, and deſired to know from him, if it were not poſſible that the neceſſity of our affairs might oblige us to a compliance with Charles Stuart. Thus they ſtood upon their guard on both parts, not adventuring to truſt one another; that mutual confidence by which they had done ſo much being intirely loſt. However that I might not be wanting on my part, I told them with my uſual freedom, that the reſtitution of the parliament ſeemed to me to be the only remedy to recover us from our preſent diſtempers, and to prevent the fatal conſequences of our diviſions. To this the lieutenant-general anſwered, that according to an agreement made between them and major-general Lambert before his departure, nothing could be done in that matter without mutual conſent; and ſo we parted with as little ſatisfaction on either ſide as we brought with us. From them I went to the council of officers who were then aſſembled, and was much ſurprized to find them debating whether a new parliament ſhould be called, and ready to go to the queſtion; which I doubted not would paſs in the affirmative, having obſerved that it met with little oppoſition, except from colonel Rich. And tho' I had but little hope to obſtruct the deſign, yet that I might diſcharge my duty, I took the liberty to lay before them the injuſtice and vanity of ſuch a reſolution, endeavouring to prove that as they had no authority to warrant them in that attempt, ſo neither would it be of any advantage to the nation if it ſhould ſucceed. I deſired them to conſider how great an enterprize they were about to undertake, without any ſufficient authority to juſtify them in it: that they could not pretend to any

from the parliament, and that it was as evident they had none from the nations, no not from the military part of them, the deputies from Scotland and Ireland being not arrived, nor any from the army in the north of England: that at least one third part of the officers present were against their design; and that it seemed to me to be an unaccountable presumption for two thirds of about a fourth part of the army to undertake to put a period to the civil authority. I endeavoured to persuade them that the design was as vain and foolish as unwarrantable and unjust; for by this means they would utterly disoblige the parliament and all their friends, who were very numerous: that Monk having declared against them already, and the greatest number of their own body disapproving the thing, it would come to pass, that all things would be brought into a miserable confusion; and it may be the common enemy would find means to return and utterly destroy the contending parties. But their resolution being already taken, in consequence of the agreement they had made with the clergy and lawyers, we could obtain no more than a respite of the conclusion of this debate till the afternoon. Going out of the council, I desired colonel Desborough, whose interest I knew to be very great with the rest, that he would desist from the farther prosecution of this design, representing to him, as well as I could, the confusions and mischiefs that would inevitably ensue upon it. To which he answered, that the parliament had deceived them twice, and that they were now resolved to put it out of their power to do it again. In the afternoon the debate was reassumed; and a motion being made that they would take the restitution of the parliament into their consideration, colonel Desborough, to keep his word, did what he could to asperse the parliament, saying, that they had not performed any part of the promises that had been made for them before their first return to the house, having made no provision for the lord Richard, as he called him, nor granted a satisfactory indemnity; but by the insertion of divers oblique clauses had rendred it absolutely ineffectual: that they had taken no care to secure a liberty to tender consciences, nor to provide for the publick safety by establishing a select senate: that they had manifested their unworthiness not only in these negatives, but had also positively declared their intentions to ruin the army, by removing the principal officers, and placing others in their commands who were of a different spirit and principles, and by drawing up one part of the army against the other, in order to destroy both. For which reasons he declared his opinion to be, that to reinvest those with authority who were so manifestly unfit for that trust, would prove the worst of all the expedients that could be proposed. To this discourse I thought myself obliged to make some answer, and therefore took the freedom to say, That the parliament being men, were liable to passions, and subject to imperfections, but that it might be said without immodesty, that they had been chargeable with as few as any of their predecessors, and possibly fewer than those who had pretended to succeed them: that they were the only number of men that had any legal call to the supreme authority: that God had eminently appeared for them, and wonderfully assisted them to subdue all those that had opposed them both at home and abroad: that they had been so frugal of the publick purse, that upon the first interruption by Cromwel a vast sum was found in the treasury, tho' their armies and fleets had been fully paid, and their magazines plentifully furnished with naval stores. How these advantages had been improved by those that had usurped their authority, was well known; and how the armies and fleets had been paid, they themselves were the best judges. At

the return of the parliament to the exerciſe of their authority, in the place of thoſe vaſt ſums they had left in the publick coffers, they found a debt of two millions and four hundred thouſand pounds contracted by thoſe who had taken upon them the management of affairs I deſired them to obſerve how unjuſtly the parliament was accuſed of breaking their promiſes, who had promiſed nothing: that ſome of us indeed as private men had engaged to promote certain things in the houſe at the requeſt of ſome officers of the army; but at the ſame time we acquainted them, that we could not anſwer for any thing except our own ſincere endeavours in that affair. And yet I appealed to themſelves, if the parliament had not done thoſe things, in which we had promiſed our endeavours, having undertaken to pay more than thirty thouſand pounds for Mr. Richard Cromwel, whereby he would be left in the clear poſſeſſion of about eight thouſand pounds a year, beſides woods, plate, jewels, and other things of value: having paſſed that very clauſe for liberty of conſcience which had been brought in by the officers themſelves in their addreſs; and having indemnified the ſoldiery in as full and ample manner as could be deſired, with reſpect to their paſt actions, not only military but civil alſo; with this only reſervation, that the parliament might, if they ſhould find cauſe, call to account ſuch as had received bribes and exorbitant ſalaries, which was only deſigned as a check upon thoſe who had been and ſtill were enemies to the commonwealth. As to what related to the chief officers of the army, I told them it had been made good to a tittle; for they had continued lieutenant-general Fleetwood to be commander in chief of all their forces in England and Scotland: but if it was their intention that he ſhould be commander in chief of the parliament alſo, I confeſſed myſelf perſuaded that it never had entred into the head of any of thoſe perſons before-mentioned, to engage for that; and therefore what the parliament did in cauſing him and the reſt of the officers to take their commiſſions from them, and inſerting a clauſe in that of the commander in chief, that it ſhould continue during this parliament, or till their farther order, was no way contrary to the promiſe of the ſaid gentlemen. Neither could it be a juſt ground of exception to thoſe of the army, if their intentions were ſuch as they ought to be; for the parliament being embarqued in the ſame veſſel, would find it neceſſary, as well for their own ſecurity, as for that of the people, to leave the ſword in faithful hands at the time of their diſſolution, which they had fixed by a vote of the houſe. And ſince they ſtill inſiſted upon their ſelect ſenate, I deſired them to remember that I had declared in the conference my opinion to be, that if ſuch a thing could be made uſe of for a time to preſerve our cauſe by an extraordinary power, I thought I ſhould not be againſt it without better information; but if they deſigned thereby to erect a military power, in equal or ſuperiour authority to the civil, I ſhould oppoſe it to the utmoſt of my ability: and had farther added, that I was fully perſuaded I therein delivered the ſenſe and intentions of the greateſt part of the parliament. To this they could make no reply, being conſcious of the truth of what I ſaid; but having made an agreement with the clergy, as I ſaid before, that uſed to meet at the Savoy, they reſolved to purſue it, and concluded that conſidering the preſent poſture of affairs a new parliament ſhould be called, as the moſt probable means to reconcile all differences. They agreed alſo with the miniſters, that their maintenance by tithes ſhould not be taken away till another revenue as ample and certain ſhould be ſettled upon them: that ſome proviſion ſhould be made for thoſe who differed in faith and worſhip from

the eſtabliſhed church; but that the quakers and ſome others, whoſe principles, they ſaid, tended to the deſtruction of the civil ſociety, ſhould not be tolerated at all.

WHILST the army was thus employed, the parliament party was not wanting to promote their intereſt, and to that end formed a deſign to get the Tower into their hands. Colonel Fitz, who was then lieutenant of the place, had conſented that colonel Okey, with three hundred men, ſhould lie diſperſed about the Tower, prepared for the enterprize, promiſing, that on a certain day he would cauſe the gates to be opened early in the morning, to let him paſs in his coach; which opportunity colonel Okey with his men taking, might eaſily ſeize the guards, and poſſeſs himſelf of the place: and their attempt might have ſucceeded, had it not, by I know not what accident, been diſcovered to the lord mayor, who informed the army of it the night before it was put in execution. Whereupon colonel Deſborough, with ſome forces, was ſent thither, who changed the guards, ſeized the lieutenant of the Tower, and left colonel Miller to command there till farther order. Another party appeared for the parliament in Wiltſhire, under the command of major Croke; who having told divers of my friends in that county, that the principal reaſons of his diſſatisfaction with the proceedings of the army, had been taken from what I had ſaid in the late council of officers, he prevailed with divers of them to ſide with him, and ſo marched towards Portſmouth, in order to join Sir Arthur Haſlerig and colonel Morley, who had already poſſeſſed themſelves of that place, and declared for the reſtitution of the parliament. About the ſame time Hurſt-caſtle was ſecured for the parliament, whereby the communication of thoſe in the Iſle of Wight with England being rendered very difficult, they declared for the parliament alſo. The fleet began to incline to the ſame counſels, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Sir Arthur Haſlerig at Portſmouth, to aſſure him they would do nothing in oppoſition to them. In this conjuncture the parliament party reſolved to ſend colonel Walton, who was one of them, to communicate the preſent ſtate of affairs to colonel Monk, and to adviſe him what meaſures he ſhould take.

IN the mean time the Wallingford-houſe party, as if infatuated by a ſuperior power, to procure their own deſtruction, continued obſtinately to oppoſe the parliament, and fixed in their reſolution to call another. On the other ſide, I was ſorry to find moſt of the parliament men as ſtiff, in requiring an abſolute ſubmiſſion to their authority, as if no differences had happened amongſt us, nor the privileges of parliament even been violated, peremptorily inſiſting upon the intire ſubjection of the army, and refuſing to hearken to any terms of accommodation, tho' the neceſſity of affairs ſeemed to demand it, if we would preſerve our cauſe from ruin. Therefore, tho' I had reſolved to depart, with all convenient ſpeed, to my charge in Ireland, yet I was induced to defer my journey for ſome time, at the ſolicitations of my friends, who perſwaded themſelves that I might have intereſt enough with both parties, to procure an accommodation between them. To that end, I took all occaſions to moderate the ſpirits of the members of parliament; and that I might not render myſelf ſuſpected to the officers, I continued to frequent their councils, which I was the more willing to do, becauſe the Iriſh brigade that was with colonel Lambert had ſignified to the council of officers, that they had choſen me with lieutenant-colonel Walker, and two gentlemen more whoſe names I cannot recollect, to repreſent them at their meetings.

AT this time colonel Lockart, governour of Dunkirk, finding his work at an end abroad, by the concluſion of a peace between the crowns of France and Spain, returned to England; and coming to wait on Sir Henry Vane one day at his houſe, it was my fortune to be there at the ſame time. In the converſation we had, he very much lamented the diviſions that were among us, affirming, that if they had not proved an obſtruction to him in his negotiations, we might have made what terms we could have aſked, either from France or Spain.

THE army having reſolved, as I ſaid before, to call a new parliament, and many difficulties ariſing amongſt them touching that matter, they referred the conſideration of it to their committee of ſafety, who having ſpent ſome time in the debate, reported as their opinion to the council of officers, That the beſt way to be taken for ſummoning a parliament would be to act therein according to antient cuſtom, directing only ſome few qualifications to be obſerved as well in the electors as in the perſons to be elected. Which when I perceived, and that no rules for qualifications could poſſibly be given and executed within the time appointed for the parliament to meet, and that the deſign of the army tended manifeſtly to have ſuch a parliament, as would permit the men of the ſword to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſupreme authority; or if they ſhould refuſe to be brought to that, then, being a creature of the army, they ſhould be diſmiſſed with ſcorn, and the power reſumed by the military men: for the prevention of theſe miſchiefs, I propoſed to the council of officers, that the eſſentials of our cauſe might be clearly ſtated, and declared inviolable by any authority whatſoever; and that in caſe any difference ſhould hereafter ariſe between the parliament and the army touching thoſe particulars or any of them, a certain number of perſons of known integrity might be appointed by this council finally to determine the matter. The council having, without much difficulty, agreed to this propoſition, I preſumed to proceed farther; and being fully perſwaded, that if ſuch a power were conferred upon honeſt and diſintereſted perſons, it would give more ſatisfaction to good men, and better provide for the publick ſafety, than to have the final deciſion of all things left to a mercenary army, I adventured to give in a liſt of one and twenty perſons for that ſervice, who ſhould be called "conſervators of liberty." Then we went upon the debate of ſuch particulars as ſhould be referred to their cognizance and judgment, which were as followeth:

1. THAT the government ſhould not be always from a commonwealth, by ſetting up a king, ſingle perſon, or houſe of peers.

2. THAT liberty of conſcience ſhould not be violated.

3. THAT the army ſhould not be diminiſhed, their conduct altered, nor their pay leſſened, without the conſent of the major part of the conſervators.

HAVING proceeded thus far, it was reſolved to put the names of the perſons contained in the liſt, to the vote of the council for their approbation, which was done in this manner. Every one of the council having received two ſmall pieces of paper, in one of which was written an N for the negative, and in the other an A for the affirmative, when the candidate's name was propoſed, every man put which of thoſe he pleaſed into a hat; which done, the papers were taken out, and being found to agree for number with the perſons there preſent, if the greater number of

papers were marked with the letter A, then the person proposed was accounted to be chosen, otherwise to be omitted. I had contrived it so, that the names of the first seven or eight persons of the list were officers of their own party, except major Saloway and Sir Henry Vane, by which means chiefly it came to pass, that the last two passed without opposition: but then they made a breach upon the order, and having put my name to the question against my will, I was approved. Which when they had done, lieutenant-general Fleetwood proposed colonel Tichburn, one who had lately moved to set up Richard Cromwel again, and after him the lord Warriston, who had publickly declared against liberty of conscience, with Mr. Strickland, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and two or three more, all of their faction, and procured them to be chosen in the room of Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Wallop, colonel Walton, colonel Morley, Mr. Henry Nevil, and colonel Monk, who were next in order upon the list, and with whom I designed to balance the Wallingford-house party. But by putting in these creatures in their places, it was evident they designed nothing less than to draw the whole power into their own hands; and lest we should doubt of their intentions, they gave an exclusion to colonel Rich, tho' present, and a considerable officer in the army, because they suspected him not to favour their arbitrary designs. Here my patience began to leave me, and I told them openly, that seeing they intended only to carry on a faction, and to govern the nation by the sword, I resolved to have no more to do with them, and thereupon refused to give in my billet upon the names of the six or seven persons that were last proposed: but they compleated their number, and in the next publick intelligence caused the names of those one and twenty persons, whom they had elected to be the conservators of liberty, to be published to the world, with notice of their resolution to summon a new parliament, thinking thereby to please the people: but they were mistaken, for no man that loved his country could approve of it. And the cavalier party conceived such hopes of their own affairs, that they grew impatient of any further delays, and designed the destruction of the army by open force. To that end, divers of their party, who had fled to parts beyond the seas, returned secretly to London, and entered into the confederacy. The time of putting their design in execution was agreed, and the places of rendezvous being ten in number, all in and about the city, were appointed: but it happened again that the army received information of the conspiracy the evening before it should have been executed, and being alarmed at the danger, they immediately sent divers parties of horse and foot to take possession of those places which were appointed by the enemy for their drawing together; by which means they seized some of them, who at twelve o' clock the same night were already come together, compleatly armed, on a part of the Temple near the water-side. Others of the same company got over the walls, and escaped in boats. They took also at an inn in London thirty horses with saddles and holsters, and as many men ready to mount them. Many more of the conspirators were taken at the several places of rendezvous, where the army had placed their guards; and some of them confessed that the officer who commanded the party that was placed near Paul's Church had promised to join with them; which was not improbable, he being one of those who having never engaged in our cause, was advanced by Oliver Cromwel as his creature, and sent to Dunkirk, from whence he had been lately recalled by the army, whose ambition he had throughly seconded by his votes in the council of officers. And tho' this storm was

by the vigilance and care of the army pretty well diſperſed; yet their inſolent and arbitrary actions gave birth to other clouds that threatened them with ruin more than the former. For ſoon after, the officers that commanded the fleet publiſhed a declaration againſt the arbitrary proceedings of the Wallingford-houſe party, rehearſing the particulars for which they had engaged in the publick ſervice, and declaring their reſolution to continue faithful to thoſe engagements. This declaration came out ſomewhat earlier than was intended, by reaſon of the arrival of colonel Okey and Mr. Scot in the fleet, who were obliged to go thither for protection from the power of the army, the former being known to have had the principal ſhare in the deſign of ſeizing the Tower for the parliament: the other was not only ſuſpected to have been concerned in that affair, but alſo to keep correſpondence with the generals at Portſmouth, and with colonel Monk in Scotland. The army hoping to quiet the fleet with fair words and large promiſes, diſpatched colonel Barrow to them, ſuppoſing him to be a proper perſon to be imployed to lay them aſleep, becauſe they knew he had the good opinion of vice-admiral Lawſon, and indeed not undeſervedly, for he was a man of probity; and tho' he had been in ſome meaſure ſeduced by their ſubtleties, yet he was not a confident of their junto. But the vice-admiral was too well acquainted with the pernicious deſigns of the army, to be cajoled into a retractation of what he had done.

The cavalier party about London finding themſelves diſappointed in their deſign of deſtroying the army by an inſurrection, attempted to do it another way, and to that end encouraged the apprentices to meet in great multitudes to petition the aldermen and common council, that they would uſe their endeavours to procure a free parliament to be ſpeedily called, well knowing what the conſequence of that would be in the preſent conjuncture of affairs. Many men of the king's party, and of deſperate fortunes, intermixed themſelves with them, and inflamed them to ſuch a height of violence, that the army thought it neceſſary to ſend a regiment of foot to ſuppreſs them, under the command of colonel Hewetſon; who, when he was come into the city, was affronted to his face, his men fired upon from the windows, and ſtones thrown on them from the tops of the houſes; and as they proceeded in their march were ſo preſſed by the multitude, that the ſoldiers, to preſerve themſelves from their violence, were obliged to fire upon them, and having killed three or four of their number, the reſt diſperſed themſelves for that time: but tumults were now become ſo frequent in the city, that the army party found themſelves obliged to ſend conſiderable guards thither almoſt every day to ſuppreſs them; one of which being commanded by colonel Deſborough, carried themſelves ſo roughly towards divers eminent citizens, that they greatly diſguſted the whole city. The aldermen and common council, not thinking it convenient openly to patronize theſe diſorders, agreed upon a paper to be preſented to the council of officers, wherein having diſowned the late tumults, they complained of the killing of their men, and of the guards that were kept in the city, deſiring that they might be withdrawn, and the guard of the city left to the civil magiſtrate, who could not otherwiſe undertake to ſecure the peace, and that a free parliament might be forthwith called. This paper was brought to the council of officers, by divers members of the court of aldermen and of the common council; and being read, it was reſolved by thoſe of the army, that if the aldermen and common council would declare againſt the family of the Stuarts, and promiſe to be true and faithful to the com-

monwealth without a king, ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords, they would withdraw their ſoldiers, and leave the city to be guarded by itſelf. They acquainted them alſo, that they had already reſolved to call a parliament: and for the farther ſatisfaction of the aldermen and common council, they appointed ſix of their own number, whereof they conſtrained me to be one, to confer with them touching the reaſons of theſe reſolutions, and of the late proceedings of the army in the city. We met at Whitehall, and after colonel Deſborough had ſpent ſome time in ſhewing the neceſſity of ſending part of the army to ſecure the peace of the city, and had made large proteſtations of the army's friendſhip to them, I took the liberty to ſay, that thoſe who were members of the army could beſt inform them of their own intentions in the late proceedings in the city, wherein I ſhould not intermeddle; but having this opportunity, and being a well-wiſher to the commonwealth, I would take upon me to put them in mind, that we had all been engaged together in the defence of our rights and liberties againſt arbitrary power; that the city had been eminently inſtrumental in aſſiſting the parliament and army to carry on that weighty affair, whereby they had acquired honour to themſelves, eſteem amongſt good men, and ſatisfaction to their own minds. But withal it ought to be conſidered, that by this they had highly incenſed and vehemently provoked the common enemy againſt them, who tho' they might careſs them for the preſent, and make them the moſt ſolemn promiſes of future kindneſs, would never forget the aid and ſupport they had afforded to the parliament during the whole courſe of the late war; but would certainly take a time to be revenged on them to the utmoſt. Wherefore I deſired them, as they tendered the peace of the nation, and the preſervation of their perſons and eſtates, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be deluded by our common adverſaries, and ſeduced by ſpecious pretences to promote that intereſt, which prevailing, would not only render all the blood and treaſure that had been ſpent in aſſerting our liberties, of no uſe to us, but alſo force us under ſuch a yoke of ſervitude, that neither we nor our poſterity ſhould be able to bear. Divers of them ſeemed much ſurprized at this diſcourſe, becauſe they had taken other reſolutions: yet others, and particularly alderman Fowke, expreſſed their approbation of what I had ſaid, and declared their reſolution to act accordingly, provided they might be aſſured not to be governed by an army, in which I aſſured them my judgment concurred with them, which my actions ſhould always demonſtrate. And as I did upon all publick occaſions endeavour to perſwade our divided parties to unite for their common ſafety, ſo I am not ſenſible that I neglected any private opportunity to bring about that end. Therefore when I waited on lieutenant-general Fleetwood, which frequently happened, I never failed to exhort him during this unhappy breach, that he would uſe his endeavours for the reſtitution of the parliament. About which, being one day ſomewhat earneſt with him, and having acquainted him, that finding my good offices between the parliament-men and the army were likely to prove ineffectual, I was reſolved to go to my ſtation in Ireland. His lady overhearing theſe laſt words from her chamber, and being informed that I was alone with the lieutenant-general, ſhe came into the room where we were, and with tears began to lament the preſent condition of her huſband, who, ſhe ſaid, had been always unwilling to do any thing in oppoſition to the parliament, aſſuring me, that he was utterly ignorant of the contrivance of the officers at Darby to petition the parliament in ſo inſolent

a manner, and had not had any part in their proceedings upon it afterwards: that, as to herſelf, ſhe had always ſolicited him to comply in all things with the orders of the parliament; and that fearing the conſequences of the petition from Darby, ſhe had taken the original, and locked it up in her cabinet, where it ſtill was. She deſired me to defer my journey to Ireland, till differences ſhould be compoſed between the parliament and the army, ſaying, that ſhe knew I had an intereſt in both, which ſhe hoped I would improve for the good of both, and not forget to do what good offices I could for her huſband, who, ſhe ſaid, had always expreſſed a great friendſhip for me. I confeſs, I was moved with the diſcourſe of the lady, and could have been contented to put off my journey for Ireland for ſome time longer, if I had not clearly ſeen it impoſſible to adjuſt the differences between our contending parties. For the army, inſtead of hearkening to an accommodation, had not only reſolved to call a new parliament, but alſo publiſhed a proclamation to appoint the day and place of their meeting. Beſides, I was under no ſmall apprehenſions, that diſorders might ariſe amongſt the officers in Ireland, which was my peculiar province, and therefore I reſolved to haſten my departure, and acquainted the lieutenant-general that my reſolution was fixed, at which both he and his lady ſeemed much troubled. The next morning I went with Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway to the chamber of the horſe-guard at Whitehall, where the principal officers uſed to meet, in order to take leave of them, and to let them know how much we were diſſatisfied with the meaſures they had taken: but when we came there, we found them under great confuſion, by reaſon of the certain information they had received, That the fleet had unanimouſly declared for the reſtitution of the parliament. This news had wrought ſuch an alteration in them, that they expreſſed to us their readineſs to comply with the deſires of the fleet, ſo it might be done upon convenient terms, and earneſtly importuned Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway to go down to the fleet with ſome of their party, to treat with the commanders at ſea about that affair. Sir Henry Vane, who was always ready to promote the ſervice of the publick, accepted the imployment without any heſitation, tho' the weather was then extreme ſharp, it being in the midſt of winter, and he diſtempered with a great cold: to him were joined major Saloway and colonel Salmon, with powers from the officers of the army to treat with thoſe of the fleet; where after they had ſpent four or five days in that negotiation, they returned to make their report to thoſe who had deſired them to undertake that trouble, which, to the beſt of my remembrance, was to this effect: That at their firſt coming on board, Mr. Scot declined to ſpeak with them, and colonel Okey uſed them more roughly; but that by the perſwaſions of vice-admiral Lawſon, they did at laſt conſent to a conference, where they appeared very averſe to any propoſal of terms to be made with the parliament before their readmiſſion, inſiſting upon the abſolute ſubmiſſion of the army to the authority of the parliament.

ANOTHER difficulty aroſe touching the commiſſioners to be appointed by the fleet, to treat with an equal number of the army, about the reſtitution of the parliament; and the vice-admiral having propoſed Sir Henry Vane, major Saloway, Mr. Scot, and himſelf, for that purpoſe, Mr. Scot excepted againſt Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, as perſons that had too far eſpouſed the intereſt of the army. But the prudence and moderation of vice-admiral Lawſon removed theſe obſtructions, and prevailed with Mr. Scot to comply. The officers of the army gave thanks

to Sir Henry Vane and the rest of the commissioners for their labour and good service, which made me conceive some hopes of a speedy accommodation, since there now seemed little more remaining to be done by the army, but to nominate their four commissioners, for which they took time till the afternoon. But so ripe were these men for destruction, and so abandoned of every reasonable thought, that they knew not how to make use of this opportunity; and instead of naming persons to treat about the restitution of the parliament, they used all the arts imaginable, to prevail with the council of officers to vote a new parliament to be called, wherein they succeeded so much, that one of the principal of them told me in the afternoon, that he had altered his opinion, and was fully convinced, that the restitution of the parliament was the very worst remedy that could be applied to the distempers of the nation. After they had taken this resolution, I resolved upon my journey for Ireland with all expedition; and having made the necessary preparations for my departure, I went into the chamber where the council of officers accustomed to meet, and there freely told them, That the measures they had resolved to take, if pursued, would certainly bring ruin on themselves, and possibly on the people of England. Hereupon colonel Desborough took me aside, and proposed for an expedient, to make choice of sixty persons of the best and ablest of the old parliament, to be the select senate that should have a negative upon the representative. To which I answered, That I hoped the members of the parliament aimed only at the promotion of the publick good, and not at the advancement of themselves to places of power; but if that could be supposed to be the disease of any of them, yet the late experience they had of the uselesness and vanity of the other house, who made themselves only the objects of scorn and pity, would be sufficient to caution them against treading in their steps, and entering into a contest and competition with those that represented the whole nation, without any other support but that of the army, of whose unfaithfulness they had already made such evident discoveries. The same day in the evening lieutenant-colonel Walker, whom I had desired to go to Wallingford-house, and to bring me an account of their last result before my departure, came to me with news, that they had again changed their measures, and finally resolved the restitution of the parliament, pretending for the reason of this great alteration, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood had been extremely disturbed in his mind the night before, in contemplation of the mischiefs that were likely to ensue, if they should proceed upon their former resolution. But most men believed, that the true reasons of this sudden change were taken from the submission of their forces that had been sent to besiege Portsmouth, to the generals of the parliament, who had possessed themselves of that place; whereof they having received an account, began to despair of subsisting any longer in opposition to the parliament. The manner of their deserting the service of the army was thus: they generally thought the differences between the parties not sufficiently important to warrant any actions of open hostility, especially the horse, who in the absence of the colonel were commanded by major Bremen, major to colonel Rich's regiment. He having sounded the inclinations of the soldiers, and informed divers of them of their duty, gave advice of his proceedings to the colonel, who perceiving the officers of the fleet, and many of those of the army, to desire the return of the parliament, went down privately from London to his regiment. Being arrived before Portsmouth, and finding both horse and foot prepared for

his deſign, he gave notice of his intentions to Sir Arthur Haſlerig and the reſt of the commanders in the place, who having cauſed the gate to be opened, colonel Rich with the forces, that had hitherto lain before the town as enemies, marched in and joined themſelves to the parliament's generals. The next morning after the news of this event was brought to London, the army-party ſummoned a council of officers, conſiſting not only of the ſtanding forces, but alſo of the city-militia, and propoſed to them an inſtrument to ſign, whereby they ſhould engage to ſtand by each other, notwithſtanding the return of the parliament. The officers ſeemed unwilling to ſubſcribe the paper, and therefore it was not peremptorily required; but being permitted to give their approbation by votes, they paſſed it without many negatives. Whilſt this matter was under debate, letters were brought to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, which after he had read, he called me aſide, and acquainting me with the contents of them, he delivered them to me, and deſired I would keep them private. The ſubſtance of them was, that a party of the army in Ireland had poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle of Dublin, ſeized on colonel Jones who commanded in my abſence, taken the commiſſioners into cuſtody, and publiſhed a declaration for the parliament, of which a copy was incloſed in the letters. Therein they declared the reaſons of their proceedings to be grounded on their deſires to relieve the nation from the government of the ſword, which they ſaw was endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed not only in England, but alſo in Ireland, even by thoſe who had lately ſigned an addreſs to the parliament, and ſent it over by their commander in chief, as they were yet pleaſed to call me. They acknowledged the guilt of thoſe who had offered violence to the civil authority, and their own unworthineſs, ſo far as they might have contributed to keep them from the exerciſe of their juſt power, promiſing to yield obedience to their commands for the future, and declaring their reſolution to join with the generals at Portſmouth, colonel Monk, and vice-admiral Lawſon, in order to procure the reſtitution of the parliament. Having read this declaration, and finding it to agree with my ſenſe of the publick affairs, and ſigned by my brother-in-law colonel Kempſon, with many others of known integrity, I could not refuſe to give it my approbation: but when I had conſidered that it was alſo ſubſcribed by colonel Theophilus Jones, who, upon all occaſions, had ſhewed himſelf a principal inſtrument of miſchief amongſt us, and by colonel Bridges and others, who had been very active to ſupport the uſurpation of the Cromwels, I became doubtful what judgment to make of it. However, having ſeen things brought to an iſſue in England, I concluded it to be my duty to haſten to my charge in Ireland, that if their intentions were juſt and honeſt, I might encourage and aſſiſt them; and if I ſhould find them otherwiſe inclined, that I might endeavour to reduce them to their duty. Therefore having taken leave of my friends and relations, I departed from London, and being on my way to Cheſter, in order to imbark for Ireland, I received letters by a meſſenger ſent on purpoſe from my brother Kempſon, by which I underſtood that the ſurprizal of Dublin had been principally contrived and carried on by colonel Bridges, lieutenant-colonel Warren, major Warden, major Warren, captain Joyner, and colonel Theophilus Jones: that the pretence of their meeting together at Dublin was to petition for a general council of officers, that the ſenſe of the army there touching the publick affairs might be fairly collected and repreſented. Thoſe who had the immediate management of things in Ireland having refuſed to grant their requeſt, the

officers

officers above-mentioned resolved to put their design in execution; and having gained the greatest part of a foot company that was quartered in the armory near the iron-gate of the castle, they ordered three of the private soldiers who were best known to the sentinel that was upon the guard, to desire him to open the gate, and to let them in to do some business which they pretended to have in the castle. But so soon as the sentinel had opened the gate, the three soldiers secured him, and immediately after the rest of their confederates, with major Warden at the head of them, rushed in and surprized the guard. Being thus possessed of the castle, they seized upon colonel John Jones, and sent major Warren to take into his custody Mr. Corbet and colonel Thomlinson, the other two commissioners, which he did as they were coming from the church. My brother Kempson was at this time in my lodgings in the castle, and heard nothing of this action, till some of the principal persons concerned came to him and acquainted him with what had passed, desiring him to join with them, which he thought fit to promise. Then they sent to Sir Hardress Waller, giving him an account of their success, and desired his assistance, tho' he had not been made acquainted with their design. My brother also informed me, that tho' he had contributed towards drawing up the declaration of this party to the best advantage he could for the publick interest, yet he was so unsatisfied with the spirit and principles of these men, that he was very hardly perswaded to sign it. The horse that were in the town had for the most part joined with the party; but a company of foot of colonel Lawrence's regiment being got together upon this alarm, and solicited to declare with them for the parliament, made answer, That they knew not what parliament they meant; but that they were resolved to be faithful to the parliament, and to me their commander in chief. In these words most of the forces in Ireland afterwards declared; and Sir Hardress Waller desired my brother Kempson to let me know, that he had carried his life in his hand, and hazarded all in this affair for my sake. And that there might be no want of protestation, major Warden himself told my brother, that tho' I thought him a cavalier, yet I should find him as faithful to the commonwealth as any man. Yet for all this my brother acquainted me, that he much doubted the sincerity of their intentions, and the rather, because Sir Charles Coote had seized Galway, and turned out colonel Sadler the governour of that place; that he had imprisoned major Ormisby, an officer of courage and honesty, and had drawn together a considerable body both of horse and foot, consisting chiefly of the English Irish. Therefore he concluded that I would lose no time, but hasten to them with all possible expedition. Having received this account of the affairs of Ireland, and being perswaded that Sir Arthur Haslerig was like to have a great influence upon the publick counsels, I sent him a copy of my letter, and earnestly desired him to take care not to be seduced by fair promises and specious pretences, to strengthen the hands of those in whom he never had found, nor was like to find any just grounds of confidence. Before my departure from Chester I made a visit, and took leave of colonel Croxton governour of that place, who, as he had always done, gave me all possible demonstration of his affection to the commonwealth. From thence I went to Beaumaris, where I found a ship of war carrying about thirty guns, commanded by captain Aldworth. And tho' I had no order from any superiour powers, yet the captain promised, if he could get out of the harbour, to set sail for Ireland the next morning. Which having done ac-

to his promiſe, we caſt anchor the day after in the bay of Bullock, over-againſt my houſe at Moncktown. But not thinking it prudent to go aſhore till I had farther informed myſelf of the ſtate of affairs, I writ a letter to Sir Hardreſs Waller, and the reſt of the officers, to acquaint them, that the parliament being again reſtored to their authority, according to their deſires expreſſed in their addreſs and late declaration, wherein I concurred in judgment with them, I was come over to join with them, and to afford them my aſſiſtance to accompliſh thoſe things for which they had declared. This letter I ſent to them by our deputy-advocate; and when the boat went off, captain Aldworth cauſed his guns to be fired, which gave notice to thoſe at Dublin of my arrival. At the return of the boat my brother Kempſon accompanied by divers officers, came on board and informed me, that the affairs of Ireland were in a much worſe condition than at the time he had written to me in England, by reaſon of the prevalency of Sir Charles Coote, who with one or two more influenced the whole council of officers as they pleaſed; and that all thoſe who had been diſplaced for debauchery or diſaffection, had joined with him: by which means divers officers of known affection to the publick had been obliged to quit their poſts, and yield their gariſons to his creatures: that colonel Brayfield governour of Athlone having refuſed to ſurrender that place to Sir Charles Coote, he had drawn his forces before it, and by tampering with ſome of the gariſon, and falſely affirming that the governour would deliver them up to him, he had prevailed with them to ſet open the gates of the caſtle, and to betray their governour into his hands: that upon this encouragement he had marched to Dublin with a conſiderable body of horſe, amongſt whom he had diſtributed a great ſum of money to ſecure them to his intereſt: that the like ſucceſs had attended divers others of his aſſociates in ſeveral parts of that country, particularly that colonel Edmund Temple had poſſeſſed himſelf of Carlo, whereof colonel Pretty was governour: that captain Liſle had diſpoſſeſſed lieutenant-colonel Deſborough of Drogheda; and that major Wilſon had ſeized Limerick, whereof colonel Nelſon had been made governour by me: that major Stanley, whom I had permitted upon his requeſt to ſtay in the citadel of Clonmel, till his wife, who was ready to lie down, ſhould be brought to bed, had made uſe of the opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of that place: that colonel Cooper, whom I had entruſted to command ſome forces in the north, had fallen ſick upon the late change, and was ſince dead; and that his lieutenant-colonel had been ſeized by a party of his own ſoldiers, and brought priſoner to Dublin, where a ſum of money was given to them for that ſervice: and that lieutenant-colonel Fowke, with the aſſiſtance of the cavalier party, had ſeized upon Youghal. My brother alſo informed me, that Sir Charles Coote and thoſe who had ſeized the power into their hands, had prevailed with the council of officers to paſs a vote not to receive me as commander in chief till the pleaſure of the parliament ſhould be ſignified to them, pretending me to be an enemy to the parliament, and in the intereſt of the army. In the mean time colonel Phair governour of Cork, colonel Saunders governour of Kinſale, colonel Richards governour of Wexford, and lieutenant-colonel Arnop governour of Inniſkillin, had declared for the parliament, but refuſed to obey the orders of thoſe at Dublin. In this confuſion were the affairs of Ireland, two parties contending, and accounting each other enemies, and yet both declaring for the parliament. Having received this information, and being fully convinced of the ill intentions of this party, however they ſought to diſguiſe their actions under the ſpecious pretext of affection to the parliament, ſince I could not do

what I deſired for the publick ſervice, yet I reſolved to endeavour to act as I ought in the diſcharge of that truſt which the parliament had repoſed in me. And to that end I writ letters, and directed them to the commanders of gariſons, and to the officers of regiments, of whoſe fidelity I had the beſt aſſurance, acquainting them with the return of the parliament to the exerciſe of their authority, aſſuring them of my conſtant affections to the parliament, and my reſolution to adhere to them, requiring the commanders and officers of the reſpective gariſons and regiments, as they valued the cauſe of God and their country, to continue faithful to the parliament, and to withdraw from thoſe, who under pretence of declaring for the parliament, had uſurped the power, which they deſigned to uſe for their deſtruction, and for the re-eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power amongſt us. Therein I alſo ordered them to draw into conſiderable bodies, if poſſible, and to defend themſelves againſt thoſe who ſhould adventure to attack them; and if they ſhould be overpower'd, to draw towards Munſter, where I would endeavour, with what force I could get together, to give them my aſſiſtance, promiſing to juſtify them in their refuſal to obey any of thoſe who derived not their authority from the parliament or me. Theſe letters I put into the hands of one Mildmay, who had accompanied my brother Kempſon to me, with orders to deliver them as they were directed, which he promiſed faithfully to perform. The next morning one of my ſervants, whom I had ſent to buy ſome proviſions for us, returned on board, and informed me, that as ſoon as thoſe at Dublin had received notice of my arrival, they ſent a party of horſe to my houſe, with orders to ſeize me; who not finding me there, had marched towards the ſea-ſide, where they lay privately, in hopes to ſurprize me at my landing. Notwithſtanding which our boat, being well manned and armed, came back ſafe to the ſhip with ſome proviſions. The next day we ſaw a veſſel coming from England, which proving to be the packet-boat, I opened the mail, and found therein more plainly what I ſuſpected before, eſpecially in one of the letters to colonel Theophilus Jones, wherein ſome mention being made of the affairs of Charles Stuart, it was thus corrected, "But no more of that till the next ſummer." This letter with ſome others I kept, and permitted the maſter of the packet-boat to carry the reſt to the town. About noon captain Lucas came to me on board with an anſwer to the letter I had ſent the day before to the officers at Dublin, wherein they expreſſed great joy for the reſtitution of the parliament, and acquainted me with the reſolution of their council of officers concerning me, on ſuſpicion that I had taken part with the army againſt the parliament. They alſo informed me, that they had diſpatched a meſſage to the parliament's generals, for orders from them, or the parliament, for their future conduct, deſiring in the mean time that I would, for avoiding inconveniences, retire into England, proteſting themſelves ready to obey me as their commander in chief ſo ſoon as the pleaſure of the parliament, or their general's, ſhould be ſignified to that purpoſe. This meſſenger gave me alſo the copy of a letter from colonel Monk to colonel John Jones, which, he ſaid, had been found amongſt the colonel's papers at the time when he was ſeized, by which Monk endeavoured to perſuade him of his affection to the cauſe of the commonwealth, with a ſolemn profeſſion of his reſolution to be true and faithful to the parliament, and to oppoſe to the death the ſetting up a king, ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords. Captain Lucas being ready to return to Dublin, I gave him my reply to the anſwer he brought me from the officers, appealing to their own conſciences for my adherence

and affection to the parliament, telling them, that the duty of my charge would not permit me to return to England in ſuch a conjuncture: that I had received my commiſſion from the parliament, and did not find that it enjoined me to obey the commands of thoſe who for the moſt part had no commiſſions from them: that I was reſolved to proſecute, as far as I was able, the ends of my commiſſion for the ſervice of the parliament, by whom I was entruſted; requiring them to forbear any oppoſition againſt me, as they would anſwer for the blood that might be ſhed in the diſpute. I acquainted captain Lucas with the ſubſtance of my letter; who thereupon propoſed, that ſeeing I was confident of my good intentions, and that both myſelf and thoſe at Dublin aimed at the ſame thing, I would go to them, and by ſatisfying their ſcruples, adjuſt the differences between us. But I told him, that I was too well informed of their principles and deſigns to put myſelf into their hands: "Then," ſaid he, "you do not think us to be for the parliament?" "No indeed, ſaid I; and it is moſt manifeſt to me, that the deſign of thoſe who now govern the council of officers, tho' at preſent it be covered with pretences for the parliament, is to deſtroy both them and their friends, and to bring in the ſon of the late king."

PERCEIVING the paſſage to Dublin to be barr'd againſt me, and being diſappointed of ſome farther proviſions that I had ſent for; the enemy, for ſuch they had declared themſelves to me, not permitting them to be brought on board, I reſolved to try if I could find reception from any other gariſon on the coaſt, hoping that the parliament would in a ſhort time take off the pretended objection againſt me, that I was an enemy to them. Or if they ſhould ſo far abandon the care of their own ſafety, to leave the power in the hands of theſe uſurpers, I ſhould yet have the ſatisfaction of having done all that I could to diſcharge the truſt they had placed in me. But before I departed from the bay of Dublin, I diſpatched a relation of my wife to England by the packet-boat, with letters for the parliament, wherein I gave them the beſt account I could of the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, and deſired their inſtructions how to govern myſelf in ſo nice a conjuncture; aſſuring them, that as I had never been ſolicitous to procure the employment wherein their favour had placed me, ſo I could be well contented to withdraw from that publick ſtation if they ſhould think fit to recal me from it. To theſe letters I added others for Sir Arthur Haſlerig and Mr. Scot, with copies of ſome of the letters which I had intercepted coming from England for thoſe at Dublin. Having diſpatched the packet-boat, we ſet ſail for Duncannon, where I had placed one captain Skynner to command, in whom I had great confidence, and the next morning about eight or nine of the clock we were in view of the ſhore near Wexford. Being come within a league of Duncannon, and not knowing in whoſe hands that place might be in this ſtrange revolution of affairs, I ſent a meſſenger to captain Alland, whom I had made governour of the fort at Paſſage, to be informed by him of their condition. The next morning our meſſenger returned with the captain and two or three more, who acquainted me, that tho' no means had been left unattempted to procure the fort of Duncannon to be delivered to thoſe at Dublin, that captain Skynner had conſtantly refuſed to obey any orders not proceeding from the parliament or me. He alſo informed me, that colonel Richards governour of Wexford, colonel Phair governour of Cork, and colonel Saunders governour of Kinſale, had acted in the like manner, and that he had hopes that thoſe of Waterford would alſo declare for me, having promiſed ſo to do when I ſhould arrive. But that the perſon I had intruſted

with

with the command of Kilkenny had been frighted out of his government; and that lieutenant-colonel Hurd, who had been removed for his vicious life and disaffection to the publick, was got into the place. Being informed of these particulars, I landed the same day in the evening at Duncannon, where I was received with great demonstrations of joy by captain Skynner the governour, and the garison, who at my arrival fired their guns round the fort, and were answered by those from our ship of war that lay in the harbour, by which means those of Waterford had notice of my landing. Doubting what the issue of things might be, I took a view of the place; and having perceived that the garison was not sufficiently provided either with men or provisions, I took the best care I could for their supply. To this end one of the officers having engaged to bring in the greatest part of a foot company in the regiment of colonel Stephens, I sent him out with orders to that purpose. I dispatched a messenger also to my tenants at Bally-Magger, which lay not far from us, to desire them to furnish me with corn, beef, and other necessaries. I victualled our man of war, whose provisions were almost spent, and borrowed divers sums of money of my friends in the parts adjacent, which I knew to be of singular use in case of extremity. Having done this, I sent letters to colonel Leigh governour of Waterford, and to the rest of the officers there, acquainting them with the restitution of the parliament, and with my arrival at Duncannon, in order to promote their service, wherein I required them to afford me their assistance. I wrote letters also to colonel Puckle governour of Ross, to the same effect, and dispatched others to colonel Richards, colonel Phair, and colonel Saunders, to encourage them to continue to act as they had hitherto done. From Waterford I had a civil return to my message brought by some of their officers, who came to make me a visit; but I could not get a positive answer from them to the contents of my letter. And I still insisting that they would declare themselves, they sent one captain Bolton and three other persons to me, desiring that I would satisfy them touching the objection that had been given out against me, that I was an enemy to the parliament; which having done, as I might well, they departed in appearance well satisfied. In the mean time colonel Temple with some horse was ordered to block up the fort of Duncannon; and having possessed himself of the ways leading to it, one of his parties stopped some country people that were bringing some black cattle for the use of the garison; which having perceived, I ordered a party of foot, being altogether destitute of horse, to go by a short way and to post themselves in a pass through which they were to return: and tho' they came too late to recover the cattle, yet they prevailed with divers of the party to come to me into the fort, where they assured me that they had been brought before us merely in obedience to their superior officers, and were much troubled at the differences amongst us; they acknowledged that they had long served under me, and were more willing to continue to do so still, than to serve under any other person; and that understanding that both the contending parties waited for the signification of the parliament's pleasure concerning the publick affairs, they promised to withdraw from the fort, and to come no more against us. By which it may farther appear how unwilling the forces on both sides were to come to any open acts of hostility, it being not easy for men in an ordinary station unacquainted with publick counsels, and of ordinary capacities, so soon to discern the way to their duty through the specious pretences of each party. But the cabal at Dublin resolving to carry on their wicked design by force, if they could not do it by fraud,

diſplaced by their own uſurped authority all the field officers of the army, except major Edward Warren, with moſt of the other officers that the parliament had commiſſionated, filling their places with the moſt vicious and diſaffected perſons they could find. Which having done, they cauſed a report to be publiſhed, that Sir Charles Coote with a conſiderable force would come to beſiege me in Duncannon, whereby they obtained this advantage, that our enemies in Waterford were incouraged to appear openly, and our friends, uncertain of the event, would not venture to declare themſelves. Beſides, colonel Leigh their governour began now openly to ſide with thoſe at Dublin, either from his malice to me for reproving him formerly for his zeal in ſupporting the uſurpation of Cromwel, or from a ſelfiſh principle that was natural to him, of joining always with the riſing party; tho' being an anabaptiſt, he might have conſidered, that he was not likely to find much favour with the grandees at Dublin.

THE enemy, as had been before reported, drew down before Duncannon; and captain Scot, ſon to Mr. Scot a member of the parliament, whom I have had occaſion frequently to mention, ſent a letter to inform me, that being appointed by the officers at Dublin to reduce the place to the obedience of the parliament, he was come thither to that purpoſe. Having read his letter, I wrote an anſwer to it, and communicated them both to the officers and ſoldiers of the gariſon. In my anſwer, I told him, that we were really for that, which they only pretended as a colour to worſe deſigns; that I acted by the authority of the parliament, and ſhould endeavour faithfully to diſcharge my duty; requiring them forthwith to depart, and return to the obedience of thoſe to whom they owed it, as they would anſwer the contrary to God and man. I deſired the captain to communicate my anſwer to thoſe that were with him, as I aſſured him I had done his letter to the officers and ſoldiers of my gariſon. Whilſt theſe things were doing, Sir Charles Coote, colonel Theophilus Jones, and the reſt of the cabal at Dublin, ſent one captain Campbel to colonel Monk, to acquaint him with the progreſs they had made; upon which he cauſed the cannon at Berwick to be fired in teſtimony of his joy, and ſent back the meſſenger to them with letters of thanks for their good ſervice, deſiring them not to reſtore the commiſſioners of the parliament, whom they had ſeized, to the exerciſe of their authority: but as I afterwards underſtood by ſome of Coote's party, he mentioned nothing concerning me in his letters, not knowing, as I preſume, but that I might be in a condition to retard, if not totally obſtruct his grand deſign, as probably I had done, with the bleſſing of God, if the parliament had not abandoned me, and their own intereſt at the ſame time, by the influence of Monk's party in the houſe. The junto at Dublin being very deſirous to remove me from the poſt where I was, called a council of officers; and having drawn up a letter to juſtify their proceedings againſt me, they procured it to be ſigned and ſent to me from the council, endeavouring therein to defame me with all poſſible malice, charging me with neglecting the duty of my imployment in Ireland, when upon the late interruption of the parliament I had rather choſen to continue my journey to London than to return to the diſcharge of my office; accuſing me for divers paſſages in my letters which they had intercepted; in one of which, having called colonel John Jones dear friend, they would have it interpreted, that I thereby approved his correſpondence with the Wallingford-houſe party: and in another, having expreſſed my deſire to moderate things between the parliament and the army, they improved it to a very great

great crime, alledging that men ought to obey, and not to capitulate with the parliament; adding, that when I saw I could do no more in opposition to the parliament, I had refused to wait their sitting, and departed for Ireland a day or two before their restitution, where I had endeavoured to serve the army by my interest in the disaffected party; that finding Dublin to be secured for the parliament by those who obeyed their orders, and would obey me as their commander in chief, if the parliament thought fit to continue that power to me, I had not only refused to return to England till their pleasure in that affair might be known, but also had endeavoured by all hostile means to get the power into my hands, at the same time neglecting my duty in parliament, which they said I might have been doing, had not my miscarriages rendered me incapable of that honour. Having perused this letter, I thought myself obliged to answer it, as well to clear myself from these calumnies, as to prevent the effect it might otherwise have amongst unwary men, which was especially to be regarded in this conjuncture, because they had taken care to print and disperse their libel against me. I told them in my answer, that they well knew that in my letters to colonel Jones, which they had intercepted, I had expressed my dislike of his correspondence with the army; tho' having received civilities from him, and because he had the sword in his hand, I thought it not imprudent to keep fair with him, which was probably the reason why they themselves were not more plainly dealt with by the parliament: that notwithstanding their pretences of obedience to the parliament, I wished I might not see the day when they should positively refuse to obey their commands, to the destruction of their authority, and the advancement of a contrary interest; tho', to serve the present turn, they now blamed me for endeavouring, in the midst of the confusion that the ambition of the army had brought upon us, to moderate things so, that their authority might have been restored, and the publick cause preserved from ruin: that the reasons of my not returning to my command, upon advice of the late interruption, were; first, because I knew it to be the interest of the parliament and the army to unite, both being in a certain way to ruin, if they did not; and that therefore I was encouraged to attempt it: and in the next place, because I had seen the letter which was sent from the officers at London to those in Ireland, wherein they declared, that they had only obstructed their sitting for a while: thirdly, I hoped at my departure I had left the affairs of Ireland in good hands; and at the worst, I was perswaded it must of necessity follow the fate of England. Lastly, I doubted not that by fixing the Irish brigade, which was in England, to the interest of the parliament, I should contribute more to their service, than by the best regulation that could be made of the forces in Ireland: that the cause of my last return to Ireland was taken from the knowledge I had of the persons that had assumed the power into their hands, and the duty that lay upon me to use the best of my endeavours to put a stop to those malignant designs, which I had reason to believe their principles would lead them to carry on: that they must pardon me, if I followed not their advice of returning to England, when I was in the bay of Dublin, having it not in my instructions to obey them; and being as fully satisfied of their intentions to make use of their power, under pretence of serving the parliament, to undermine and destroy their friends, as I was that my own endeavours were directed wholly to their service, and that it was my duty, as far as I could, to prosecute the ends of that commission with which they had intrusted me. Before I had sent



answer

away this letter, I received the aſtoniſhing news, that the parliament had ſent to the officers at Dublin an acknowledgment of their ſervice in declaring for them; and about a week after the ſaid officers ſent a letter to be delivered to me, ſigned by William Lenthal ſpeaker of the parliament, to deſire me by their order to attend the parliament with an account of the affairs of Ireland, that upon conſideration thereof, ſuch a courſe might be taken, as might ſecure the publick intereſt there. Letters to the ſame effect were written, as I was informed, to colonel John Jones, colonel Thomlinſon, and Mr. Miles Corbet, commiſſioners for the parliament in Ireland. By theſe letters I perceived, that the parliament was reduced to a diſhonourable compliance with thoſe who had got the aſcendant over them; and therefore having received their commands to attend them, I reſolved to do it as ſoon as I could, hoping by the account I ſhould give them, to awaken their care, and if they were not wholly infatuated, perſwade them to make a timely proviſion againſt the dangers that ſo viſibly threatened them with ſudden deſtruction. The enemy thought I would have ſurrendered the fort of Duncannon into their hands, and to that end uſed many arguments to induce me to it; but I refuſed to hearken to that propoſition, and acquainted them that the letters I had received rather implied the contrary; and that if the parliament were as ſenſible as they ought to be of their intereſt, I doubted not that Duncannon might prove a good landing-place for an army from England, to reduce thoſe in Ireland to their obedience. In the mean time I had cauſed two or three veſſels to caſt anchor under the command of the caſtle, reſolving to make uſe of one of them for my tranſportation to England; and finding a Dutch bottom commanded by a French-man to be moſt convenient for my purpoſe, I agreed with the maſter of her for my voyage. Before I departed, captain Scot, major Barrington, and ſome others of thoſe that had blocked us up, deſired to ſpeak with me, which I agreed to, and amongſt other diſcourſe that deſerves not to be mentioned, many of them, and in particular captain Scot, tho' they had declared for the parliament, endeavoured to juſtify the attempt of Sir George Booth, reviling Sir Arthur Haſlerig, and divers others who were members of the parliament: and being aſked, whether they would fight againſt Charles Stuart, if he ſhould appear at the head of an army, they refuſed to explain themſelves in that particular: and yet theſe gentlemen would be thought to be the only champions for the parliament. Captain Scot accompanied me to the water-ſide, where taking leave of captain Skinner the governour, and the reſt of the officers and ſoldiers of the gariſon, I commanded the governour, in his preſence, not to ſurrender the fort to any perſon that ſhould not be authorized to receive it by the parliament or me, wherein I doubted not he would have the aſſiſtance of the whole gariſon, which they unanimouſly promiſed. As ſoon as I was imbarked, captain Skinner cauſed all their cannon to be fired, to teſtify their reſpects to me; and the wind being very fair, we immediately ſet ſail for England. The next morning we found ourſelves in view of the Iſle of Lundy, and I would willingly have landed at Minhead, but the ſeas went ſo high, that we were obliged to put in at Milford-Comb; where having provided horſes for myſelf and company, we went to Barnſtaple, and lay there that night. The day following we paſſed over Axmore, which was covered with ſnow, and with much difficulty arrived that night at Layſtock, where I was informed that Monk was come to London, and had brought the ſecluded members into the houſe, which report had preceded the action;

action; for it was not yet done. But we were assured from better intelligence, that the parliament, upon consideration of Sir Henry Vane's compliance with the army during the late interruption, had discharged him from being a member, and commanded him to retire from London; and that having reproved major Saloway for what he had done of the same nature, they had committed him to the Tower during the pleasure of the house. We were also informed, that they had granted time to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Sydenham, the lord commissioner Whitlock, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Strickland, to clear themselves touching their deportment in that affair. I was not a little disturbed at this news, conceiving that the removal of such eminent pillars of the house, as some of these were, would put the whole fabrick into apparent danger of ruin; but being always desirous to think well of their proceedings, I perswaded myself that these measures were the result of the extraordinary zeal of some men, to vindicate the least appearance of any breach that might be supposed to have been made upon the privileges of the parliament. As I was seriously reflecting on these particulars, one of my servants brought me the paper of publick intelligence, wherein, I not only perceived the former relation to be confirmed, but also found that the parliament had received a charge of high treason against me, Mr. Miles Corbet, colonel John Jones, and colonel Thomlinson, presented by colonel Bridges, major Edward Warren, and captain Abel Warren, and subscribed by Sir Charles Coote; of which, tho' I had heard some flying report whilst I was in Ireland, yet I could not suppose them so abandoned of all shame, as to pursue such a design: but they had learned, that to calumniate abundantly was the way to get something to stick. And here I confess, if I had entered upon the publick service on the account of my own private advantage, I should have been totally discouraged, and perhaps have made the best provision I could for my own safety; but being conscious to myself, that I had acted upon better principles, I concluded that the parliament, who knew my innocence, would not fail to do me justice against my malicious enemies. Thereupon I used all possible diligence in my journey, taking post-horses to that end; insomuch that a person who knew me, meeting me on the road, said, that those who were under an accusation of high treason, were not accustomed to make such haste to present themselves. Being arrived at London, I went not that day to the parliament, being informed that the house was rising; and because I was desirous to learn as much as I could concerning the state of publick affairs, to which I had been so long a stranger. The most remarkable transactions that had passed in my absence were these following: that lieutenant-general Fleetwood, finding himself deserted by most part of the army, had sent the keys of the parliament-house to the speaker, with notice that the guards were withdrawn, and that the members of parliament might attend the discharge of their duty: that lieutenant-colonel Miller, who was in possession of the Tower, had sent also to the speaker, to acquaint him that he and his garison were ready to receive his orders: that the forces about the town had been mustered in Lincoln's-inn-fields by colonel Alured and colonel Okey, where, after they had declared for the parliament, they marched by the speaker's house in Chancery-lane, and saluted him as their general as he stood at his door: that the speaker had sent colonel Bret and colonel Redmain, who had been discharged for their zeal to the usurpation of Cromwel, to command the Irish brigade; tho' it was well known, that brigade was officered with such

ſuch as were ſo zealous for the parliament, that they had refuſed to engage againſt colonel Monk, becauſe he had declared for them, and had marched off intirely from the army of colonel Lambert: that Sir Arthur Haſlerig and the reſt of the officers from Portſmouth coming into London by the bridge, had paſſed through the city, where they had been received with ſo much ſeeming joy and loud acclamations, that Sir Arthur was obſerved in particular to be ſo elevated, that for ſome time after he could ſcarce diſcern his friends from his enemies; whereof my wife had ſome experience: for ſhe going to give him ſome account of me and of affairs in Ireland, found him much altered in his carriage to her, ſaying, that God and man having owned them, they muſt imploy thoſe that would own them. To which ſhe replied, that he ſeemed to miſtake what ſhe had ſaid, and aſſured him that ſhe was well informed, that as I had never ſolicited for publick imployment in better times, ſo I was very remote from any ſuch thoughts in this condition of things. This height of Sir Arthur Haſlerig laſted but a few days; for tho' the clergy and lawyers, with other diſaffected perſons, had hitherto kept fair with him, and in appearance reverenced him above all others, that by his aſſiſtance they might be able to prevail againſt the army, or Wallingford-houſe party; yet ſo ſoon as they were free from their fears, and underſtood their own ſtrength, they refuſed to be any longer controlled by him, turning out of the houſe and out of the army whomſoever they pleaſed: which falſe meaſures taken by him, he began to perceive when there was no remedy left. Fifteen hundred old officers were removed from their commands in the army by the committee appointed for that purpoſe, and as many brought in to ſupply their places, who were for the moſt part either unknown to the ſoldiers, diſaffected to the cauſe, or ignorant of military affairs. The rules by which the committee for placing and diſplacing went by, were, as every man had been known to favour or oppoſe the army-party, without any conſideration of the reaſons that led them to one or the other; which yet had been convenient, becauſe many had carried it fair to the army, only that they might be the better enabled to make them ſenſible of their duty, and more eaſily prevail with them to return to the obedience of the parliament: and many had railed at and oppoſed the army with no other deſign, than thereby to neceſſitate both the parliament and the army by their diſunion, and the confuſions that would naturally enſue thereupon, to return to their former ſervitude.

In the mean time Monk having left four regiments in Scotland to ſecure that country, and divided his forces into two brigades, one of which he commanded himſelf, and colonel Morgan the other, began his march for England on the firſt day of January, and on the ſecond took his quarters at Willar, where he received letters from the parliament. On the fifth he came to Morpeth, and found there ſome perſons ſent to him by the common council of London, with orders to deſire him to uſe his intereſt to call a free parliament. The next day he entered Newcaſtle, and thence diſpatched one Gumble, whom he had entertained as his chaplain, with letters to the parliament and council of ſtate, wherein proteſtations of duty and fidelity were not wanting. Divers lawyers of the parliament, with ſome others, gave a meeting to Monk's meſſenger at the ſpeaker's houſe; and ſeveral citizens did the like at the houſe of one Mr. Robinſon: at both which meetings Gumble was aſſured, that they and their parties would be favourable to Monk's deſign. Having in a few days diſpatched the buſineſs he came about, he returned to his maſter,

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with an account of the ſucceſs of his negotiation. He found him at Mansfield in Nottinghamſhire; and having acquainted him with the diviſions at London, and with the inclinations of the city, Monk marched the next day to Nottingham, where he ſtaid ten days. In his march he removed many officers from their commands, placing in their rooms perſons of ruined fortunes or profligate lives, making no diſtinction between thoſe that had continued in their obedience to the parliament, and thoſe who had declared againſt them. In particular, he diſcharged from their imployments, divers officers of our Iriſh brigade, who had been the moſt zealous for aſſerting the civil authority, and filled their places with ſuch as had been diſmiſſed for their vicious lives or corrupt principles. Wherein his deportment was ſo viſible, that colonel Martin in the parliament-houſe reſembled him to one, that being ſent for to make a ſuit of cloaths, brought with him a budget full of carpenter's tools; and being told that ſuch things were not at all fit for the work he was deſired to do, anſwered, "It matters not, I will do your work well enough I warrant you." Yet for all this the pretences for a commonwealth went never more high than at this time: for beſides an injunction laid upon all commiſſionated officers to engage to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, the parliament appointed an oath, containing the abjuration of the family of the Stuarts, to be taken by the members of the council of ſtate before they might act therein. But none were more forward to publiſh their reſolutions of adhering to a commonwealth-government than Monk himſelf, who in a letter to ſome of his own countrymen of the weſtern parts, that had addreſſed him for the reſtitution of the ſecluded members, told them that he could not do it, becauſe it was not only contrary to his own frequent declarations, but directly oppoſite to the intereſt of a commonwealth, as well as to that of the army; a thing not to be done by him, or borne by them, being a total reverſing of all that had been done for the laſt twelve years in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and tending to charge the nation with all the blood that had been ſhed during that time. He ſaid it would unſettle the poſſeſſion of deans, chapters, delinquents, crown and rebel lands; and in fine, if we ſhould ſuffer monarchy to return amongſt us, after ſo long a fruition of a commonwealth, we ſhould be driven to a worſe condition than ever, and put paſt all hopes of appearing to defend our liberty any more. He adviſed them, therefore, to acquieſce in the authority of the preſent parliament, who, he aſſured them, were moſt ready to hearken to all reaſonable propoſitions touching the good and happy ſettlement of the nation. And that this anſwer might be taken notice of by all men, he cauſed it to be printed and publiſhed.

The parliament being willing to encourage him in the good reſolutions he profeſſed to have taken, ſent Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Luke Robinſon, members of the houſe, to be commiſſioners from them to him. Mr. Scot had kept a long correſpondence with him, and after the laſt interruption had publiſhed ſome of his letters, wherein Monk declared his reſolution to live and die with the parliament, without a king, ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords. Theſe two perſons were in appearance much courted by Monk, who pretended to be wholly directed by their advice. And when the commiſſioners for the city of London, or the gentry of thoſe parts where he paſſed, applied themſelves to him for the reſtitution of the ſecluded members, he referred them to the judgment of the parliament, to whom, he ſaid, he was reſolved intirely to ſubmit. He alſo ſolicited Sir Arthur Haſlerig and ſome others of the houſe that the Scottiſh

ſectarian party might be removed out of the army, ſending a liſt of the names of all thoſe who had been continued in their employments by the army during the late interruption; and pretending that a commonwealth could not poſſibly be eſtabliſhed whilſt ſuch men were in power. What he did relating to the affairs of Ireland was carried more covertly, and coloured with the name of Sir Charles Coote. And becauſe he knew I had ſome reputation with Sir Arthur Haſlerig and the commonwealth-party of the houſe, he made uſe of Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Mr. Weaver, Mr. Juſtice St. Johns, Mr. Robert Reynolds, and ſome others, to obtain what he deſired in that matter. Theſe gentlemen were informed that the council of ſtate, notwithſtanding all the arts that had been uſed to calumniate me, had agreed upon a report to be made to the parliament, that Sir Hardreſs Waller, lieutenant-colonel Walker, and major Godfrey, might be intruſted in conjunction with me, with the management of affairs in Ireland. They knew alſo, that the two laſt would be ready to do any honeſt thing that I ſhould adviſe; and therefore fearing leſt the parliament might agree with the council of ſtate upon the report, they procured the debate to be adjourned for three days, within which time they ſo ordered the matter, that colonel Bridges and the two Warrens preſented to the parliament the charge of high treaſon againſt the commiſſioners and me, as I mentioned before. Whereof Monk's party in the houſe made ſuch advantage, as not only to refuſe their concurrence with the council of ſtate in their report concerning me, but alſo by the help of the lawyers rhetorick, who were my profeſſed adverſaries, on account of my endeavours to reform the practice of the law, paſſed a vote to require me to deliver the fort of Duncannon into the hands of the proſecutors; ſome of them moving, that in caſe of refuſal, I ſhould be declared a traitor, and ſent for in cuſtody. Which perhaps might have paſſed alſo, if Mr. Henry Nevil, who ſingly had the courage to defend me in that conjuncture, had not ſpoken in my behalf, deſiring them not to entertain jealouſy of a faithful ſervant upon informations unproved, nor to do any thing to the prejudice of my reputation, till I ſhould be heard; when, he doubted not, I would make appear, that I had always endeavoured to promote their ſervice. But I was not the only perſon borne down by this torrent. Sir Arthur Haſlerig himſelf having parted with Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, his moſt able and beſt friends, began to loſe ground, and all that he ſaid in the houſe or elſewhere to go for nothing. And tho' they could find out no colour to remove him as they had done the other two; yet having already rendered him inſignificant in the parliament, they reſolved he ſhould have as little power in the army. To that end it was contrived that Monk ſhould write to the parliament, that for their greater ſecurity, the forces that were in and about London, amounting to about ſeven or eight thouſand horſe and foot, might be removed to a farther diſtance to make room for thoſe that he had with him, preſuming to name to the parliament ſome particular regiments which he principally inſiſted to have removed, amongſt which Sir Arthur Haſlerig's regiment of horſe was one. And ſo tame was the parliament grown, that tho' it was moſt viſible he deſigned their ruin, yet on his bare word and empty proteſtations they not only truſted him, but obeyed him as their ſuperior, and ordered all that he deſired to be put in execution. Notwithſtanding this unhappy poſture of affairs, thinking it my duty to clear myſelf of the aſperſions caſt upon me, and to improve the ſmall intereſt I had left for the ſervice of the publick cauſe, I reſolved to take my

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place in parliament: and in order thereunto, being accompanied by Mr. Henry Nevil, I attended Sir Arthur Haslerig at Whitehall, where I gave him a short account of my actions since I had last seen him, of my endeavours in Ireland to serve the publick, of the state of affairs there, of the principles and practices of those that had assumed the power in that country, and of the readiness of the soldiers and most of the officers in that army to have served the parliament faithfully and usefully, if they had been true to themselves and their own interest. I also acquainted him with the sense I had of the late severe, if I might not say unjust, proceedings against me, which seemed to me to be such a requital of my faithful services, that if I expected my reward from men, I should rather chuse to serve the great Turk. But that I might not be wanting to myself, and in order to justify my own innocence, if I could do no farther good, I had resolved to go to the parliament-house the next morning, desiring his advice and that of Mr. Nevil for my government when I should come thither. Sir Arthur was unwilling to enter into any discourse concerning what had lately passed, saying, it was too late to recall things now: and then told us how his enemies thought to ensnare him, by Monk's motion to the parliament for removing his regiment from London, thinking thereby to create a difference between him and Monk, wherein he had disappointed them by desiring their removal himself, contrary to their expectation, entering into a prolix commendation of Monk, and assuring us that he was a person on whose fidelity they might safely rely. And if I may be permitted to deliver my sense touching this discourse of Sir Arthur Haslerig, I conjecture it proceeded, partly from an apprehension that things were already gone so far, that he doubted whether he could put any stop to them; and partly from some sparks of hope, that Monk could not be such a devil to betray a trust so freely reposed in him. For he kept a constant correspondence with Sir Arthur, and in all his letters repeated the engagements of his fidelity to the parliament, with expressions of the greatest zeal for a commonwealth-government. In the conclusion it was agreed between us, that when I came into the house I should sit as privately as I could, and observe the temper of the members, before I should put them upon the consideration of my affair. Accordingly I went to the house, and tho' they had used me in the manner I have related, yet they treated me very civilly, some of them telling me in a jesting way, that it was not usual for men accused of high treason to be so well received in that place. Having taken out a copy of the charge exhibited against the commissioners and me, I found the commissioners to be charged with altering their title during the late interruption, from "commissioners of parliament" to "commissioners of the commonwealth;" and that they had sent a ship of war to prevent any relief to, or correspondence with the garison of Air in Scotland, who had declared for the parliament. Besides which, colonel Jones was accused for taking part with the army against the parliament, not only in the particulars aforesaid, but also in his answer to the letter written by Monk to me, on supposition that I was then in Ireland, to invite me to a conjunction with him for the restitution of the parliament: and likewise for promoting a subscription to the government of the army amongst the officers in Ireland. As for me, I was charged with assisting the army in England, and doing acts of hostility by sea and land against those in Ireland who had declared for the parliament. Whereupon I moved the house that they would be pleased, according to their order, to hear me touching their affairs in Ireland,

and to permit me to juſtify myſelf, which I did the rather that I might have an opportunity to procure that miſchievous order for the ſurrender of Duncannon to be recalled, hoping that it had not yet been put in execution. But all that I could obtain was, to have a day appointed when I ſhould be heard. Mr. Miles Corbet, who arrived in England ſome days before me, was ſo terrified with the proceedings of the parliament againſt Sir Henry Vane and major Saloway, together with the name of a charge of high treaſon againſt himſelf, that he had never appeared publickly ſince his arrival, till upon ſome diſcourſe with me he took courage, and went with me to the houſe.

In the mean time Monk was come to Barnet, and being expected at London the next day, orders were iſſued out for the old regiments of the army to march from the town; which ſo diſguſted them, that many refuſed to march till their arrears were paid. This mutiny began at Somerſet-houſe, where one whole regiment was quartered, who were joined by divers parties of the reſt. The cavaliers and preſbyterians of the city hoping to improve this opportunity, invited them to join with the city, as they termed their party there, promiſing them their whole arrears, conſtant pay, and a preſent gratuity, giving them ſome money in hand as an earneſt of the reſt. The ſoldiers took their money, but withal threatened them, that unleſs they departed immediately, they would fire upon them, declaring their reſolution to continue faithful to the parliament. Hereupon the council of ſtate, that they alſo might cut the graſs from under their own feet, ſent orders to Monk to haſten his march, and with all diligence to come to their relief. Theſe male-contents were very numerous, amounting to more than two thouſand foot; and about the ſame number of horſe were ready to join with them. But no conſiderable perſon appearing at the head of them, their new officers, who laboured the whole night to ſatisfy them, prevailed with them to march the next morning, upon promiſe that their arrears ſhould be paid at their next quarters. The following day Monk marched to London in the head of his party, which for the moſt part were quartered about Whitehall, where lodgings had been provided for him: and immediately ſome members of parliament were ſent to congratulate his arrival. The ſame evening I met vice-admiral Lawſon at Sir Henry Mildmay's lodgings at Whitehall, and knowing him to be familiarly acquainted with Monk, I deſired that we might make him a viſit together, which he readily conſented to. We found him alone in the prince's lodgings; where having congratulated the ſucceſs of his attempt to reſtore the parliament to the exerciſe of their authority, I took the freedom to tell him, that having an opportunity put into his hands to free theſe nations from the danger of being oppreſſed, as they had lately been, by the power of the ſword, I hoped he would improve it to the publick advantage, by giving his aſſiſtance to the parliament in ſettling the government upon ſo juſt a foundation, that it might be ſupported for the future by the love and affections of the people. He anſwered, that as God had owned him in his work, ſo he deſired that he alone might have the glory: that it was true, factions had been carried on; but that he was fully reſolved to promote the intereſt of a commonwealth. Which reſolution when I had commended, and encouraged him as well as I could to continue, he ſaid, "We muſt live and die for and with a commonwealth." Then I told him, that I had met lately with one Mr. Courtney, who ſaid he was his relation, and having drunk too much at the inn where I lay in my way to London, boaſted that his

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cousin Monk would do great things for the king; but that upon my objecting his publick declarations and protestations to the contrary, he began to doubt, and said, that his cousin being a man of honour, he feared he would be as good as his word. "Yea, said Monk, if there were nothing in it but that, I must make good my word, and will too." "I presume, said I, that the answer you have lately published to your country men's letter, hath given them all satisfaction concerning you." He replied, that he hoped it had. These and many other protestations of zeal to the common cause, with many professions of friendship to ourselves, we received from him at that time; wherewith vice-admiral Lawson was so satisfied, that he said to me after we had parted from him, that since the Levite and the Priest had passed by and would not help us, he hoped we had found a Samaritan that would do it.

The parliament having notice of Monk's arrival, sent a message to him by Mr. Scot and Mr. Robinson, to desire his attendance at their house the next day: whither being come, a chair was ordered for him, but he refused to sit, contenting himself to stand behind it uncovered, laying his hand upon the chair. The speaker, as he had been ordered, gave him the thanks of the house for the service he had done, extolling him above all the worthies of former and later ages. To whose rhetorick he answered, that as to what was done, he desired God might have the glory, in that he had wrought deliverance by so weak an instrument. After which he informed the house, that in his march many applications had been made to him by all sorts of persons for a free parliament; and that he had acquainted them, that the end of his march being to free the parliament from the power of those who had imposed on them, he doubted not they would take all possible care of the publick good. Then he put them in mind of their resolution to fill up the house, which he said, would tend much to the satisfaction of the nation. He desired that fanatical persons, as he called them, might be removed from places of trust, and undertook to answer for the fidelity of those who had assumed the power in Ireland, concluding with professions of the utmost zeal and faithfulness to their service. Thus he gave the parliament good words, for which they heaped their favours upon him; they voted one thousand pounds per annum to be settled on him. And that nothing might be wanting to compleat this scene, Monk's wife took especial care to treat the wives of the members that came to visit her, running herself to fetch the sweetmeats, and filling out wine for them; not forgetting to talk mightily of self-denial, and how much it was upon her husband's heart that the government might be settled in the way of a commonwealth. In the mean time the secluded members had their meetings with those of the same faction in the city; and some of those that sat in parliament were earnest promoters of their return to the house, of whom was colonel Lassels, and colonel Richard Ingoldsby, who had been two of the king's judges: but the person I most wondered at was colonel Hutchinson, who having exceeded most of the members of the high-court of justice in zeal for putting the king to death, at this time acted a very different part, pressing the house with an unbecoming importunity to proceed against Sir Henry Vane for not removing into the country, according to their order, when it was well known he was so much indisposed, that he could not do it without the apparent hazard of his life. Many alarms were given to the parliament by their faithful friends in printed discourses, and other ways, whereby they were put in mind that the enemy's quarrel was not so much against per-

ſons as things; and, as one termed it, not againſt Ludlow and Rich, but againſt the cauſe itſelf. They were adviſed to accept the aſſiſtance of their old ſervants, and to incourage them in their fidelity, as the only means to preſerve themſelves and the commonwealth from certain ruin: but they were deaf to all ſalutary counſel, and reſolved to finiſh the work with the new inſtruments which they had choſen. To that end they proceeded on the bill for filling up the houſe, which by wiſe men was thought a moſt dangerous expedient in that conjuncture, unleſs Monk ſhould prove more honeſt than they could believe him to be. The city of London alſo took upon them in their common council, to receive petitions from the adjacent counties touching the payment of taxes, and other publick affairs, preſuming not only to call in the petitioners, and to give them thanks for their good affections, but alſo paſſed a vote that they would pay no taxes but ſuch as ſhould be impoſed by a free parliament.

THE council of ſtate having received a particular account of the proceedings in the city, ſent for Monk to conſult with him concerning the beſt means to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders: and ſome of them moving that the common council ſhould be forbidden to ſit, ſome few of the moſt active ſeized, the gates of the city taken down, the portcullaces wedged, and the poſts with their chains pulled up; Monk ſaid, that if they did no more, that would ſerve for nothing, becauſe the damage might be ſoon repaired. He added, that the diſaffection of the city was ſo great, that they would never be quiet, till ſome of them were hanged; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſent to break in pieces their gates and portcullaces, to burn their poſts, and to carry away their chains to the Tower; offering himſelf, if they would command theſe things to be done, to ſee their orders put in execution. Hereupon the council ordered him to march into the city with his forces early the next morning, before the occaſion of his coming amongſt them ſhould be known. Various reports were publiſhed touching the deſign of his march into the city, and many ſuſpected that he had already declared for the king. But when the houſe was met, the council of ſtate made their report to us, and informed us of the unwarrantable proceedings of the common council, and of their own reſolutions and orders concerning them; in the execution of which they aſſured us Monk had by that time made a conſiderable progreſs, having already pulled up the poſts with their chains, taken down the portcullaces and the gates of the city, which he had begun to cut in pieces, and ſeized ſome of the moſt active of the common council. The parliament having heard the report of the council of ſtate, approved what they had done, and ordered fifty pounds to be given to Monk to defray the expence of his dinner that day, he having refuſed to dine at the charge of the city, tho' earneſtly importuned to it by divers citizens. All things going ſo well that morning both in the army, and in the parliament, Sir Arthur Haſlerig was again ſo elevated, that coming into the houſe in the afternoon, he broke out in the preſence of divers members into theſe expreſſions, "All is our own, he will be honeſt." But it was not long before his wine was turned into water: for as ſoon as the houſe was ſat, a letter was preſented to the ſpeaker from Monk, the contents whereof made them eaſily perceive that his zeal to their ſervice began to cool. Therein he acquainted them with what he had done in proſecution of the orders he had received, and that he wanted tools and inſtruments to finiſh the work, having already ſpoiled all thoſe that he had brought with him to cut the gates and other defences

of the city in pieces; that the mayor and citizens had promised obedience to the parliament for the time to come; and therefore he desired they would respite the execution of what remained of his instructions; hoping that what had been done would be a sufficient admonition to the city for their future good behaviour. The parliament understanding the tendency of this letter, were highly offended with Monk for presuming to neglect and dispute their commands; and being resolved to do as much as they could in this matter to preserve their authority, they dispatched a message to him, requiring the exact performance of the orders he had received. Upon the receit of these second orders, Monk seemed much disturbed, but yielded little or no obedience to them, and lay that night in the city. The day following he returned with his forces to Whitehall, and about two days after sent a letter to the house, directed to the speaker, and subscribed by himself and some of his officers; wherein they complained that the parliament had put them upon the late disobliging work in the city to render them odious to the citizens: that they continued to favour the fanatick party, by not prosecuting those that had acted with the army in the late committee of safety, and by permitting Sir Henry Vane and colonel Lambert to stay in town, contrary to their own order for their removal; that they admitted men to sit with them in the house, who lay under accusations of high treason (meaning Mr. Miles Corbet and me, tho' not naming us;) that on the contrary they shewed a backwardness to repose any confidence in those who were their truest friends, upbraiding them with refusing to approve some officers that had been presented to them, and delaying to grant commissions to others whom they had approved. They also reflected upon the parliament for not making provision for the army, nor minding the publick work, putting them in mind of the vote for the dissolution in May following; and adding some threatning expressions, in case they should not issue out writs for filling up the parliament, according to their promise. After the reading of this letter from Monk, I perceived most of the members who had any affection to their country to be much dejected. But the parliament having devested themselves of their own strength, and abandoned all into the hands of Monk, tho' no man had ever before presumed to address himself to them in so insolent a manner, yet they took his letter into consideration, and resolved to give him as much satisfaction as they could with any colour of justice. To that end they quickened their committee to bring in their report touching those that had acted in the late committee of safety: they ordered Sir Henry Vane to depart the town by a certain day, and that colonel Lambert should render himself within a limited time. They also resolved to issue out writs of summons for recruiting the house; but being fully persuaded that the charge of high treason against me was groundless and frivolous, they omitted to make any order concerning it. However, being desirous to procure some relief for those whom I had left at Duncannon, and to endeavour that the forces in Ireland might be put into good hands, I hoped that if I should move to be heard, I might at the same time have an opportunity to press the two last things, which I esteemed very necessary in that conjuncture: I desired therefore that since I conceived myself aimed at in one part of Monk's letter, the parliament would be pleased to hear me in vindication of my innocence: but I could not obtain a present hearing, my case being put off till a farther time, and then delayed from day to day, till the dissipation of those who should have been my judges.

Sir

SIR Henry Vane, according to the late order, was preparing to lea the town; of which having notice, I went to make him a visit at h house, where he told me that unless he were much mistaken, Mon had yet several masques to pull off, assuring me for what concerned him self, that he had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions Go had enabled him to do for the commonwealth, and hoped the same Go would fortify him in his sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithf and constant testimony thereto. Monk having alarmed the parliament b the foresaid letter, and either not daring to trust himself at Whitehal or thinking London a fitter place to pursue his design in, he retire with his forces into the city, where he mustered his men, and wa splendidly entertain'd at dinner by the mayor and others. Hereupo the parliament, who endeavoured by all means to give him satisfaction sent Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Luke Robinson, who had been thei commissioners to him, as I mentioned before, to assure him of thei good intentions towards him: but he having now fortified himself b the conjunction of the city, began to treat them in a manner muc different from his former carriage, not admitting them without diffi culty to his presence; and when he condescended to speak to them his discourse tended always to the same purpose with his letter asperſing the proceedings of the parliament, and amongst other thing reproaching them with their favour to me, as Mr. Scot afterward informed me: insomuch that he who had so lately undertaken to the parliament for Monk's integrity and fidelity to their service, be gan to loose all hopes of him. Yet for all his insolent carriage to the parliament and their commissioners, his party in the house had the confidence to move that he might be made general of their forces, the time limited by act of parliament for commissionating him with others to command the army in England and Scotland being almost expired. Many arguments were used to that end, tho' those which were most pressed were taken from the consideration of the present posture of their affairs. But the parliament still retaining some sparks of that courage with which they had been formerly animated, and having found by sad experience what miseries they had brought upon the nation and themselves by trusting Cromwel and others too far, chose rather to perish by the hands of an enemy, if Monk should resolve to be so, than by the delusions of a pretended friend: and therefore having rejected the proposition to make him general, they passed a vote that their armies in England and Scotland should be governed by commissioners, the number of them to be five, and any three of them to make a quorum. But that they might avoid as much as possible to give him the least just cause of discontent, they first agreed that he should be one of the said commissioners. Then they proceeded to the nomination of the rest, and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, tho' he earnestly pressed them to excuse him, colonel Morley, and colonel Walton. These four being elected, it was visible that the balance of the commission would be in the fifth man that should be chosen, Monk having in a manner declared himself our enemy, and colonel Morley being sufficiently known to be of a temporizing spirit. Hereupon Monk's party in the house moved that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper might be the fifth commissioner, and on the other side the commonwealth party had resolved to use their endeavours for major-general Overton: but upon consideration of the differences that had been between

between him and Monk, whereby they feared he would not paſs, they laid aſide that reſolution, and agreed to put up colonel Alured. Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper being firſt named, was firſt put to the queſtion, and by the majority of votes excluded. Colonel Alured being next propoſed, the queſtion was carried for him to the great ſatisfaction of the commonwealth party. Whereupon ſitting by colonel Martin in the houſe, and being perſwaded of the integrity of the major part of theſe commiſſioners, I deſired him to move, that the command of the forces in Ireland might be inſerted in this commiſſion, which, upon his motion, was ordered accordingly; and the act being but ſhort, was read thrice, and paſſed before the riſing of the houſe: and this I did, becauſe I found no other probable way open to force the power in Ireland out of the hands of thoſe that had uſurped it. Tho' theſe proceedings did not a little diſturb Monk, yet he endeavoured to diſguiſe his diſſatisfaction, and began again to court the members of parliament more than before, whilſt with the advice and aſſiſtance of his party in the city, he was forming a militia there, and nominating officers to command them, who were choſen for that purpoſe, rather on account of their diſaffection to the parliament than any other good quality to be found about them. Having received advice of theſe tranſactions, I acquainted Sir Arthur Haſlerig with my information, and deſired him to think of ſome ſpeedy remedy, propoſing, that he would cauſe our ſcattered forces to rendezvous forthwith: but Sir Arthur was ſo deluded by the hypocriſy of Monk, that he aſſured me he had given him all the ſatisfaction both by words and letters that a man could give touching his integrity to the parliament, ſhewing me and divers other members of parliament, two letters, which he had lately received from him, wherein were many expreſſions of his zeal for the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth, with earneſt deſires that there might be no difference between them touching the way, ſeeing they were both intirely agreed in the ſame end.

Monk had taken up his quarters in the city, at the houſe of one colonel Wall, where I reſolved to make him a viſit, in order, either to take him off from that prejudice, which by a clauſe in his letter to the parliament he ſeemed to have againſt me, or to make a more perfect diſcovery of his intentions; ſuppoſing that, being a member of parliament, he durſt not attempt to ſeize my perſon, or if he did, that ſuch an open violation of the privileges of parliament would awaken them to provide for their own ſafety. I found the houſe where he lodged as full of ſoldiers as it could well be, and paſſed through ſeveral guards before I came to the chamber, where he received his viſits. He was at the time of my coming in a private gallery, conferring with Mr. Edmund Calamy and others of the clergy. When he had taken leave of them, I was admitted, and at firſt perceived him to be very ſhy of me: but after I had acquainted him that the cauſe of my viſit was in order to undeceive him, and to remove, if poſſible, the prejudices he ſeemed to have againſt me, he ſuddenly changed his countenance, and treated me with great familiarity. Whereupon I told him, that having always endeavoured to aſſert the authority of the civil magiſtrate in oppoſition to the tyranny of the ſword, I was unwilling to have any difference with him, who had declared for the ſame things: I aſſured him, that I had publickly diſapproved the anſwer of colonel Jones to that letter which he had ſent to Ireland, directed to me, on ſuppoſition that I had then been in that country. I acquainted him with what I had done to preſerve the Iriſh brigade from joining with

the army-party, and how I had prevailed with them to engage to me under their hands not to fight againſt him, upon notice that he had eſpouſed the cauſe of the parliament. I acknowledged, that I had diſplaced one of his relations in Ireland, not out of the leaſt diſreſpect to him; but according to a rule which I conceived to be moſt juſt, that thoſe might be reſtored to their offices in the army, who had been removed for their affection to the commonwealth, which was the caſe; his kinſman having been made cornet of major Dean's troop, and cornet Whalley diſplaced for the reaſon before-mentioned. Hereupon Monk ſaid, that what I had done was moſt juſt, and that he never took any thing ill from me, either upon that or any other particular account. I then deſired to know what reaſon he might have for entertaining any hard thoughts of me: to which he replied, That he had nothing to object againſt me but my favour to the fanatick party in Ireland. I told him that the party he meant had not acted as if they had been of the ſame opinion; for having ſigned an addreſs to the parliament, whereby they engaged to be true and faithful to the civil authority, and delivered it into my hands to be preſented on their part; the ſame men, notwithſtanding their publick engagement and particular promiſes to me, had immediately after my departure ſigned an agreement with the army, thereby rejecting the civil power, and conſequently me, whom the parliament had intruſted to command their forces in Ireland: that as I had never thought the profeſſion of religion to be alone ſufficient to qualify men for imployments, if they wanted affection to the commonwealth; ſo I could not imagine which way religion ſhould incapacitate perſons for the publick ſervice, who were not deficient in their fidelity and zeal for the common good. "Yea," ſaid he, "we muſt live and die together for a commonwealth." I hearing him ſay ſo, told him, that I was informed he was much preſſed to reſtore the ſecluded members, who being highly enraged, would not fail to bring all things into confuſion, and poſſibly endeavour to bring in the king. It may be, ſaid he, that they will attempt it, but they ſay they will not; and I aſſure you, tho' I bear as much reſpect to parliaments as any man, yet if I ſhould obſerve a parliament to be about ſuch a thing, I would interrupt them therein. Having ſpent about half an hour with Monk, I took leave; and as I went from him, I perceived one of his footmen to ſtand at the door of the room where we had diſcourſed, who I ſuppoſe was placed there by his maſter's order, to prevent me from dealing with him, as his conſcience told him he deſerved. He accompanied me to the foot of the ſtairs, and there parted with me, not without great ſhew of reſpect and civility; notwithſtanding which, it was manifeſt to me through all his diſguiſes, by the perſons he favoured and advanced, by the company he kept, and by the courſe he ſteered, that he was not bound to that harbour he pretended; and could I have prevailed with the majority of the parliament to be of the ſame opinion, he ſhould not have carried on his deſign ſo ſmoothly: but into ſuch a deſperate frenzy were we fallen, that many of the houſe, either thro' fear, or for what other reaſon I cannot tell, diſcovered themſelves daily to be favourers of him; who had by this time ſo far advanced his affairs, that he reſolved to pull off another maſk: and to that end deſired ſome ſitting members of the houſe to give a meeting to ſome of the ſecluded members, in order, as he pretended, to give them ſatisfaction touching the juſtice of their excluſion, wherein he owned himſelf to be throughly ſatisfied, affirming to Sir Arthur Haſlerig and others, that he did this only to anſwer the vexatious importunity of the

ſecluded members. By this means he prevailed with Sir Arthur and ſome others to meet them at the time and place appointed, where the ſecluded members, and eſpecially Mr. Anneſley, reflected ſo indecently upon the proceedings of the parliament ſince their excluſion, that Sir Arthur haſtily roſe up, and deſigned to leave the company: but Monk, in a droling way, deſired him to be patient till he ſhould moderate Anneſley, which, he ſaid, he knew well enough how to do. Upon this Sir Arthur Haſlerig ſat down again, but the other proceeding in the ſame manner, he loſt all patience, and riſing up, he departed from the conference: Mr. Scot, Mr. Robinſon, colonel Morley, and Mr. Rawleigh, ſtaid there till the diſcourſe was ended, and ſo did the chief juſtice St. Johns, who not diſcovering himſelf to be of either party, ſat obſerving on which ſide the balance would fall, as if he had been ſtill to chooſe. If the parliament had not been wilfully blind, theſe things would have proved ſufficient to open their eyes. But to leave them without the leaſt colour of excuſe, it happened at this time that advice was brought to them from Ireland, that thoſe who had uſurped the power there, for whoſe fidelity Monk had engaged, and who moved not a ſtep without his orders and directions, had publiſhed a declaration againſt them: the contents of it were more inſolent than thoſe of the letter which Monk had ſent to the parliament before he retired into the city; for after they had reproached them with the favours they extended to men accuſed of high treaſon, and the diſcouragements they laid upon thoſe who had been ſent to England to proſecute them, they openly told the parliament they could no longer own them for an authority, and therefore deſired that a free parliament might be called to put an end to the confuſions which their miſcarriages had brought upon the nation. It was matter of amazement that ſuch a declaration ſhould be publiſhed by men that pretended to act by the authority of the parliament; but it was not procured without oppoſition: for when Sir Charles Coote and Sir Theophilus Jones, who were the principal confidents of Monk on that ſide, had prepared their paper and a party to back it, Sir Hardreſs Waller, who had been one of the late king's judges, fearing the conſequence of ſuch practices, moved that the council of war might be adjourned into the caſtle: but not being able carry that point, he communicated his deſign to as many as he thou fit, and making an excuſe to go out of the room, he haſtened away, an retired into the caſtle. Major Stanley, lieutenant-colonel Warren, an ſome others, went immediately and joined themſelves to him; an amongſt them it was reſolved to ſend out a party to ſeize Sir Charles Coc and his adherents. But he having notice of their intentions, had a pa of his creatures ready; and being accompanied by colonel Theophilus Jones, mounted on horſeback at the head of them, riding up and down the ſtreets of Dublin, and declaring for a free parliament, which language was by that time ſufficiently underſtood to be for the king. They were followed by a great rabble of the people, and thereby ſo incouraged, that they formed a deſign againſt the caſtle; and having poſted their guards upon all the avenues, they ſent a ſummons to Sir Hardreſs Waller to deli the place into their hands. The governour, in his anſwer to the ſi mons, endeavoured to convince them of the injuſtice of their attempt, reminding them of the declarations they had lately made to be true and faithful to the preſent parliament; deſiring them to conſider how much it was their intereſt to adhere to them, ſince it was under their authority that they had acted for ſo many years paſt againſt the late king and his family,

family, and that their titles to the poſſeſſion of the lands forfeited by the rebels were founded upon the ſame power. Having diſpatched this anſwer to Sir Charles Coote, he cloathed all the ſoldiers out of the ſtores, and diſtributed a ſum of ready money amongſt them to ſecure their fidelity, with promiſes of a farther gratuity, if they would ſtand by him: but Sir Charles Coote found a way to treat with ſome of the gariſon, and after two or three days, by large offers and advantageous terms, prevailed with them to deliver their governour and the caſtle into his hands. By the expulſion of Sir Hardreſs Waller out of the army, two regiments fell into the hands of thoſe that had ſeized the government in Ireland, for which Sir Charles Coote had ſome difficulty to find colonels, having already diſpoſed of two to himſelf, one to his brother Richard Coote, another to his brother Chudleigh Coote, a fifth to his brother Thomas Coote, and a ſixth to his couſin St. George. Which enequal diſtribution was ſo reſented by ſome of his own party, that major Barrington moved at one of their councils of war, that a more equal hand might be kept in the diſpoſal of imployments. Whereupon Sir Charles Coote, after he had ſeverely reprimanded the major, diſcharged him from his command in the army. In the mean time Monk had deſired the mayor of London to aſſemble the common council (tho' the parliament had diſſolved them) and in defiance to their authority attended on them at Guildhall, excuſing himſelf for what, he ſaid, he had been conſtrained to do in the city by order of the council of ſtate, and aſſuring them, that he was much troubled for that rigorous work. He declared himſelf ready to expoſe his perſon to all dangers for their ſervice, and that he had not forgot the kind letter they had ſent him whilſt he was yet in the north: that he was then of the ſame opinion with them, but was obliged at that time to conceal it, till he might have an opportunity to diſcover his ſentiments with better advantage. He alſo acquainted them that he had ſent a letter to the parliament, that they would fill up the houſe, and put an end to their ſitting by the ſixth of May. By this means he gave ſuch encouragement to the cavalieriſh party, that the rabble of them, as he paſſed by from Guildhall, cried out for a free parliament; and perceiving him not diſpleaſed with their inſolence, they made bonfires in London and Weſtminſter for roaſting the rump, as they preſumed to call that parliament, who, in the five years time that they governed without interruption, had raiſed the glory of the nation from the duſt wherein it had been buried by the negligence and corruption of the preceding governments, and had rendered the Engliſh name formidable to all Europe. This riotous diſorder, how pleaſing ſoever it was to Monk, yet it could not be properly charged upon him, becauſe he had given no publick order for what been done, and therefore he continued to declare as loud as ever how faithful he would be to the commonwealth. And tho' Sir Arthur Haſlerig was informed of the foregoing particulars, and many other things that ſeemed fully to diſcover Monk's deſign: and tho' I earneſtly importuned him to improve the little time that remained to prevent the threatned ruin, by a ſpeedy reunion with our old friends, by adjourning the parliament to the Tower, and by drawing our diſperſed forces together; yet he would not be perſwaded to any thing of that nature, perſiſting ſtill in his opinion, that all would be well, and that Monk would be honeſt. And that he might have no pretext to be otherwiſe, Sir Arthur doubting, by reaſon of the correſpondence that continued between Monk and the ſecluded members, that, in caſe the writs for filling up the parliament ſhould not be

iſſued

issued out by the time prefixed, he would take advantage of that failure to bring them into the house, laboured diligently with the parliament that it might be done to his satisfaction; and accordingly the bill was passed within the time limited. But the secluded members being grown confident of attaining their ends by another way, deported themselves at a much higher rate than they were accustomed to do; major Harlow, who was one of them, taking the liberty to say openly in Westminster-hall, that they would have their footmen chosen to supply their places. Sir Gilbert Gerrard also brought an action against colonel Alured, for denying him admission to the house after the last restitution of the parliament; but the colonel having acted by order of the parliament, they ordered the process to be stopped. Yet so low were the affairs of the parliament, and their authority so little regarded even in Westminster-hall, that Sir Robert Pye, who had been committed to the Tower by their order, suing for his Habeas Corpus at the upper bench, and judge Newdigate demanding of the counsel for the commonwealth, what they had to say why it should not be granted, the counsel answered, that they had nothing to say against it. Whereupon the judge, tho' no enemy to monarchy, yet ashamed to see them so unfaithful to their trust, replied, that if they had nothing to say, he had; for that Sir Robert Pye being committed by an order of the parliament, an inferiour court could not discharge him.

The house having agreed to all things necessary for issuing out writs to elect members for filling up the parliament, ordered a warrant to be signed by the speaker, whereby the commissioners of the seal should be authorized to send out writs according to custom: but he refused to do it, pretending, that if he should sign any warrant to that purpose, he might be sued at law by every individual person, in whose room any other should be elected, and therefore desired that the house would pass an act to enable their clerk to sign the warrant; or, that the commissioners of the seal might issue out their writs of summons upon a general act to be passed to that end. It was answered, that the duty of his place obliged him to perform the commands of the house; that having received their order in that affair, he was thereby fully indemnified, and that he signed not the warrant in his personal, but in his politick capacity. But he would receive no satisfaction, persisting positively in his refusal, and submitting himself to their pleasure, if they should think fit to send him to the Tower, or to choose another person to be speaker in his place. Whereupon the house condescended to pass an act to impower the clerk to sign the warrant to the commissioners of the seal: tho' for my own part, I was for taking the speaker at his word, and placing another person in the chair; and instead of sending Mr. Lenthal to the Tower, to have adjourned ourselves thither; but I could prevail with few to be of my opinion. This business being thus passed, and my doubts increasing touching the event of these things, I earnestly desired the house, that I might either be presently heard concerning the affairs of Ireland, and my own conduct there, or that a short day might be appointed when they would hear me without any farther delay, alledging for the reason of my importunity, that tho' my enemies in that country had by their late actions manifested to all the world that their enmity to the parliament was much greater than to me; yet being uncertain what sort of men might soon have the principal influence in that house, I could not believe they would think it convenient

that a charge of high treaſon, how frivolous ſoever, ſhould be tranſmitted to them againſt one of their old and faithful ſervants. Mr. Thomas Scot thinking my diſcourſe to reflect upon his ſon, who had commanded the forces before Duncannon, addreſſed himſelf to the ſpeaker, and ſaid: That tho' he would not undertake to anſwer for all who had oppoſed me in Ireland, yet he might affirm that one of them was their faithful ſervant. To which I replied, tho' contrary to the order of the houſe, all things there alſo beginning to fall into confuſion, That I could not poſitively ſay who that one was that the gentleman who ſpoke laſt meant, but ſhould ſuppoſe he intended his ſon, whom I aſſured them they could not think to be ſuch a perſon as he had repreſented him, unleſs they eſteemed the inſurrection of Sir George Booth to have been for their ſervice, he having attempted to juſtify the lawfulneſs of it in my preſence. Upon this diſpute, the ſpeaker preſuming he ſhould be well ſeconded, ventured to diſcover his malice alſo againſt me, reminding the houſe of an order they had made for the ſurrender of Duncannon, to which, he ſaid, he knew not that any obedience had been yielded; and therefore thought it neceſſary the houſe ſhould be aſſured of that before any order were made upon my motion. In this diſorder and confuſion the houſe roſe about ſix in the evening. The council of ſtate ſat late that night, and received advice, that the ſecluded members deſigned to force themſelves into the houſe the next morning: thereupon they ſent a meſſage to Monk to acquaint him with the information they had, and required him to prevent it if it ſhould be attempted. He returned for anſwer to the council, that he was well aſſured no ſuch thing was deſigned; but for their ſatisfaction, and to hinder it if endeavoured, he would not fail to double the guards that were to attend the parliament. But for all this the ſecluded members, attended by divers of Monk's officers, went early the next morning to Weſtminſter, and were admitted into the houſe by the guard he had placed there, who were more ready to defend than oppoſe them; and Monk having thus violated his promiſes, and abuſed the truſt repoſed in him by the publick, took up his quarters again at Whitehall the ſame morning. Being informed of theſe tranſactions, I reſolved for my own part to give no countenance to the ſecluded members by ſitting with them who had no right to any place in parliament, having been expelled the houſe by more than a quorum of lawful members. But that notice might be taken that I had not withdrawn myſelf from the ſervice of the publick, nor was at the head of any forces, as was given out, I thought convenient to paſs ſometimes through Weſtminſter-hall; where Mr. George Montague, who knew I declined to come to the houſe, meeting me, and aſking me the reaſon of it, I anſwered, That having done as much as I could to ſerve the commonwealth, and ſeeing an impoſſibility of contending againſt the preſent torrent, I had reſolved to abſent myſelf from the place where the parliament uſed to meet, that I might publickly diſown the authority of thoſe who had violently poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſe, and not ſeem to conſent to the confuſions they were bringing upon us. He replied, that in his opinion, the conditions upon which the ſecluded members had entered the houſe, were more diſhonourable than thoſe upon which others were gone out, and that he was not willing to ſit among them, they having engaged to make Monk general of all the forces by ſea and land, to ſettle a conſtant maintenance for the army, to appoint a new parliament to be choſen; and when theſe things were diſpatched, to put a

period

period to themselves within a day or two at the most. Yet some of the lawful members of parliament, either through fear or curiosity, or some other motive not known to me, went into the house and sat amongst them. Another part of them, being about seventeen in number, whereof divers of them were of the council of state, went to Monk to be informed from his own mouth of the reasons of these proceedings. He received them with no less civility than formerly; and having understood from them the occasion of their coming, he made as solemn protestations of his zeal to a commonwealth-government as he had ever done, desiring them to believe, that the permission he had given to the secluded members to enter the house, was only to free himself from their importunity, and that he would take effectual care to prevent them from doing any hurt in that place. But these gentlemen having resolved to try him to the utmost, demanded farther, if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party: in answer to which he applied himself to Sir Arthur Hasserig, who was one of them, and said, "Sir Arthur, I have often declared to you my resolution so to do:" Then taking off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur's, he added; "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers." After this he began to expostulate with them touching their suspicions, saying; "What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block? tho' others cut off his head, and that justly."

The secluded members having forced themselves into the house, took upon them the authority of a parliament, making votes and enacting laws as they pleased, which power they had hitherto constantly denied to be in a house of commons alone: but we must believe the case to have been much altered upon their return; and that a house of commons alone, without a king, or house of peers, might do any thing for betraying the publick cause, tho' it could not have any colour of authority to justify them in doing the least thing for the security of it. In pursuance of these principles, they passed an act to make Monk general of all the forces belonging to the parliament in England, Scotland, and Ireland, both by sea and land, only they joined colonel Montague with him in the office of admiral; which, tho' Monk resented as a violation of the treaty he had made with the secluded members, yet he thought not convenient to insist upon the alteration of that particular. They continued the customs and excise, and laid other taxes on the people, borrowing great sums of the city of London on the credit of their acts. Monk took away colonel Walton's regiment of horse, and gave it to colonel —— Howard; and having made choice of two hundred horse for his own guard, he appointed colonel Philip Howard to command them. He disposed of colonel Rich's regiment to colonel Ingoldsby; but before the order could be put in execution, colonel Rich hoping he might prevail with his men, as he had done formerly, to declare for the lawful authority, he went down to the quarters where they lay. At his arrival most of them promised to remain faithful to him; but when colonel Ingoldsby came down, partly by his own interest among them, they having been under his command in the time of Cromwel, and partly by the torrent of the usurped authority, which then ran that way, he prevailed with the greatest part of them to desert their colonel; who finding himself abandoned by most of them, yielded the rest to him, and declared his resolution to acquiesce. Captain Walcot,

Walcot, who had been an officer in my regiment, and by me preferred to be captain of a troop of horſe when I ſent our brigade into England, having gained an intereſt in the officers and ſoldiers by his good conduct, and ſuppoſing to find amongſt them the ſame affection to the good old cauſe they had always manifeſted ſince their arrival in England, went towards Cheſter, where they were quartered; and being arrived within twelve miles of that place, he ſent a letter to major Woodward, of whoſe fidelity to the parliament he thought himſelf ſure, to acquaint him with his reſolution of going to them. But ſo great a change had the late turn wrought in mens minds, that the major gave captain Walcot's letter to colonel Redman, who by Monk's order then commanded our Iriſh brigade, and who immediately diſpatched a party of horſe to ſeize the captain; which having done, in obedience to the order they had received, rather than from any inclination to ſuch an imployment, they gave him an opportunity to make his eſcape. Captain Walcot coming afterwards to London, went to Monk, and having delivered his opinion freely touching the publick affairs, and the uſage he had lately met with, Monk fell into a violent paſſion againſt him; but ſoon recollecting himſelf, he treated him in a more civil manner, and gave him a paſſport to return into Ireland, where his family and eſtate lay, ſuppoſing thereby to render him leſs able to aſſiſt his enemies than if he ſhould continue in England. The ſecluded members having forbidden the council to ſit, choſe one to ſupply their place, which was compoſed of Dr. Denzil Holles, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Mr. Crew, Mr. Swinſen, Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller, colonel John Birch, colonel George Monk, Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, colonel Norton, Mr. Knightly, colonel Herbert Morley, Sir Harbottle Grimeſtone, Mr. Arthur Anneſley, Sir Richard Onſlow, chief juſtice St. Johns, ſerjeant Brown, colonel Brown, &c. This new council was veſted with large powers of impriſoning ſuch as they ſuſpected, and doing other things ſuitable to the deſigns then on foot. Sir Hardreſs Waller obtained of them, by means of his kinſman Sir William Waller, a permiſſion to come over to England, and to be brought before them; where having ſubſcribed an engagement to acquieſce, and to appear upon ſummons, he was diſcharged from cuſtody. But Sir Charles Coote, who was well acquainted with the bottom of Monk's deſign, and conſcious to himſelf how much he had exaſperated the king's friends in Ireland by his conſtant oppoſition to them, having added to all the reſt the execution of one Stuart, that was related to the royal family, thought he could never do things horrid enough to thoſe of his own party, in order to reconcile himſelf to the other: therefore, that he might give them what aſſurances he could that he was wicked enough to be imployed and truſted by them, he ſent a party of horſe and ſeized the chief juſtice Coke, to make ſome amends to his ſacred majeſty by that ſacrifice. The grand deſign of deſtroying the commonwealth being ſo far advanced, Monk cauſed a declaration to be drawn in the name of the officers about London, and recommended to the reſt of the officers in the three nations, declaring it to be their duty and reſolution to ſubmit to the authority that was over them, and to obey ſuch orders as they ſhould receive from them: which when they were upbraided with, as a thing contrived to betray the publick cauſe, many of the officers ſhewed themſelves ſo ſenſible of the conſequences of it, that they earneſtly preſſed that a council of war might be called; making uſe of ſome reaſons to perſwade their general to it, but indeed to unite themſelves

to

to each other, and in a publick manner to expreſs their reſolutions to lay down their lives for the commonwealth. But Monk being informed of their deſign, diſperſed them to their reſpective commands, to which they tamely ſubmitted, notwithſtanding the big words they had ſpoken without doors. Hereupon the ſecluded members ſuſpecting Sir Arthur Haſlerig to have had a principal hand in raiſing this ſpirit in the officers of the army, ſent to him to take his place in the houſe where the parliament ought to ſit, which to that time he had not done. Sir Arthur finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the ſtream, being accompanied with divers members, went in to them; where, as I have been informed by ſome that were then preſent, he did not behave himſelf with that courage and reſolution that uſually attended him, but pleaded in his excuſe the reverence he always had for the authority of parliaments, and endeavoured to juſtify himſelf touching any violations that had been made againſt it, aſſuring them of his intention to acquieſce under the preſent power. Major-general Lambert alſo, who had hitherto concealed himſelf in hopes of finding an opportunity to appear at the head of ſome party, and thereby to prevent the deſign of Monk, finding that the army had for the moſt part ſubmitted to the authority of the ſecluded members, ſurrendered himſelf to the new council of ſtate, in hopes of better terms from them than he could have promiſed himſelf from the former, who he thought would have been more likely to reſent the force he had put upon the parliament: but they contrary to his expectations requiring him to give ſecurity for his quiet deportment, upon his refuſal ſo to do, committed him to the Tower.

Most of the commonwealth-party were very ſenſible of the dangerous condition of their affairs; and that they might not be altogether wanting to their own preſervation, and to the ſervice of the publick, ſome of the principal perſons among them had divers meetings; at one of which I took the liberty to make the following propoſitions: that ſeven of the council of ſtate, and three of the generals that had been appointed by the parliament, ſhould ſign ſuch orders as were neceſſary for putting our deſign in execution. That the regiment of colonel Moſs which lay in Kent, and not far from London, and another which lay in the borough of Southwark commanded by lieutenant-colonel Farnly, conſiſting in all of more than 2000 old ſoldiers, of whoſe integrity and affection we had good aſſurance, ſhould be ordered to march to the Tower to join with colonel Morley's regiment which was already there, and would be ready to receive them, having ſent to me to let me know, that the Tower ſhould be at my command whenſoever I pleaſed to deſire it: that the commanders of theſe forces ſhould take with them proviſions for ſix months, giving tickets for the quantity ſo taken, payable by the parliament of England: that the militia of London which had been liſted during the government of the parliament, ſhould be authorized to meet as there ſhould be occaſion, to aſſiſt the forces in the Tower: that four or five places of rendezvous ſhould be appointed for the forces of the army that lay ſcattered up and down in ſeveral parts of the nation; and that officers ſhould be agreed upon to appear at the head of them: that the ſoldiers both horſe and foot ſhould have the liberty either to follow their old officers, or to appoint new: that thoſe officers who ſhould prevail with the major part of their men to follow them ſhould continue in their reſpective poſts; and that thoſe that appeared heartily to promote this deſign, tho' they could not perſuade

the greater part of their ſoldiers to follow them, ſhould have proviſion made for them equal to their merits: that the country-militia both horſe and foot ſhould be authorized to draw together, and be impowered to ſeize and diſarm ſuch perſons in the reſpective countries as were known enemies to the commonwealth: that the fleet ſhould be ordered to declare at the ſame time, and to ſend one or two thouſand ſeamen to the aſſiſtance of thoſe in the Tower, which I conceived they might do without danger to the nation, becauſe the enemy we were to contend with, was inteſtine and not from abroad. I acquainted them that vice-admiral Lawſon who commanded the fleet had declared his reſolution to continue faithful to the parliament, which could not well be doubted by any that would reflect upon his former conduct, he having taken the oath for abjuring the king's family, and being one of the council of ſtate. To this was added, that all perſons who ſhould act by the parliament's authority in this ſervice, ſhould be juſtified in ſo doing; that the governours of gariſons ſhould be required to refuſe obedience to any power which was not derived from the lawful authority of the parliament, whoſe place the ſecluded members had now uſurped; and that a declaration ſhould be forthwith prepared to ſhew the grounds and reaſons, together with the neceſſity of theſe proceedings. Some of thoſe that were preſent promiſed to adviſe with their friends of the council of ſtate, and hoped that a quorum of them as well as of the generals might be found to put the things in execution that ſhould be agreed on. But we being ripe for the correction of heaven, nothing could prevent it, our enemies ſucceeding in all their attempts, and all our endeavours proving abortive. In the mean time the companies of London made a great entertainment for Monk, where the bargain they had driven with him was ratified and confirmed by diſſolute and unbecoming debauchery; for it was his cuſtom not to depart from thoſe publick meetings till he was as drunk as a beaſt. After dinner a perſon was introduc'd, who in verſe addreſſed himſelf to Monk for the return of the king, which he heard without reproof, tho' at the ſame time he proteſted to colonel Okey, who went to take leave of him in order to repair to his command, and deſir'd to be ſatisfied of his intentions touching Charles Stuart, "That he would oppoſe him to the utmoſt;" and gave him his hand before all the officers then preſent, as a pledge of his ſincerity.

The ſecluded members being convinced that the ſword was likely to prove the beſt title they ſhould find to their authority, prepared an act to ſettle the militia in ſuch hands as they might ſafely truſt, and took into their conſideration how to ſettle the ſum of one thouſand pounds a year upon Monk, which had been voted to be given him by the parliament. The thing in diſpute was, whether the ſaid ſettlement ſhould be ſecured to him out of the king's lands at Hampton-Court, as he himſelf had deſired of the parliament, that he might lay them more profoundly aſleep, or whether a ſum of ready money ſhould be paid to him in lieu of it. Divers of the members of parliament were for making good their former order upon Hampton-Court, and ſeveral of the ſecluded members hating the traitor, tho' they accepted the treaſon, concurred with them, that ſo the grant might be rendered uſeleſs to him. But his party amongſt them was ſo great, that tho' it was carried to be out of the lands at Hampton-Court, yet in concluſion they obtained a vote that twenty thouſand pounds ſhould be paid him out of the publick treaſury inſtead of it.

The Irish officers also, who had assumed the civil as well as the military power, presented him with a pair of spurs and a hilt for a sword, all of gold; together with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt, to manifest their acknowledgment and acceptance of his good service in betraying the publick cause. The lord of Lauderdale, with other Scots who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, and continued in custody from that time, were set at liberty; and the secluded members gave order also to discharge Sir George Booth from his imprisonment, if he would engage to make his appearance upon summons; which he thinking to be injurious to him, who had endeavoured to do no more than they themselves were attempting, refused the condition; but was soon after released without entring into any obligation.

The new council of state being informed of some designs against the usurped power, issued out warrants for apprehending divers officers of the army; and having some jealousy of others that were members of parliament, they procured an order of their house to authorize them to seize any member who had not sat since the coming in of the secluded members, if there should be occasion. And tho' these men could thus trample upon the privileges of that body, whereof they pretended to be members; yet to shew how zealous they were for presbytery, they ordered copies of the covenant to be fairly drawn and hung up in every parish-church throughout England.

The lords perceiving which way things were turning, solicited Monk that they might take their places according to ancient custom in the house appointed for their sitting, alledging that nothing done by the commons without their assent could justly be esteemed legal. But it was not yet time for Monk to discover himself so openly, before the army was better prepared, and the new militia settled: and therefore he not only gave a positive denial to their demand, but placed a guard of soldiers upon their house, to prevent the lords from acting the same part that the secluded commons had done.

Major-general Overton still continued in his government of Hull, and suspecting Monk to be an enemy to the commonwealth, had hitherto refused to yield obedience to his orders. Whereupon the secluded members being well informed of the importance of the place from the time they had ordered it to be kept by Sir John Hotham against the late king, impowered Monk to use all means to remove the major-general from that command. Monk in pursuance of their directions, prevailed with colonel Alured, who was one of the generals appointed by the parliament, to go down to Hull, and to endeavour to persuade major-general Overton to quit the place. Accordingly he went down, and having acquainted the major-general with the reason of his journey, was presently put into the possession of it. It was matter of wonder to me that colonel Alured, in whom the commonwealth party had reposed so great trust, would suffer himself to be imployed in such a message to one of the most faithful servants of the parliament. But I was somewhat more satisfied when major-general Overton came to London, where he assured me that colonel Alured had neither said nor done at Hull any thing unbecoming an honest man; but that upon the news of the intrusion of the secluded members, the cavalier party in the town had so increased, and his own soldiers split into such divisions, that he had no hopes left of keeping it.

At this time it was disputed whether the secluded members should agree upon a settlement, or whether it should be left for a parliament to do:

do: ſome were for calling in the lords who ſat in the year 1648, that they, together with the commons, might enter into treaty with the king for a future eſtabliſhment, which ſhould be grounded chiefly upon the conceſſions made by the laſt king in the Iſle of Wight. But Monk being earneſtly deſirous to bring back the king without any conditions, in hopes thereby to procure a recompence equal to the greatneſs of his treachery, prevented the ſucceſs of that propoſition; which part he acted ſo openly, that divers of the ſecluded and other members of parliament reſolved to imitate him: and tho' all of them had engaged the nation in a war againſt the king, had contributed the utmoſt of their endeavours to carry it on, and called in the Scotiſh nation to aſſiſt them in it; yet upon a debate whether thoſe of the king's party ſhould be admitted to elect members for the ſucceeding parliament, it was, to the aſtoniſhment of all men but themſelves, carried for the affirmative. Having done this, they ordered writs to be iſſued out in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, excluding ſuch from being choſen who had ſerved the king, which was contrived to lead the people blindfold to their own ruin, and to put ſome colour upon the cheat they were about to impoſe on them. For they knew that having given leave for the cavaliers to chooſe, and by every ſtep they had taken, manifeſted their malice againſt the commonwealth, it would certainly come to paſs, that either the ſons of thoſe of the king's party, or at leaſt ſuch as had privately favoured that intereſt, would for the moſt part be choſen in that conjuncture, when the commonwealth party were under the greateſt diſcouragements, and could not appear with ſafety under the uſurped authority. They underſtood alſo that tho' it ſhould happen, contrary to the excluſion before-mentioned, that thoſe who had been actually in arms for the king ſhould be choſen and returned to ſit in the houſe, yet we were not likely to procure them to be ejected at ſuch a time as this; having not been able, without the greateſt difficulty, to caſt out, even from Richard's convention, thoſe that had been in arms againſt us.

The ſecluded members not thinking themſelves ſecure, till they had put the militia into the hands of ſuch as were enemies to the commonwealth, paſſed an act to that purpoſe, and ordered it to be printed and publiſhed: whereat the officers about Monk were ſo offended, that tho' they had loſt all affection to the publick cauſe, yet ſuſpecting that the forming ſuch a militia, and intruſting it in the hands of commiſſioners that were known to be favourers of the king's party, might prove injurious, if not deſtructive to the army, by bringing in the ſon of the late king without them, they applied themſelves to Monk, and earneſtly deſired that in conſideration of his own and their danger, he would prevent the execution of the ſaid act. Whereupon he ſent a letter to the pretended parliament, to let them know, that being informed of the diſaffection of the commiſſioners nominated in the act they had paſſed touching the militia, he deſired them to forbear the execution of it, leſt the perſons they had intruſted therein might erect ſuch a power in oppoſition to the army, as might be ſufficient to bring in Charles Stuart. The letter being read in the houſe, cauſed a great perplexity amongſt them, many not knowing what judgment to make of it, and ſome of them fearing that Monk would deceive them at laſt. But others underſtood him well enough; and therefore, notwithſtanding his letter, Mr. Prynn went to the printer and procured the act to be immediately made publick, knowing it to be the deſire of Monk that it ſhould be ſo. Yet that they might correſpond with him

in his deceit, they ſent Sir William Waller and one more to give him ſatisfaction concerning the particulars of the act, which he pretended to ſcruple. They acquainted him, that tho' there were many perſons nominated in the act, who might be willing to do as was ſuſpected, yet that by it none were permitted to act as commiſſioners, but ſuch as ſhould own the juſtice of the parliament's cauſe againſt the king to the year 1648, by ſubſcribing a paper to that purpoſe. They alſo informed him that the ſaid commiſſioners were not to appoint any colonels or captains to act in the militia, before they ſhould be approved by the council of ſtate. Monk, being willing to receive ſatisfaction, having ſent the forementioned letter only at the importunity of the officers, reſolved to be contented with this anſwer; tho' all men ſaw how little conſcience the cavalier party made of ſigning any paper, in order to promote the intereſt of their faction.

The act for the militia being paſſed, the command of all the forces and gariſons ſettled on Monk, and the fleet in his power in conjunction with colonel Montague, the pretended parliament authorized their council of ſtate to provide for the publick ſafety on all emergencies, and to diſpoſe affairs as they ſhould think fit till the meeting of the next parliament. Which being done, and the houſe ready to paſs the act for their diſſolution, Mr. Crew, who had been as forward as any man in beginning and carrying on the war againſt the laſt king, moved, that before they diſſolved themſelves, they would bear their witneſs againſt the horrid murder, as he called it, of the king. This unexpected motion prevailed with many then preſent to deny their concurrence to that act againſt the king, tho' not to reflect in the ſame manner on thoſe who had been concerned in it: and one of them concluding his diſcourſe with proteſting that he had neither hand nor heart in that affair, Mr. Thomas Scot, who had been ſo much deluded by the hypocriſy of Monk, as I have already related, in abhorrence of that baſe ſpirit, ſaid, That tho' he knew not where to hide his head at that time, yet he durſt not refuſe to own, that not only his hand, but his heart alſo was in it: and after he had produced divers reaſons to prove the juſtice of it, he concluded, that he ſhould deſire no greater honour in this world, than that the following inſcription ſhould be engraved on his Tomb; "Here lieth one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart late king of England." Having ſaid this, he and moſt of the members who had a right to ſit in parliament, withdrew from the houſe; ſo that there was not the fourth part of a quorum of lawful members preſent in the houſe, when the ſecluded members, who had been voted out of the parliament by thoſe that had an undiſputed authority over their own members, undertook to diſſolve the parliament, which was not to be done, unleſs by their own conſent; and whether that conſent was ever given, is ſubmitted to the judgment of all impartial men. This face of authority being vaniſhed after a full diſcovery of the malignity of their intentions, I ſuppoſed the cruelty of their council of ſtate would not fail to increaſe with their fears; and therefore, tho' I continued to paſs ſometimes thro' Weſtminſter Hall, that they might ſee I was not withdrawn; yet I did not ſo frequently and publickly as I had done, changing my lodging from the houſe of one friend to that of another; and when I lay at my own houſe, taking the beſt care I could to ſecure myſelf from being ſurprized.

In the mean time a conſiderable party of thoſe who had been engaged againſt the king, reſolved to raiſe a ſum of money to pay ſuch troops as ſhould be willing to draw together againſt Monk and his partizans, and

that two of their number ſhould be bound for the peaceable deportment of major-general Lambert in the penal ſum of five thouſand pounds, ſo much being demanded by the council of ſtate; which bond, if it ſhould come to be forfeited, and the perſons bound conſtrained to pay the money, it was agreed that the ſame ſum ſhould be diſcharged out of the publick ſtock. Mr. Slingſby Bethel was imployed by the moſt eminent perſons concerned in this deſign, to communicate their reſolutions to Sir Arthur Haſlerig, whom he attended at his lodgings to that purpoſe, and found him in a moſt melancholy poſture, ſitting in a chair, and leaning his head upon both his hands. Mr. Bethel aſked him the reaſon of his trouble; and received for anſwer, that having been with Monk that morning, and preſſing him to give him ſome aſſurance of his care of the commonwealth, reminding him of his oaths and proteſtations of fidelity to the cauſe, Monk had treated him in an unuſual manner, and demanded how he could expect any thing from him, whom he had endeavoured to make leſs than he was before he marched to London? Sir Arthur added to the reſt of his diſcourſe to Mr. Bethel, "We are undone, we are undone." Thus he that had abandoned his old friends to ſupport the intereſt of Monk, and would not be perſwaded of the malignity of his deſigns, whereby he had loſt many opportunities of recovering all, was at laſt deſerted by him, and almoſt driven to deſpair. Mr. Scot alſo informed me, that he had loſt all hopes of getting ſuch a number of our council of ſtate together, as ſhould be neceſſary to put in execution the deſign which I had propoſed; and that, having notice that the new council of ſtate had reſolved to ſeize his perſon, he deſigned to retire into the country, as well to ſecure himſelf, as to endeavour to be elected into the enſuing convention, which, by the vote of the ſecluded members, was to be called a parliament. Theſe things put me in further doubt of my own ſafety, and moved me to provide for myſelf as well as I could. To that end I ſeldom lay at my own houſe after Mr. Scot's departure from London; and finding myſelf deprived of all means to ſerve the publick, and expecting the utmoſt extremities that malice could invent againſt thoſe that had faithfully ſerved their country, I reſolved alſo to withdraw myſelf from the obſervation of the uſurpers, and to go into the country. In purſuance of this reſolution I departed from London, accompanied by my wife in a ſmall chariot drawn by two horſes, having ſent two ſervants before well mounted to attend me on the road, with a led horſe for myſelf, if there ſhould be occaſion. The ſecond day of my journey, early in the morning, we perceived one to ride very hard after us, who coming up to us, proved to be a perſon that waited on my mother, and was ſent by our relations with letters to inform me of what had happened ſince our departure: that about an hour and half after we left London, a meſſenger from the council of ſtate came to the houſe where I lodged, with an order requiring me to appear before them; aſſuring my relations he had the like orders for ſummoning Mr. Miles Corbet, colonel John Jones and colonel Thomlinſon, commiſſioners of parliament for the affairs of Ireland, to attend the ſaid council: that the meſſenger being earneſt to know whither I was gone, that he might give the more certain account to thoſe that ſent him; my ſiſter Kempſon, doubting they might ſend after me and ſeize me, had refuſed to anſwer that queſtion; and that my mother Oldſworth, fearing my ſiſter's refuſal might increaſe the jealouſy of the council of ſtate, and put them upon taking ſome extreme meaſures againſt me, had prevailed with my father-in-law her huſband to wait on

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the council the next morning, and to inform them whither I was gone, and the cause of my removal from London. Having received this account, and soon concluding that the council either had already, or would send speedily after me, I mounted my led horse, that I might be the better prepared to make my escape, if I should happen to be pursued; and lest they should have way-laid me on the road, I divided my little company, directing my wife with the chariot and two servants to take the common road by Bagshot, whilst I with a groom crossed the heath, and declined all publick roads: so that my wife and I met not, till towards the evening I perceived her coming by a private way, which it was necessary to pass before she could reach the house of my cousin Robert Wallop at Farley, where we had agreed to remain that night. There we found Mr. Nicholas Love, who had been one of the late king's judges, and who arrived there just before us. Soon after our arrival, Mr. Wallop, who had been at a mannor called "Husbands" belonging to him, came home, and received us with his usual generosity and cordial affection, expressing no less zeal to the commonwealth than when it was in its highest prosperity. And tho' I acquainted him with the state of my affairs, and with the proceedings of the council in relation to me, he earnestly desired me to continue at his house: but I thought it not decent so to do; and therefore after two night's stay I took leave of him, and went to Sutton, where I lay with as much privacy as I could, having discovered that the master of the inn had been one of the late king's guard, and passionately affected to the cavalier interest. The next day I went to the house of my cousin William Ludlow at Clarendon, where I was informed that Mr. Bainton, whom I had promised to serve in the ensuing election, had desisted from his design, and that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Mr. Earnly were likely to be chosen. However, to make good my promise, I sent a letter to him to let him know I was come into the country, and to offer him what service I could, if he persisted in his intentions to stand for the county of Wilts. Having dispatched this message, and doubting the council of state might send to seize, or at least to summon me, I went privately from Clarendon to Salisbury, and took up my lodgings at the house of one Mr. Traughton, a minister of that city; where after I had been two or three days, I received a letter from my father Oldsworth, by which I understood he had been with those of the council of state, and having informed them that the design of my journey into the country was in order to settle my affairs there, they seemed to be well satisfied. He acquainted me also, that Mr. Miles Corbet, colonel John Jones, and colonel Thomlinson, had attended the council in obedience to their summons, and were not permitted to depart, till they had signed an engagement to give no disturbance to the present power. The consideration of this proceeding towards them, made me set a higher value on my deliverance from their hands than I had hitherto done. For if I had not left the town when I did, the summons from the council had been served upon me; and if I had not appeared, it would have been taken as a contempt: but if I had appeared, they would undoubtedly have tendered me the like engagement to sign, which I could not have done any more than that which was required from me by Cromwel, and so might have been imprisoned, and in all probability, detained till the return of Charles Stuart.

The time of the election drawing near, I sent a messenger to Mr. Bainton for his last resolution in that matter, who returned me this an-

ſwer, That having had a meeting with the gentlemen of the country at the Deviſes, he had reſolved not to put his friends to the trouble of appearing for him, judging it the beſt way rather to ſwim with the ſtream than to be borne down by it. Being thus diſcharged of my engagement to Mr. Bainton, I went to Maiden Bradley, and held a court at Yardenfield, that I might raiſe what money I could amongſt my tenants, by filling up eſtates and changing lives: which having diſpatched, I went to my mannor of Knoyle for the ſame end; and being there, was much importuned by the inhabitants of the borough of Hinden, part of the ſaid mannor, to be one of their burgeſſes in the aſſembly that was to meet at Weſtminſter. Tho' I durſt not deſire any to confer ſo great a truſt on me, yet I confeſs it was no ſmall contentment to me, that they would manifeſt their reſpects to my perſon, and their remembrance of my ſervices, whatſoever they had been, in ſuch a conjuncture, when the cavalier party, with what deſign may eaſily be conjectured, had printed the names of the late king's judges, of which number I had the honour to be one; and when that intereſt was already become ſo prevalent, that the heir of the lord Cottington, tho' a papiſt and an ideot, had found a party ſufficient to put him into poſſeſſion of Founthil-houſe, which had been given by the parliament to the lord preſident Bradſhaw, and to maintain him therein by open violence, againſt the kinſman and heir of the ſaid preſident.

HAVING finiſhed my private affairs as well as I could, I was willing to have it believed that I was gone to Saliſbury, and therefore ſet forward on that way; but to defeat, if poſſible, the malice of my enemies, I went not far before I quitted that road; and having ſent my chariot, wherein my wife was, to Saliſbury, I mounted on horſeback, and paſſing over the hills that lie towards Somerſetſhire, I went to the houſe of my brother Strangways at Eaſt-Charleton, where I ſtaid about four days as privately as I could, my horſes being watered within the walls of the houſe, and the ſervants commanded to be ſilent concerning me.

THE time of election for the borough of Hinden being come, the perſons in nomination were Mr. How of Berwick, Sir Thomas Thynne, and myſelf. All agreed to chuſe Mr. How, ſo that the diſpute lay between Sir Thomas and me. The number of the electors was about twenty ſix, of whom I had nineteen voices, and was thereupon declared by the bailiff to be elected with Mr. How to ſerve for that borough. The indentures were ſigned, and the writ returned to the ſheriff according to cuſtom. But the agents of Sir Thomas Thynne being unwilling to loſe all their trouble and expence, and gueſſing upon probable grounds, that if they could bring the caſe before the next aſſembly, they ſhould certainly carry it againſt me, ſigned another indenture for Mr. How and Sir Thomas Thynne, making up in number what they wanted in quality, taking the ſubſcriptions of the rabble, who not only paid nothing either to the ſtate, church, or poor, but alſo received the publick alms of the pariſh: and to gain theſe they were obliged to deſcend to the moſt unworthy artifices, affirming that I was already fled, and that they ſhould certainly be deſtroyed by the king if they elected me.

BEFORE I went into Somerſetſhire I had ordered one of my tenants, of whoſe fidelity I had good aſſurance, to find out ſome private houſe where I might remain till I could better diſcern what courſe to take. Having made a diligent inquiry, he came to me with an account that he had found out divers places, whereof I might make choice of that which I ſhould beſt approve for my retirement, which accordingly I did, and was received

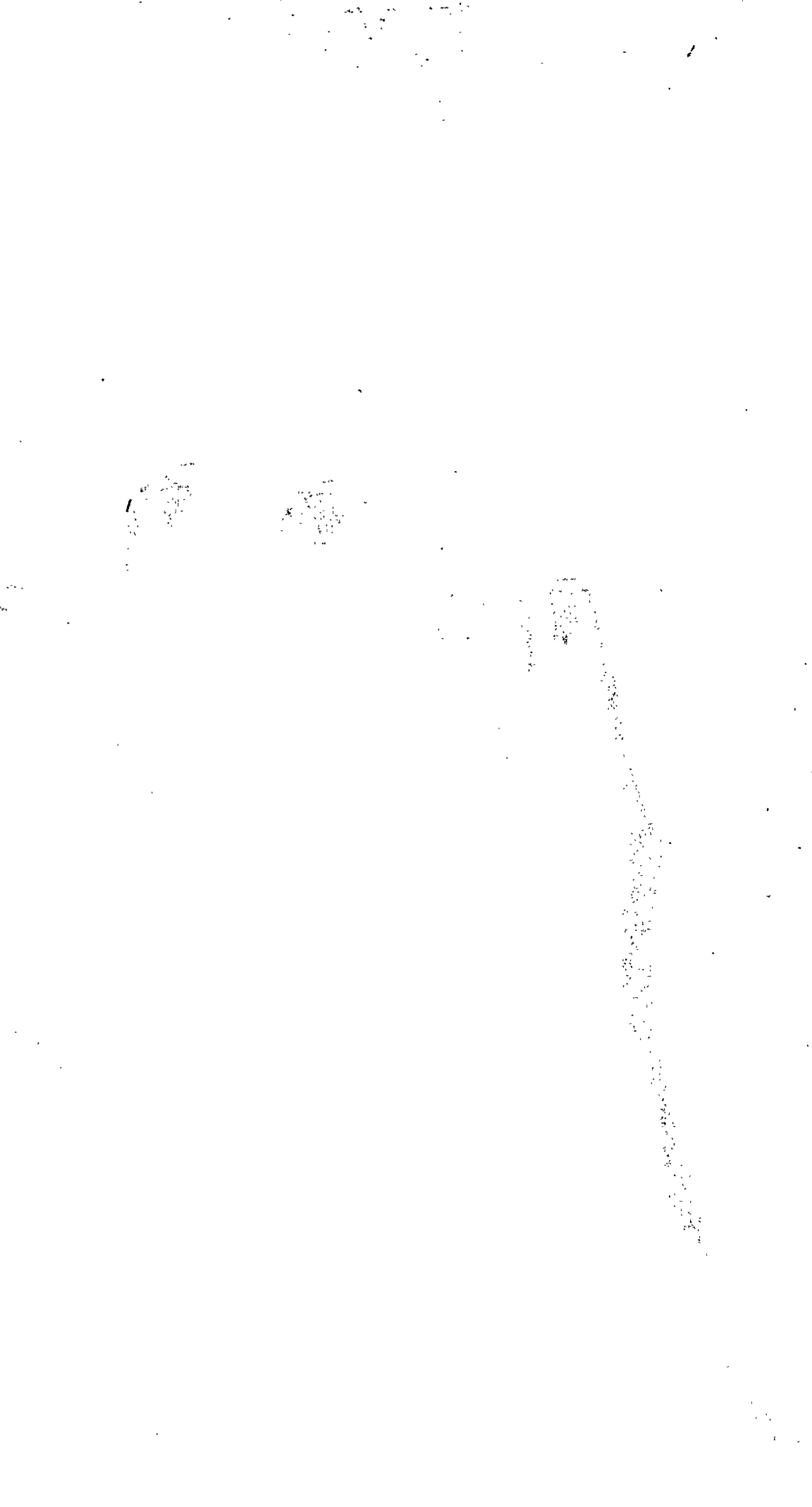
received with hearty affection; and during the time I staid there, enjoyed great satisfaction in the conversation of the good man of the house, who was a lover of his country, possessor of an estate of about one hundred pounds by year in free land; above contempt, and below envy. After I had been with him about eight days, I thought I might without much hazard give my wife a visit at Salisbury; and accordingly I went thither in the night, and lay there. The next day being Sunday, news was brought to that place that major-general Lambert had made his escape out of the Tower, and that it was supposed he would be able to draw a considerable part of the army into a body speedily. Hereupon, not doubting that the utmost diligence would be used to seize Lambert, and knowing that those of Salisbury were informed that I was in those parts, I returned to my former lodging, where I had not been above two or three days, when the man that had assisted major-general Lambert in his escape, came to me with a message from him, to acquaint me that divers officers of the army had been with him; that they had agreed upon two places of rendezvous, and had dispersed themselves to their respective countries in order to put their design in execution; that they had received assurances that the greatest part of the army would join with them, and therefore desired that I would give orders for the forces in the western parts to draw together, and that I would meet him at the head of them in the county of Oxford. But I thought it not prudent to engage my friends in so publick a manner, till I should see some probability of making a stand, whereof I conceived I might give some guess by Lambert's first rendezvous, which was appointed to be about Daventry. In the mean time I dispatched messengers to several officers that commanded the forces in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Wilts, to be ready to march if there should be occasion. I received assurance from a considerable party about Taunton, that the castle should be secured for the publick service, and had divers promises of the same nature from other places. The horse that lay at Salisbury began to stagger, and I doubt not would have been honest if they had seen a force sufficient to have made it reasonable for them to appear. About eight days after my return from Salisbury, one major Whitby came to me from major-general Lambert, to acquaint me with his intentions, and to consult with me concerning the best way of drawing together the forces on our side. He assured me, that about one thousand horse were already with Lambert, and that he had good assurance that most part of the army would join with him. Having received this information, and being willing to hazard all with major-general Lambert, or any other persons, if I might be satisfied they aimed at the good of the commonwealth, I desired to know what Lambert had, or would declare for, it being, as I thought, the duty of every man to inform himself of the justice of the cause before he engageth himself in it. Major Whitby answered, That it was not now a time to declare what we would be for, but what we would be against, which was that torrent of tyranny and popery that was ready to break in upon us. To which I replied, That the best way to prevent those mischiefs, would be to agree upon something that might be contrary to them, not so much in the name as in the nature of it, whereby we might justly hope to engage all good men to favour and assist us in our enterprize; and that the utmost care ought to be taken to convince the nation of the sincerity and justice of our intentions, especially

ſince all men knew they had been ſo lately cheated by advancing a perſonal inſtead of a publick intereſt, and therefore not likely to be ſo eaſily taken with the ſame bait again. So having communicated to me what he had in truſt, and having received my anſwer, the major departed; and two or three days after an account was brought to me, that major-general Lambert's party was diſperſed, and himſelf taken priſoner by colonel Ingoldſby. To which defeat an accident that happened did not a little contribute; for ſome of Ingoldſby's party in their march had met captain Haſlerig, ſon to Sir Arthur, and knowing his troop to be with Lambert, they ſeized him and brought him to colonel Ingoldſby, where, he ſaid, that being diſſatisfied with Lambert's deſign, he had quitted the party, and thereby hoped to be ſet at liberty. But Ingoldſby told him, that unleſs he would bring off his troop alſo from Lambert, his deſerting them ſhould be of no advantage to him. He promiſed to uſe the beſt of his endeavours to ſerve him, and thereupon was permitted to return to Lambert. When the two parties were ready to engage, he brought off his troop as he had promiſed to endeavour, which cauſed ſuch a conſternation in the reſt of the party, that many of them went over to Ingoldſby, and moſt part of thoſe who did not think fit to follow their example, ſhifted for themſelves as well as they could, leaving Lambert talking with Ingoldſby, and endeavouring to diſſuade him from engaging any farther againſt him. But colonel Ingoldſby perceiving that Lambert's party had abandoned him, rid up cloſe to him and required him to yield himſelf priſoner, which, after a ſhort heſitation, he did, deſiring Ingoldſby's lordſhip, as he called him, to give him leave to eſcape. Colonel Cobbet, major Creed, and ſome other officers were taken priſoners, and with major-general Lambert committed to the Tower. Thus our enemies were thoſe of our own houſe, and it was not the king's party that could deſtroy us; which, as it ought to be a ſubject of humiliation to us, ſo it can be no juſt cauſe of exaltation to them. Being thus deprived of an opportunity of appearing in the field for the ſervice of my country, I reſolved to go to London, and there to wait the pleaſure of God, either by acting or ſuffering in his cauſe; where being arrived, I took up my lodging at the houſe of a friend who lived in Holborn, and endeavouring to learn what major-general Lambert deſigned to have done if he had kept his ground, I was informed, that he had prepared two declarations very different from each other, intending to publiſh that which might have procured him the greater party; but becauſe it could not be agreed which of them was moſt likely to do ſo, he had thought fit to publiſh neither. Hitherto Monk had continued to make ſolemn proteſtations of his affection and fidelity to the commonwealth intereſt, againſt a king and houſe of lords; but the new militia being ſettled, and a convention, calling themſelves a parliament and fit for his purpoſe, being met at Weſtminſter, he ſent to ſuch lords as had ſat with the parliament till 1648, to return to the place where they uſed to ſit, which they did, upon aſſurance from him, that no others ſhould be permitted to ſit with them; which promiſe he alſo broke, and let in not only ſuch as had deſerted to Oxford, but the late created lords. And Charles Stuart, eldeſt ſon to the late king, being informed of theſe tranſactions, left the Spaniſh territories where he then reſided, and by the advice of Monk went to Breda, a town belonging to the ſtates

of

of Holland: from whence he sent his letters and a declaration to the two houses by Sir John Greenvil; whereupon the nominal house of commons, tho' called by a commonwealth writ in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, passed a vote, That the government of the nation should be by a king, lords, and commons, and that Charles Stuart should be proclaimed king of England, &c.

MEMOIRS



# MEMOIRS

OF

# EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

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The Last PART.

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WITH A

COLLECTION of ORIGINAL PAPERS, ſerving to confirm and illuſtrate many important Paſſages of this and the preceding VOLUME.

# THE PREFACE.

WHEN the former part of these memoirs were published, the author's friends had no design of letting the rest of his papers go abroad; as well because those already printed contain the most remarkable transactions that passed during the whole time that England was governed without a king, as because much of this following part consists of things relating to his own person. But the good reception which the other volumes have found in most parts of Europe, and the incessant inquiries of divers persons of worth and honour concerning these remains, has induced the friends of the author to think that the publick might have just cause to complain, if they should be denied the view of the following papers. And indeed, after a careful perusal of them, they find, if they mistake not, that they will afford such instructions as may prove not unserviceable to the world. For men will see that tho' the most violent animosity and desire of revenge had so possess'd the English court against those who had any part in the death of Charles I. that they thought the most base and treacherous ways of compassing their ends, not to be rejected; yet many years were spent, many villains unsuccessfully employ'd, some of them punished, much treasure consumed, and more infamy contracted, whilst they could not find means to assassinate more than one of all those who had withdrawn themselves from their fury; and that the principal person against whom they directed their malice, lived to see that tyranny brought to the last degree of contempt, which had taken so much pains to destroy him. The tragical end of the king's judges may be an instruction to those who shall in future time appear in the defence of liberty, to avoid

occaſions of diviſion, to uſe their power with moderation, and to content themſelves with ſuch a ſhare in the publick felicity, as may be conſiſtent with the publick ſafety. Men may learn from the iſſue of the Cromwellian tyranny, that liberty and a ſtanding mercenary army are imcompatible. For 'tis as clear as the ſun at noon-day, that the parliament by neglecting to put a period to the exorbitant greatneſs of Oliver Cromwel immediately after the battle at Worceſter, drew deſtruction upon themſelves and the whole commonwealth; and gave the army ſuch an opportunity to feel their ſtrength as naturally led them to counſels deſtructive to the government. This produced that monſtrous tyranny of the uſurper and his baſha's under the name of majors-general, and afterwards compelled the people to ſuffer the return of Charles II. The ingratitude of that prince to the Preſbyterians, who had ſo well deſerved from him by betraying all into his hands, may ſerve to admoniſh thoſe who go under that, or any other denomination of religion or party, that no truſt can be ſafely repoſed, where there is found an incompatibility of manners and principles; and that a revenge taken againſt thoſe who will not let us poſſeſs all, is a ſlender ſatisfaction for the hazard of utter ruin. But theſe, and perhaps many other more uſeful reflections, judicious men will be much better able to make, than others to ſuggeſt.

Bern, March 26,
1699.

# MEMOIRS

OF

# EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

THE convention at Westminster having thought themselves sufficiently authorized to alter the government, by virtue of which they had been called together, and rewarded Sir John Greenvil for the message he had brought, the proclamation for the readmission of monarchy in the person of Charles Stuart, was published on the eighth of May, in the presence of the new general George Monk. Bonfires were made, the bells were rung, and much happiness expected from this change. The officers of the army subscribed a declaration, and presented it to Monk to be sent to the king, in which they expressed a resolution to become true and faithful subjects, and to accept of the king's grace and favour, according to the tenour of his late declaration from Breda. Whilst these things were doing, I kept myself private at the house of a particular friend, till I might better understand what the issue was like to be; for the council of state had, on the day I arrived at London, sent orders into the West of England for seizing my person, which probably might have been served upon me, if I had returned by the usual road: Fifteen commissioners were appointed to be sent to Breda to complement the new king, and to attend him in his passage to England, five to be nominated by the lords, and ten by the commons. But every man expecting some mark of favour to be conferred on him for this service, great contentions arose among the members for that employment. To these, many others, especially of the looser sort of men, added themselves; and some, to make an early offer of their subjection, and to provide themselves of favour and places, went over before the commissioners, and being one day with their king in his apartment, boasting of their loyalty and services, he called for wine, and applying himself to the duke of York, drank to the health of those gentlemen, with this remark, That he was now even with them, having as he thought done as much for them as they had done for him.

THE committee of privileges and elections having declared me to have been duly returned to serve for the Borough of Hinden in the county of Wilts, and made their report, which was agreed by the house, I received

an order for my admiſſion to ſit as a member, but clogged with this unuſual clauſe, "That I ſhould attend my duty in the houſe, and take my place by a certain day;" which would be within ten days after the date of the ſaid order. Suſpecting that the reaſon of this inſertion might proceed from ſome information given by the council of ſtate that I had withdrawn myſelf, I thought fit to make my application to Mr. Arthur Anneſly, knowing him to be a leading man among them, as well to give him ſatisfaction touching the cauſe of my abſence, as to learn from him what might be the reaſon of that addition. And tho' I well underſtood, that being now declared to be a member of that which was called a houſe of commons, no other power could ſeize me without breach of their privileges; yet the ſame council of ſtate ſtill ſitting, which had procured from the ſecluded members a power to ſeize any member that did not ſit, and conſidering that things were carried on with the utmoſt treachery, I ſent a ſervant to let him know I would wait on him at night. He received me with great civility, and having conducted me to his apartment, I acquainted him, that the end of my coming to him at that time was to aſſure him that my late privacy did not proceed from any deſign that I had on foot againſt the preſent power; but that finding the wheel to go round ſo faſt, that it was difficult to gueſs where it might reſt, I thought a man, who had been engaged with the firſt againſt the king, and always zealous for a commonwealth government, might be excuſed, if he was unwilling to be found in priſon at the king's return; eſpecially ſince it was well known that a warrant had been ſigned for my ſeizure: and therefore I deſired he would favour me to inform thoſe that were in power, with the true reaſons of my abſence. He anſwer'd, that tho' I had been zealous in the way I mentioned, yet that he and others were well ſatisfied, that my intentions were directed to the publick good; and tho' he could not blame me for taking meaſures to avoid a confinement, yet he aſſured me that a hair of my head ſhould not ſuffer any more than his own. He then acquainted me with the paſſages that had happened in the houſe upon the report from the committee touching my election: that tho' nothing was ſaid againſt it; yet becauſe I was the perſon concerned, who, as they ſaid, had conſtantly oppoſed them, and withdrawn myſelf out of their protection, a vote of the houſe had probably paſſed againſt agreeing with the committee, if he had not ſtood up and deſired the houſe, "That they would not do an act upon a perſonal diſtaſte, of which they would be aſhamed when they ſhould better conſider the matter: that juſtice ought to be impartial, and that nothing being alledged againſt the report of the committee, it ought to be taken for good: that if the perſon concerned had done any thing amiſs, he being a member ought to anſwer it in his place." This motion being ſeconded by Mr. Matthew Hale, prevailed with the houſe to allow the report with the addition before-mentioned. He took this occaſion to tell me, that there was a young head-ſtrong party in the houſe, who in all debates were for the moſt violent courſes, and that it would be very difficult to keep them in order; yet adviſed me to take my place in the houſe as ſoon as I could. I thought fit to follow his council, not only to undeceive thoſe who thought I would continue in my retirement, but alſo by coming among them before I was expected, to diſturb the meaſures of thoſe who waited for my ruin. I choſe to go into the houſe early in the morning, and immediately went up into the ſpeaker's chambers, where I was no ſooner ſat down, when major Robert Harley came to me and deſired, that if any thing ſhould be objected againſt me by any member of the houſe,

which

which he supposed would happen, and that the house should require me to answer, I would by all means forbear to say any thing in justification of the proceedings of the high court of justice against the late king, because it would not be suffered. I told him that unless I was constrained, I saw no reason to mention that matter; but in that case, tho' it should cost me my life, I could not prevaricate.

Some of the members, who during the time of the parliament's prosperity had gone as high with them as any others, now reproached me with the present condition of affairs; to whom I contented myself to reply in general, That if they liked it not they might thank themselves; and that as to my own particular, my conscience did not accuse me for contributing to the change, or not using my endeavours to prevent it. Others said, They had frequently admonished us that things would be brought to this pass, by rendering the foundations of our party too narrow. But to these I answered, That they knew my principles and practices to have been such in that respect, as had drawn upon me the censures of many. Divers of those who in Richard's convention had joined with the commonwealth-interest, now appeared to be totally altered, whilst others who had opposed them at that time, now wished for Sir Henry Vane and some others to balance the royal party. But those who had continued in their fidelity to the publick cause, tho' they durst not speak out by reason of the present torrent, yet shook their heads to express their dislike of the present affairs.

The commissioners who had been voted to be sent to Breda being to be nominated that day I took my place in the house, divers members solicited me to insert their names in my paper. But tho' it was my fortune to be one of this convention, that I might not altogether neglect my own preservation; yet resolving to have no part in betraying the commonwealth, by re-establishing the government, against which I had engaged, and contracting the guilt of that blood which had been shed in the late wars, I determined to put in no paper of names. To this end I went out of the house; but the serjeant at arms being commanded by the speaker to call in the members to be numbered, and seeing me, was very earnest with me to return to the house: I told him, I designed not to put in any paper; and therefore it was not necessary I should be numbered. In the mean time, the serjeant received fresh orders to summon the members, and repeating his importunity with me, told me plainly, If I would not go into the house, he would inform the speaker of my refusal; which had he done, 'tis probable I should have been sent to the Tower. But having desired him to inquire of some ancient member, whether it was necessary for one who would put in no paper, to be numbered with the rest; he went to Mr. Pierrepoint, and serjeant Glynn, to ask the question; who, I suppose, satisfied the serjeant it was not necessary: for looking down from the gallery, I perceived both of them to smile whilst he was with them; but especially because I heard no more of that matter.

This business being over, the house fell into a debate touching persons to be entrusted with the great seal. All agreed in Mr. Tyrrel; but it was objected against serjeant Fountain, that tho' he had been formerly for the king, yet he had of late shewed himself a great promoter of the reformation of the law. Many pressed that the earl of Manchester might be one of the commissioners; but others who were better informed of affairs, objecting, that it would be a dishonour to the earl, to be put into a place, which they assured the house was already given away to another

other perſon, no more was ſaid concerning him. In the afternoon I went to the committee of elections, which ſat in the houſe: another day I ſat with the members in the abby to hear a ſermon, and indeavoured in all things ſo to carry myſelf, as to give no occaſion to ſuſpect me to be under any apprehenſions of danger; hoping by this means to diſcourage my enemies from moving any thing againſt me, which I knew the cavalier-party inclined to do out of principle; and divers of thoſe who had ſerved the parliament, would not fail to comply with, from a prudential care of themſelves; hoping not only to make their own peace, by ſacrificing thoſe who had been moſt faithful to the publick, but alſo to procure favour and preferment for themſelves.

DURING this time, I had ſent orders to my bailiff in Ireland, to ſell my ſtock, which in ſheep, black cattle, corn, and horſes, might amount to about fifteen hundred pounds, and to collect the rents that were due to me from my tenants. But he being negligent, I made over my ſtock to my brother-in-law, colonel Kempſon, for ſatisfaction of my ſiſter's portion, preſſing him to ſend ſome perſon forthwith to take poſſeſſion; which not being done with the expedition that was requiſite in ſuch a conjuncture, Sir Charles Coote, without any order or pretence of authority from the parliament, made ſeizure of all; forcing my tenants to pay my rents to him, and commanding my ſervant not to diſpoſe of any part of my ſtock but by his order: only four ſtone-horſes which I had bred, and were then in my ſtable, were taken away by colonel Theophilus Jones; theſe men who had engaged in the ſame cauſe, out-doing our enemies in rage and cruelty to us.

IN the convention things went high, men not daring to ſhew moderation leſt it ſhould be called diſaffection to the king; but in private, divers members of both houſes declared themſelves of opinion, that a general indemnity ought to be granted for all that had paſſed, without any exception. The earl of Northumberland was heard to ſay, That tho' he had no part in the death of the king, he was againſt queſtioning thoſe who had been concerned in that affair; that the example might be more uſeful to poſterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitancies. And the lord Fairfax on that ſubject plainly ſaid, That if any man muſt be excepted, he knew no man that deſerved it more than himſelf, who being general of the army at that time, and having power ſufficient to prevent the proceedings againſt the king, had not thought fit to make uſe of it to that end. Divers alſo of the commons moved that limitations and conditions might be drawn up, on which they ſhould conſent to receive their king; till at length finding that Monk, who had the power in his hand, gave conſtant intelligence of all that was ſaid and by whom, none of them durſt inſiſt any farther on thoſe heads. And that he might compleat his treachery, when the lord Say propoſed to him, that for the quiet of men's minds, an act of indemnity ſhould be paſſed, in which ſome of thoſe who had been principally concerned in the death of the king might be excepted; he in a great rage anſwered, "Not a man; for if I ſhould ſuffer ſuch a thing, I ſhould be the arranteſt rogue that ever lived." Yet for all this, under colour that the houſe might have better terms from their king, by relying on his ingenuity, than by capitulating with him, eſpecially at a diſtance, he had the confidence to move them, That their commiſſioners might be impowered ſimply to invite him into England. Which motion concurring with the opinion of the unforeſeeing cavaliers among them, and diſliked only by thoſe who had not cou-

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rage enough to publish their dissent, for fear of exposing themselves to a future revenge, was taken for the sense of the whole house, and so passed.

Sir Charles Coote having opened the bloody scene by the seizure of the chief justice Coke in Ireland, a party of the Staffordshire militia, commanded by one colonel Bowyer, thought themselves sufficiently authorized to act in the like manner; and therefore seized major-general Harrison with his horses and arms, he having refused, upon advice of their intentions, to withdraw himself from his house, accounting such an action to be a desertion of the cause in which he had engaged; tho' many precepts and examples might be produced, even from the scriptures, to justify men who endeavour to avoid the cruelty of enemies and persecutors, by removing themselves where they may be protected. For that only can properly be called a desertion of the cause, when men disown it to save their lives, and not when they endeavour to secure themselves by lawful means, in order to promote it. But I shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the major-general, not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtue, piety, and courage, may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture. Sure I am, he was every way so qualified for the part he had in the following sufferings, that even his enemies were astonished and confounded.

The king's party in the house of commons having got such an ascendent, that it was no longer safe to oppose them, drove on furiously, and procured a resolution to be passed for seizing the persons of all those who had signed the warrant for the execution of the late king; which tho' carried with all possible privacy, yet being not destitute of friends among them, I had timely notice of their intentions: and because I doubted not that the house where I lived would be suddenly searched, I went to another in Southampton-buildings, belonging to one of my relations, where I had appointed some friends to meet me in the evening, and to bring me an account of what had passed at Westminster. When I came to the house, I found my friends had been in great pain for me; the time that I had appointed for our meeting being passed by almost two hours, through the fault of my watch. Upon the account I received of the state of our affairs, we entered into a debate concerning the course I should take to preserve myself from the danger that threatened me; and the company advised that I should forthwith remove from the house where I was, because the entrance was in so publick a place that it was probable I might have been observed at my coming in: for this reason I consented to go immediately to the house of another friend, which was not far distant, and had a back gate leading to several other houses, with an intention to stay there till night, and then to repair to a more private place in London, which had been prepared for me some days before. Night being come, and I ready to depart, my friend, tho' not insensible of the danger that might ensue by entertaining me, would by no means let me go, alledging, that on the night of that day, when a resolution of such importance had passed the house, the watch in London would not fail of their accustomed diligence. This being seconded by some of my nearest relations, who also advised me to stay, I was contented to acquiesce; and the next morning was informed that the watch had hardly permitted any coach to pass into London without some kind of search.

The order for seizing the king's judges, not producing that effect the commons expected, provoked them to such a degree,

commanded their real and perſonal eſtates to be forthwith ſeized in an extraordinary manner, contrary, I preſume, to the known laws, which provide that no confiſcation ſhall be made till after conviction. But it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that thoſe who had ſo far parted with their prudence, to recall from a twelve years baniſhment, the ſon of a father whoſe head had been publickly taken off, and inveſt him with the government of a nation, where this had been done, ſhould be no more ſolicitous for the privileges of their country-men.

THE houſe having received information, that major-general Harriſon was brought priſoner to London, they ordered him to be ſent to the Tower, and that all his horſes which had been taken from him by thoſe who had ſeized him at his houſe, ſhould be brought to the ſtables in the Meuſe, for the uſe of their king. Chief juſtice Coke being alſo ſent to London by Sir Charles Coote, was by another order committed priſoner to the ſame place.

IN the mean time the commiſſioners ſent from England to attend the new king, arrived at Breda, where Mr. Denzil Hollis, according to the inſtructions he had received at Weſtminſter to impart their meſſage to the king, going about to execute that order, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. Henry Howard, brother to the earl of Arundel, who ſaid, it was inſolent in him to pretend to that honour, which belonged to another of the commiſſioners, and named one that was his own kinſman. But Mr. Hollis affirming, that the houſe had entruſted him with their complements and deſires, the king thought fit to make up the difference, and to ſuffer Mr. Hollis to perform his part. Fifty thouſand pounds were ſent over by theſe commiſſioners to pay the debts of the king, and to equip him for his journey to England, together with conſiderable ſums of money for the dukes of York and Glouceſter. Divers private perſons alſo had taken care to make their preſents. Among others, Mr. William Lenthal, late ſpeaker of the parliament, had commiſſionated a friend to give the king three thouſand pounds from him, and to deſire that he might continue maſter of the rolls; but the perſon he had employed was told, that the place was already promiſed to another.

WHILST theſe things were doing in Holland, the houſe of commons were preparing a bill of indemnity with all poſſible diligence, that it might be ready to paſs at the arrival of the king. They unanimouſly agreed, that ſome of the king's judges ſhould be excepted both as to life and eſtate, the remaining diſpute being only about the number. Some propoſed, that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen: but Monk, who had betrayed them all, expreſſing his deſires to be for moderation, they were reduced to nine, which that bouteſeu Pryn, contrary to the orders of the houſe, undertook to name. Yet I was ſo far obliged to him, that my name was not upon his liſt. Monk at laſt prevailed with the houſe to bring the number to ſeven.

COLONEL John Jones, who had acted as a member of the high court of juſtice, being walking one evening at ſome diſtance from his lodging to take the air, was ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the Tower by order of the houſe; together with Mr. Gregory Clement, another of thoſe judges, who had concealed himſelf at a mean houſe near Gray's-Inn. But ſome perſons having obſerved that better proviſions were carried to that place than had been uſual, procured an officer to ſearch the houſe, where they found Mr. Clement, and preſuming him to be one of the king's judges, tho'

tho' they knew him not perſonally, carried him before the commiſſioners of the militia for that precinct: one of theſe commiſſioners, to whom he was not unknown, after a ſlight examination, had prevailed with the reſt to diſmiſs him; but as he was about to withdraw, it happen'd that a blind man who had crowded into the room, and was acquainted with the voice of Mr. Clement, which was very remarkable, deſired he might be called in again; and demanded, if he was not Mr. Gregory Clement. The commiſſioners not knowing how to refuſe his requeſt, permitted the queſtion to be aſk'd; and he not denying himſelf to be the man, was by that means diſcovered and ſent to the Tower likewiſe.

MANY of the judges paſſed over into Holland and other parts beyond the ſeas, divers of them not without great danger of being ſurprized. Of theſe, Mr. Cornelius Holland being at Colcheſter, in order to depart with the firſt occaſion, the mayor of the town was inform'd that a ſuſpected perſon was lodged at a certain inn; and that they ſuppoſed him to be major-general Lambert. Upon this notice the inn was ſearched, and his horſe with other things ſeized at four in the morning: but Mr. Holland was already gone abroad to receive a ſum of money from a merchant of that place, who was to begin a journey to London early that day; and having received advice of what had paſſed at the inn, he was by the favour of a friend convey'd out of town, and by that means made his eſcape.

THE new king being ſuddenly expected, great numbers of thoſe who had been officers in the cavalier army, or were otherwiſe zealous for him, procured horſes and clothes, for the moſt part upon credit, and formed themſelves into troops under the lord Litchfield, lord Cleveland, and that apoſtate Brown the wood-monger, in order to attend him at his reception. And news being brought that he was put out to ſea, Monk, accompanied with a guard of horſe, marched to Dover, and received him at his landing: the king embraced him, kiſſed him, and called him father; and it might be truly ſaid, that in ſome reſpects they were very nearly allied. At Canterbury the king preſented him with the George and Garter; the firſt was put on by the duke of York, the other by the duke of Glouceſter. And becauſe it was ſuſpected that the army which had fought againſt him, might ſtill retain ſome of their former inclinations, it was reſolved that the king, with his brothers, ſhould lodge at the houſe of colonel Gibbons, one of their officers, at Rocheſter. Many knights were made in this journey, and bonfires were to be ſeen in great numbers on the road; the inconſtant multitude in ſome places burning the badges of their own freedom, the arms of the commonwealth. Monk's army was drawn up on Blackheath, and by the beſt judges was thought to deſerve the fool's coat rather than the ſoldier's caſaque.

THE lord-mayor, ſheriffs and aldermen of the city, treated their king with a collation under a tent, placed in St. George's Fields; and five or ſix hundred citizens cloathed in coats of black velvet, and (not improperly) wearing chains about their necks, by an order of the common-council, attended on the triumph of that day; with much more empty pageantry which I purpoſely omit: but I muſt not paſs over the folly and inſolence manifeſted at that time by thoſe who had been ſo often defeated in the field, and had contributed nothing either of bravery or policy to this change, in ordering the ſoldiery to ride with ſwords drawn through the city of London to Whitehall, the duke of York and Monk leading the way;

and intimating (as was ſuppoſed) a reſolution to maintain that by force which had been obtain'd by fraud.

THE lords, with thoſe who ſat in the houſe of commons, received the king at Whitehall after this tedious cavalcade, where the ſpeakers of both houſes loaded him with complements; and took the beſt care they could to make him believe himſelf to be the beſt, greateſt and braveſt prince in the whole world. His anſwer to them was ſhort, by reaſon, as he ſaid, of his preſent diſcompoſure cauſed by the great acclamations he had received in his paſſage, which yet he pretended had been very agreeable to him, as they were expreſſions of the affections of his people.

MOST of thoſe who had attended this entry, finding the ſtreets through which they had paſſed to be full of people, returned to the city by the way of Holbourn; by which means I had a view of them from the houſe where I then was. And, I confeſs, it was a ſtrange ſight to me, to ſee the horſe that had formerly belonged to our army, now put upon an employment ſo different from that which they had at firſt undertaken; eſpecially, when I conſider'd that for the moſt part they had not been raiſed out of the meaneſt of the people, and without diſtinction, as other armies had been; but that they conſiſted of ſuch as had engaged themſelves from a ſpirit of liberty in the defence of their rights and religion: but having been corrupted under the tyranny of Cromwel, and kept up as a ſtanding force againſt the people, they had forgotten their firſt engagements, and were become as mercenary as other troops are accuſtomed to be.

THE diſſolution and drunkenneſs of that night was ſo great and ſcandalous, in a nation which had not been acquainted with ſuch diſorders for many years paſt, that the king, who ſtill ſtood in need of the preſbyterian party which had betray'd all into his hands, for their ſatisfaction, cauſed a proclamation to be publiſh'd, forbidding the drinking of healths. But reſolving, for his own part, to be oblig'd to no rule of any kind, he publickly violated his own order in a few days, at a debauch in the Mulberry-garden; and more privately at another meeting in the city, where he drank healths to the utmoſt exceſs till two in the morning.

THE bill of indemnity being not yet finiſhed, the commons, out of a tender care for their own perſons and eſtates, reſolving to make it ready with all diligence, proceeded to the nomination of the ſeven perſons who were to be excepted for condemning the late king to death; and having agreed that major-general Harriſon, John Liſle, Eſq; and William Say, Eſq; ſhould be three of that number, it was contrived that a letter ſhould be brought to Monk at that inſtant (not without ſuſpicion that he was the author of the deſign, to the end I might be inſerted) informing him, that I was in arms at the head of ſeveral hundred men, in one of the iſlands called the Holmes, and had declared againſt this convention. The letter being communicated to the houſe, who were ready to give credit to any thing of that nature, had probably anſwered the end of the contrivers of this deſign, if ſomething, of which I was not inform'd, had not obliged them to adjourn abruptly. Yet upon this alarm, one of my friends in this houſe, who had ſerved in the king's army, and to whom I had been formerly uſeful at the time of his compoſition, came in a great ſurprize to one that was his ſiſter-in-law, and alſo related to me, acquainting her with the report; and telling her that he had engaged many members, that were of the king's party, to be for me; but that, if this ſhould prove

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to be true, neither they nor he could possibly serve me; and therefore desired her to give me notice with all diligence of what had passed, that I might take some course to satisfy the parliament of the falshood of this rumour. She promised him to endeavour so to do, and in the mean time assured him that she knew the report to be false. Upon this assurance, which he immediately reported to the party above-mention'd, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to pass, that when they proceeded to compleat the number of seven, who were to be excepted both for life and estate, and had agreed that colonel John Jones; Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Thomas Scot, should be added to the three before mentioned, a motion being made by one colonel Skipwith that I might be the seventh man, he was not seconded: so that another member proposing colonel Barkstead, and no man daring to say any thing either in extenuation of the pretended crime, or commendation of the persons concerned, he was voted to fill up the number. Chief-justice Coke, who had been sollicitor to the high court of justice, Mr. Broughton who had been Clerk, and Mr. Edward Dendy their serjeant at arms, were also excepted in the same manner. And that no means of gratifying the passions of our enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that some of the late king's judges were fled, order'd their estates to be seized; it was contrived by the creatures of the court, who were a great part of the house, that a petition should be drawn and presented to the king, to issue out a proclamation for requiring all those of the late king's judges and others therein named, to surrender themselves within the space of fourteen days, under pain of exception from the benefit of the act, both for life and estate.

This petition having had its rise from the court, and on that account received with joy by the king, soon produced a proclamation as had been desired, which being published near my lodgings, I heard the officer distinctly, as he read it aloud to the people. But I found it difficult to resolve what to do: for tho' the message from Breda had declared the king would be satisfied, if some few persons who had an immediate hand in the death of his father, might be excepted from the indemnity; yet finding himself now possess'd of the throne, 'twas visible to all men that he used the utmost of his endeavours to influence the house of commons to greater severities than were at first pretended; and partly for rapine, partly for revenge, to except a great number of those, who had taken part with the parliament, from any benefit of the act except only as to life, their estates being declared to be confiscated to the king. Among those who appeared the most basely subservient to these exorbitancies of the court, Mr. William Prynn was singularly remarkable, bringing in a clause for excepting all those who had taken the oath at the council of state for abjuring the family of the Stuarts, which the clerk undertaking to read without any order of the house, Mr. Clergies brother-in-law to Monk, perceiving that vice-admiral Lawson would by this means be excluded from pardon, and knowing that Monk had engaged to bring him off clear, most sharply rebuked the clerk for his officiousness, and with the help of his friends put a stop to that motion.

The commons being acquainted, by Sir Harbottle Grimston their speaker, that Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. Simon Mayne, and others of the late king's judges had rendred themselves into his hands according to the late proclamation, order'd them to be in the custody of the serjeant at arms attending the house: which when some of my friends and relations heard, they consulted what might be best for me to do in this conjuncture.

Some were of opinion I ſhould ſurrender myſelf as others had done. Others were unwilling to adviſe in a caſe wherein my life was concerned; yet gave ſome obſcure intimation, that if they were in my condition, they would not put themſelves into the hands of their enemies: and one of them who was not unacquainted with the publick affairs, gave it for his opinion, that I ſhould by no means render myſelf. Of this I received an account by my wife. But not being in the number of the ſeven who were to be excepted, and my affairs by reaſon of the ſudden change altogether unſettled, I was willing to improve the preſent opportunity, and if I might have no favour in relation to my eſtate, yet to ſettle at leaſt my private affairs as well as I could. To this end, I inclined to ſurrender myſelf according to the proclamation, and drew up a petition containing in ſubſtance, That whereas I had engaged with the parliament on the behalf of the commonwealth, and had diſcharged the truſt repoſed in me with as much tenderneſs to thoſe of the contrary party as my fidelity to the parliament would permit, providence having ordered that the former government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in this nation, I thought it my duty, as a member of the commonwealth, to declare my reſolution to ſubmit to the preſent powers, that I might with the reſt of the good people of England enjoy the benefit of their protection. Having ſigned this paper, and preſuming upon the friendſhip of Mr. Anneſley, I ſent it to him by my wife, deſiring his advice. But he being lately ſworn a privy counſellor, and with his condition altering his manners, when he had peruſed the paper, he delivered it again to my wife, and ſaid, that the lieutenant-general was very good at drawing letters of recommendation. My wife told him, that what was contained in that paper was as much as my conſcience would give me leave to ſay; and received for anſwer, that then I ſhould do better to ſay nothing; which was not altogether without reaſon; for ſome of thoſe who had petitioned the houſe, and not acknowledged themſelves guilty of a fault, were for that cauſe excepted, who otherwiſe, as men thought, would not have been ſo treated.

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men of the parliament, and that he would inform himself from them touching that particular, of which he would then give her the best advice he could. The time which he had fixed being come, my wife went to him again, and was informed by him, that he had been with that company he had mentioned to her, and had found them all to be of opinion, that the house would never be guilty of so unworthy an action; and therefore advised her to perswade me to come in, giving her an order under his hand to secure me from any seizure in my way to him, and promising to speak to the serjeant at arms to be moderate in his demands of caution for my appearance. Under the favour of this warrant I went to a place where divers of my friends were, in order to seal some writings for settling my private affairs, which was the principal motive that had prevailed with me to render myself; and having dispatched that business, I went to the speaker's chamber; who being not there, I took Mr. James Herbert, a member of the convention, with me to the house of the serjeant at arms, where finding that he had received orders from Sir Harbottle Grimston concerning me, Mr. Herbert gave his word for my appearance, till I should procure personal security. This engagement made me very uneasy; for I thought myself obliged, whatever might become of me, to take care that Mr. Herbert might not suffer for his friendship to me. But after two or three days, I prevailed with the serjeant to accept the security I had provided: they were my uncle colonel Thomas Stradling, who had been constantly of the king's party; and by being engaged for some debts of his brother Sir Edward Stradling, had ruined his fortune: the second was colonel Edward Sutton, one knighted by the king since his return, and who had no other estate than in the right of his wife: the third was one Mr. Etherington, who had been possessor of a considerable estate; but for many years past had not been worth any thing: the fourth was Thomas Ashton, a citizen of London, who had been my taylor; but was now in the same condition with Mr. Etherington. Colonel Sutton was arrested as he was coming to me, and by that means prevented; Mr. Etherington being furnished with a clean band, hat, and cloak, passed without dispute; so did Ashton, and of colonel Stradling there was no colour to doubt. I gave the two first a little money, with which they were well pleased; and I was abundantly satisfied that this business passed thus over.

When Sir Harbottle Grimston had reported to the house, that I had rendered myself, and desired to know their pleasure concerning me; some of my friends moved that I might be continued in the custody of the serjeant at arms, which being put to the question, was accordingly ordered. Whilst these things were doing, my lady Vane told my wife, that Mrs. Monk had said, she would go upon her knees to the king, and beg that Sir Henry Vane, major-general Lambert, and lieutenant-general Ludlow, might die without mercy; and one of my friends who frequented the court, assured me, he heard Monk saying to the king, that there was not a man in the three nations more violent against him, or more dangerous to his interests than I was; to which the king made answer, that he had been otherwise informed by many of his party, who had received civilities from me in their troubles. But that which made me most sensible of my danger, was, that secretary Maurice, with whom I had been acquainted for some time, not knowing that I had rendered myself to the speaker, told a person whom he knew to be my friend, that

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lands of great value. To these favours was added the charge of master of the horse, which by the industry of his wife, who having been an exchange-woman, knew how to drive a bargain, was by the sale of places improved to the utmost advantage.

HAVING acquainted those who had answered for my appearance at the time when they entered into that obligation, of my intentions to withdraw myself, if I should find my life in danger; I took care at all times when the house was sitting, lest I should be surprized and seized by an order from them, to cause the gates of my house, which were divers, to be well guarded; and for the most part retired to some other place during that time. When the house was up, I used to take more liberty, having daily advice from some members of what had passed among them.

The bill of indemnity being brought to the lords, a great contention arose concerning the number of persons to be excepted; the widow of Dr. Hewet, with Mrs. Penruddock, and divers others soliciting them with such importunity for particular satisfaction, on account of their relations who had been put to death, that they found themselves obliged to appoint a committee to hear their demands. The lords also were inclined to revenge their own order on the persons of some in the high court of justice, by whom some of their number had been condemned, and to except one of the judges for every lord they had put to death; the nomination of the person to be excepted being referred to that lord who was most nearly related to the person that had suffered. According to this rule, colonel Croxton was nominated by the next relation to the earl of Derby, major Waring by the kinsman of another, and colonel Titchburn by a third: the earl of Denbigh, whose sister had been married to the duke of Hamilton, being desired by the lords to nominate one to be excepted, in satisfaction for the death of his brother-in-law, nominated a person who had been some time dead, of which some of the house being informed, they called upon him to name another; but he said, that since it had so fallen out, he desired to be excused from naming any more. This action, tho' seeming to proceed from chance, was generally esteemed to have been voluntary, the earl of Denbigh being known to be a generous man, and a lover of his country.

AND now the royal party, in the house of lords, began to discover their intentions to except all the king's judges from the benefit of the indemnity, which was communicated to me by Sir John Winter, secretary to the queen-mother, in a visit he made me at my house: he also informed me, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and the marquis of Argyle, had been seized and sent to the Tower by the king's order. In conclusion, he said, that whilst the king was treating with Monk about his restitution, and considering that I was then at the head of the parliament's forces in Ireland, he had acquainted him, that he had no greater difficulty to encounter than how to prevent me from obstructing the design; and that he would have given me any conditions, to have been assured of my service: from all which considerations, he advised me rather to withdraw myself, than to submit to the mercy of my enemies.

COLONEL Ingoldsby on account of his service, in the suppression of the party that had followed major-general Lambert, was not excepted from the act; nor colonel Hutchinson, tho' he had been as zealous against the late king, at the time of his trial, as any other of his judges. But having joined with Monk in his treacherous design, he had obtained a pardon from the king, whilst he was beyond sea. It w-

houſe, that colonel Adrian Scroop and colonel Laſſels ſhould have the benefit of the act, paying one year's value of their eſtates. Major Liſter was not inſerted, as was ſuppoſed, by the credit and intereſt of Mr. William Pierrepoint; and colonel Thomlinſon was excuſed upon information given to the houſe by Mr. Seymour, that the late king, when he waited on him a day or two before he ſuffered, ſignified to him his pleaſure, that the colonel ſhould receive favour on account of his civil carriage to him, during his confinement. But the ſon would not think this to be ſufficient for his exemption; declaring to ſome about him, that he ought of all men to be excepted, becauſe he had an opportunity, and a fair offer to let his father eſcape, which he refuſed. On this ground the earl of Litchfield moved for his exception: but the earl of Briſtol being engaged for Thomlinſon, and preſuming to be better acquainted with the king's intentions, undertook to reprove the earl of Litchfield ſo ſharply, that the diſpute had almoſt ended in a quarrel.

THESE conteſtations and delays in finiſhing the act of indemnity and oblivion, made the people not only murmur, but begin to doubt, that nothing of that nature would be paſſed for their ſecurity; eſpecially, after the earl of Briſtol had made a ſpeech in the houſe of lords, which, according to his manner of oſtentation, he cauſed to be printed; where after much boaſting of his important employments abroad, he deſired that the act might paſs with the exception only of thoſe who had a hand in the death of the king, who, he moved, might be more particularly deſcribed in another bill to be drawn for that purpoſe. By which no man could know whether he intended not, that not only his judges and the members who ſat after the year 1648, with thoſe who petitioned for juſtice againſt him, but even all thoſe who had in any way contributed to make war for the parliament ſhould be excepted. But the court having not yet diſbanded the army, would not venture too far in irritating the people; and therefore preſſed that the bill might be haſtened to a concluſion.

GREAT endeavours were uſed by the friends of thoſe who had been excepted in the houſe of commons, to procure them to be omitted by the lords: and the earl of Litchfield ſolliciting the lord Sturton for his vote in the behalf of lieutenant-general Fleetwood, received his promiſe to that effect, on condition he would engage to be for me on the like occaſion. Of this the lord Sturton informed me in a viſit he and his lady were pleaſed to make me in that conjuncture.

HAVING obſerved which way the lords inclined, I drew up the ſtate of the caſe, as well as I could, of thoſe who had rendered themſelves upon the proclamation, accompanied with ſuch reaſons as then occurred to my thoughts, why the houſe of commons ſhould not agree to any enlargement of the exceptions made by them: this paper I deſigned for the preſs; but having ſent it to Mr. Henry Martin for his opinion, he returned for anſwer, that unleſs my name were ſubſcribed, the houſe of lords would not fail to call it a libel; and therefore adviſed that it ſhould be preſented in the form of a petition, upon which I laid it aſide.

DIVERS meſſages were ſent from Whitehall by Hyde and others to the lords, for the diſpatch of the bill; but meeting with little ſucceſs, by reaſon of many obſtructions that were continually laid in the way, the king came in perſon to the houſe, and preſſed them to expedition, thanking the lords for excepting thoſe who had been the judges of the king his father; "Who," ſaid he, "were guilty of ſuch a crime, that they could

could not pardon themselves, much less expect it from others." By which he not only manifested his own revengeful temper, and the little regard he had to the promise he had made in his proclamation from Breda, to refer himself wholly to the parliament for pardoning what had been done during the late troubles; but his imprudence in this so early violation of the privileges of the parliament, by taking notice of what was depending in the two houses, before it came to be judicially presented to him; and by that means fomenting a division between them concerning an affair in which he himself was principally interested. He told them, "Other ways might be found to meet with those who were of turbulent and factious spirits;" insinuating, if I mistake not, that his intentions were not to be guided by the direction of the laws, but that he had some secret reserves to render the act of indemnity insignificant; concluding with desires, that they would be careful to make provision for his Irish subjects, who had manifested great affection to him during his exile; expressing the same zeal in the latter part of his speech for the bloody Irish rebels, as he had done in the former, against those who had dared to defend the liberties of England. And by this means the Irish grew immediately to that confidence, that one Fitz-harris publickly affirmed in Westminster-hall, that they were the best subjects the king had; and for that reason should be soon restored to the possession of their lands; of which the house being informed, they committed him to the Gate-house; but after two days, he was, by the prevalency of the court faction, discharged from his imprisonment.

The king, who had not only an inclination to re-establish the Irish in their estates, but had by a treaty formerly made with them, obliged himself to that condition, found no small difficulty to carry fair with those of the army, who were concerned in the confiscated lands. He was not willing to send any one into that government, who should be ungrateful to the Irish; and durst not imploy such as he and they desired, for fear of the English: for an expedient therefore, it was proposed that the lord Roberts should be sent as deputy to Monk, who, when he contracted to sell his masters, had desired the lieutenancy of Ireland for himself: but being told, that if he would have that employment, he must go over and execute it in his own person; he thought not convenient to accept it on those terms, apprehending that it would be no hard matter to supplant and ruin him in his absence. However, the lord Roberts had the title of deputy, and was addressed by that name; but finding he had only served for a present occasion, he desired to be recalled from that employment.

Finding my friends to grow every day more apprehensive of the dangers that threatened me, I removed from my house; and on this occasion received a signal testimony of the friendship of chief justice Coke, who being little sollicitous for himself, solemnly protested in a message he sent me, that if he were in no hazard on this occasion, he would willingly lay down his life to secure mine, who, he was pleased to say, might be more useful to the publick, than he could hope to be.

The earl of Antrim, an Irish papist, and principally concerned in the rebellion of that country, had been seized at the same time with the marquis of Argyle, tho' for a different reason; the latter for his services in the cause of liberty and religion, the former for unseasonably affirming, that the Irish were authorized by the late king to act as they had done. Both these lords coming to London to congratulate the restitution of the king,

king, were ſent to the Tower; the laird of Swintown was alſo made priſoner, and ſent in cuſtody to the ſame place. The cauſe of his ſeizure was at firſt reported to be for deſigning to ſtab the king, as he was pretending to cure the diſeaſe called the king's evil: but afterwards they changed their language, and gave out that it was for deſerting the Scots after the battle of Dunbar, and rendering himſelf to Oliver Cromwel. Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haſlerig were alſo ſeized, under the pretext that they had endeavoured to perſwade divers officers of the army to form a party in order to oppoſe the preſent power. But this ſoon appeared to be a fiction, and that the deſign was to take away their lives by any means; the king, when he heard they were in cuſtody, offering to lay a wager they ſhould not eſcape. Colonel Axtel, who had behaved himſelf honeſtly and bravely in the ſervice of the commonwealth, was about the ſame time trapanned by a cavalier, under pretence of treating with him for the purchaſe of ſome lands, and ſent priſoner to the Tower.

THE lords being preſſed, as I mentioned before, to diſpatch the act of indemnity, came at laſt to this reſult, touching the twenty perſons propoſed by the commons to be excepted from all other benefit of the act, except only as to life, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, major-general Lambert, and colonel Axtel, ſhould be excepted both as to life and eſtate; the other ſixteen to be made uncapable of any office or employment in church or ſtate. The news of this reſolution being carried to the king by the duke of York, the duke of Buckingham, and Monk, he openly expreſſed his joy; and when they told him, that the chief juſtice St. Johns had narrowly eſcaped, he wiſhed he had been added alſo; of which particulars I received information by a perſon of honour then preſent, immediately after they had parted.

THE next thing to be conſidered, was how to treat thoſe of the late king's judges who had rendered themſelves upon the proclamation, which held no long debate; thoſe who were inclined to do that which was juſt, decent and reaſonable, being far the leſſer number: yet the earl of Southampton had the courage to move, that ſince it was not thought fit to ſecure the lives of thoſe who had been induced to ſurrender their perſons upon the faith of the proclamation, they ought at leaſt to give them the like number of days for ſaving themſelves, as were appointed by that paper for their coming in: but Finch, who had formerly fled from the juſtice of the parliament, oppoſed that motion, and ſaid, that by that means they might be enabled to do more miſchief (as he knew had happened in his own caſe:) upon this, Mr. Thomas Challoner, with thoſe of the judges who had rendered themſelves, were put into the exception for life and eſtate; Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Robert Wallop, the lord Mounſon, Sir James Harrington, Mr. James Challoner, and Mr. John Phelps, were excepted from receiving any benefit of their eſtates, and ſubjected to ſuch farther puniſhments as ſhould be inflicted upon them, their lives only to be preſerved: colonel Hacker who was one of thoſe to whom the warrant of the high court of juſtice, for the execution of the king had been directed, together with Mr. Hugh Peters, and the two perſons who were in maſk upon the ſcaffold when he was beheaded, were excepted by the lords both for life and eſtate.

THE bill with theſe alterations being ſent down to the houſe of commons for their concurrence, they ſeemed unwilling to ſacrifice thoſe, who upon invitation and promiſe of favour, had rendred themſelves; and therefore refuſed to conſent to the exception of Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Sir Henry Vane, and

and major-general Lambert from the benefit of the act as to their lives; some of them saying in the house, that those gentlemen having had no immediate hand in the death of the king, there was as much reason to except most of themselves. Yet they agreed to except colonel Daniel Axtel, Mr. Hugh Peters, and the rest as desired. And to shew their readiness to gratify the revenge of those at the helm with the blood of as many as they could find any colour to abandon; being inform'd that Mr. John Carew, who had not at all conceal'd himself, had been seized by a warrant from a justice of the peace; that his name being mistaken in the warrant, and the officer refusing to detain him till that error should be amended, Mr. Carew had told him that he was, as he conceiv'd, the person designed to be seized, and therefore acquainted him with the place to which he was going; yet for all this (tho' happening within the fourteen days limited by the proclamation, and on the way to London, where such persons were directed to render themselves) the major part of the house of commons voted this not to be a surrender, and excepted him both in life and estate. Mr. Gregory Clement being already a prisoner in the Tower, was put into the same condition: and colonel Adrian Scroop, tho' he had rendred himself within the time limited by the proclamation, and tho' the commons had declared themselves contented with the forfeiture of a year's value of his estate; yet upon information from that renegado Brown, of some private discourse between them, in which the colonel, as he said, had justified the part he had in doing justice upon the late king; they condemn'd him without a hearing, and added him to the exception both in respect to life and estate: an action of such a nature, that I shall forbear to give it the name it deserves. But the king not satisfied with these sacrifices, greedy of revenge, and forgetting his message from Breda, encouraged his creatures in the house of lords to insist upon their exceptions; but the commons being averse to break the publick faith in every particular, a conference of both houses was appointed; in which some of the lower house pressing the promise of the proclamation, the chancellor presumed to affirm, that the proclamation was only in the nature of a subpœna: but the commons were not satisfied with this definition.

HAVING received advice from divers persons of honour, that the court was enraged that I had not been excepted, and that Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, had declared his resolution to move the house that their prisoners in the serjeant's custody might be committed to the Tower, my servants having also acquainted me that the serjeant had endeavoured to inform himself if I continued still at my house, I resolved not to appear any more in publick; and having the offer of a house near Richmond for my retirement, I went down thither, where I passed some days very quietly, and had the advantage of walking in the Park. Having one day made an excursion as far as major-general Lambert's house at Wimbleton, I perceived words to this effect written on the out-side of a banqueting-house, "The way to ruin enemies, is to divide their councils;" which lesson had he practised, the confusions brought upon the nation had possibly been avoided.

DURING these contests between the two houses, touching the exceptions to be made, Sir John Bourchier, who had been one of the king's judges, and had rendred himself within the time limited by the proclamation, being of a great age and very infirm, was permitted to lodge at a private house belonging to one of his daughters. In this place he was seized with so dangerous a fit of illness, that those about him who were his nearest

relations, deſpairing of his recovery; and preſuming that an acknowledgment from him of his ſorrow, for the part he had in the condemnation of the king, might tend to procure ſome favour to them from thoſe in power, they earneſtly preſſed him to give them that ſatisfaction. But he being highly diſpleaſed with their requeſt, roſe ſuddenly from his chair, which for ſome days he had not been able to do without aſſiſtance; and receiving freſh vigour from the memory of that action, ſaid, "I tell you, it was a juſt act; God, and all good men will own it." And having thus expreſſed himſelf, he ſat down again, and ſoon after quietly ended his life.

THE court party among the commons, tho' they could not bring the houſe to an intire violation of the publick faith; yet ſo far prevailed that they conſented to ſacrifice the eſtate and liberty of Sir Arthur Haſlerig; and that Sir Henry Vane, with major-general Lambert ſhould be excepted both for life and eſtate, with this reſerve, that if upon trial they ſhould be found guilty, the two houſes then to join in a petition to the king for the pardon of their lives. But the lords finding they could not bring the commons to a full compliance in the matter of exceptions, deſired another conference; which being agreed, the chancellor, after he had endeavoured to perſuade them, that the difference between the two houſes was rather in form than ſubſtance, offer'd for an expedient, that no ſentence to be pronounced againſt any of thoſe that had been added by the lords, ſhould be executed otherwiſe than by act of parliament; telling them he aſſured himſelf they would accept this propoſition, and hoped alſo that none of the king's judges, who after their ſurrender, might withdraw themſelves from their protection, ſhould participate of this favour; which laſt clauſe I took to be particularly levell'd at me, having been informed that the ſerjeant's deputy attended with ſoldiers, had very lately ſearched my houſe.

AT laſt the commons, partly from inclination and partly for their own ſafety, conſented to paſs the alterations as they had been made by the lords; (or rather by the king) which buſineſs being over, the houſe order'd the ſerjeant at arms to deliver thoſe of the king's judges who were in his cuſtody, into the hands of the lieutenant of the Tower. They were colonel Adrian Scroop, Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. George Fleetwood, colonel James Temple, Mr. Peter Temple, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Simon Mayne, colonel Thomas Wyte, colonel John Downs, colonel Vincent Potter, Mr. Henry Martin, colonel Edmund Harvey, alderman Iſaac Pennington, Mr. Gilbert Millington, colonel Robert Lilbourn, Mr. Auguſtin Garland, and colonel Owen Roe. Sir Hardreſs Waller, who had been in France, return'd to England upon the proclamation and rendred himſelf; but finding his ſurrender not like to anſwer his expectation, he had withdrawn together with alderman Titchburn from the ſerjeant at arms; yet upon farther conſideration, they both came in. So that when by the order of the houſe, the ſerjeant was called to give an account of his priſoners, and had acquainted them I was not to be found, a motion was made to add my name to thoſe who were excepted both for life and eſtate: but one Mr. Swanton a member of this houſe, and my country-man, moving, that before they ſhould proceed to extremities, they would examine the bond I had given for my appearance, to ſee if I had broken the condition; they let it drop for that time, hoping that by this ſeeming gentleneſs I might be perſuaded to ſubmit.

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INFORMATION of theſe things being ſent to me by the above-mention'd Mr. Swanton and colonel Henley, who was alſo a member, I repair'd privately to London, in order to conſult with my friends touching the courſe I ſhould take in this conjuncture. Upon which my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimſton, then ſpeaker of the houſe; and finding him ſtill to perſiſt in his advice for my ſurrender, ſhe took the liberty to ſay, That ſhe apprehended great danger in that counſel; becauſe ſhe thought thoſe, who to gratify the court, had already ſo far receded from their own reſolutions, and permitted that perſons who had rendred themſelves upon the faith of the late proclamation, ſhould be excepted both as to life and eſtate, tho' with the limitation mentioned, might juſtly be ſuſpected of being capable to be drawn yet farther; and to conſent, that after they ſhould be declared guilty, an act might paſs for putting the ſentence in execution. But tho' it were ſuppoſed that this houſe would never be induced to ſuch an action; yet they might be diſſolved, and the perſons excepted kept in priſon, till ſuch ſhould be procured to ſit in that place who would not be ſo ſcrupulous; eſpecially ſince it was viſible that the clauſe of limitation was ſo doubtful, that it might afford a pretence for interpreting it to be intended not only of this, but of any parliament that ſhould think fit to uſe their power againſt the perſons excepted.' The ſpeaker ſeemed much offended with this diſcourſe; and going down the ſtairs with her, told her he would waſh his hands of my blood, by aſſuring her, That if I would ſurrender myſelf, my life would be as ſafe as his own; but if I refuſed to hearken to his advice, and ſhould happen to be ſeized, I was like to be the firſt man they would execute, and ſhe to be left the pooreſt widow in England. But another of my friends who was well acquainted with the deſigns of the court, and had all along adviſed me not to truſt their favour, now repeated his perſuaſions to withdraw out of England, aſſuring, that if I ſtaid I was loſt; and that the ſame fate attended Sir Henry Vane and others, notwithſtanding all engagements to the contrary. He added, that there was a deſign on foot to ſeize the eſtates of all thoſe who had been out-law'd in the late king's time, of which number my father having been one, it would be difficult for me to eſcape ruin on that account. The advice of my friend whom I had always found to be intirely ſincere, and knew to be well inform'd of affairs, was of great weight to induce me to reſolve upon departing from England; in which reſolution I was confirmed by the friendly counſel of the lord Oſſery, eldeſt ſon to the marquiſs of Ormond, who with divers others that had obſerved the inconſtancy and irreſolution, to ſay no worſe, of thoſe in the houſe of commons in ſacrificing Mr. Carew and colonel Scroop to the revenge of the enemy, concurr'd in giving the ſame advice.

THE time appointed for my departure from England being come, after I had ſettled my affairs in the beſt manner I could, and taken leave of my deareſt friends and relations, I went into a coach about the cloſe of the day, and paſſing through the city over London-Bridge to St. George's Church in Southwark, I found a perſon ready to receive me with two horſes, one of which I mounted and began my journey. My guide was ſo well acquainted with the country, that we avoided all the conſiderable towns on the road, where we ſuſpected any ſoldiers might be quartered; and the next morning by break of day we arrived at Lewis without interruption. On the Tueſday following, a ſmall veſſel being prepared for my tranſportation, I went on board; but the wind blowing hard and the veſſel having no deck, I removed into another that had been provided for me by a

merchant of Lewis, and was ſtruck upon the ſands as ſhe was falling down to receive me. This veſſel had carried over Mr. Richard Cromwel ſome weeks before, and lay very commodiouſly for my ſafety on that occaſion; for after I had entered into her to ſecure myſelf from the weather, till I might put to ſea in the other, the ſearchers came on board my ſmall veſſel to ſee what ſhe carried, omitting to ſearch that in which I was, not ſuſpecting any perſon or thing to be in her, becauſe ſhe was ſtruck upon the ſands. But the ſtorm ſtill continuing, and the men thinking not fit to put to ſea, we continued in the harbour all that day and the night following; the maſter, who had uſed the ports of Ireland whilſt I had been in that country, among other things, enquiring if lieutenant-general Ludlow were not impriſoned with the reſt of the king's judges; to which I anſwered, that I had not heard of any ſuch thing.

THE next morning we ſet ſail, and had the wind ſo favourable, that we arrived in the harbour of Diepe that evening before the gates were ſhut; where going aſhore, I was conducted by the maſter, to the houſe of one madame De Caux to whom I was recommended, where I was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of civility; the gentlewoman leaving it to my choice, either to continue at her habitation in Diepe, or to go to her houſe in the country; which laſt I choſe to do, as well that I might enjoy the liberty of taking the air, as to avoid the Iriſh who were in great numbers in the town, and who probably might have ſeen me in Ireland when I ſerved the parliament. I had not been many days in this place, when I received letters from England, with a printed proclamation incloſed, taking notice, that I had withdrawn myſelf from the officer's cuſtody, forbidding any perſon to receive or entertain me under pain of high diſpleaſure; requiring all perſons to ſeize and ſecure my perſon, and propoſing the ſum of three hundred pounds as a reward for thoſe who ſhould perform this ſervice. Theſe letters, accompanied with the earneſt deſires of my friends for my removal to ſome place more diſtant from England, obliged me to think of leaving that place; and accordingly having prepared myſelf for my journey, and taking leave of the good family where I had been ſo kindly received and entertained, I ſet forward for Geneva, and paſſing by Rouen, a place of great trade, and the ſeat of one of the French parliaments, I arrived in three days at Paris. In this town I viewed ſuch things as were accounted remarkable, paſſing ſeveral days in this exerciſe. The Louvre ſeemed to me rather like a gariſon than a court, being very full of ſoldiers and dirt. I ſaw the king's ſtable of horſes, which tho' not extraordinarily furniſhed, gave more pleaſure than I ſhould have received by ſeeing their maſter, who thinks fit to treat them better than his miſerable people. But I loathed to ſee ſuch numbers of idle drones, who in ridiculous habits, wherein they place a great part of their religion, are to be ſeen in every part, eating the bread of the credulous multitude, and leaving them to be diſtinguiſhed from the inhabitants of other countries, by thin cheeks, canvaſs cloathing, and wooden ſhoes.

HAVING made what ſtay I thought neceſſary in Paris, and taken bills of exchange for Geneva, I departed for Lyons in the company of a German lord, from whom I received great civilities during the journey. Being arrived at Lyons, tho' the reſt of the company were examined, and obliged to give in their names; yet, by I know not what accident, none of the officers asked me any queſtion of that nature, but permitted me to go quietly to the inn that had been taken up for us, where we were no ſooner entered, when divers fryars of different orders crowded in to beg

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or rather command something; one of these behaving himself in so lewd a manner, to a youth who came in our company from Paris, as obliged me to shew my resentment of his impudence. The next day after my arrival at Lyons, I set forward for Geneva, continuing my journey without interruption, till I came to the Recluse, about six leagues distant from that city, where the king of France maintains a garison, because it lies upon his frontier. Here I was informed they would examine us strictly, and oblige us to lodge our arms with them; but they only desired money to drink, which I willingly gave. The same day I passed the river Rhone, and understood that I was then within the territories of Geneva, which was no small satisfaction to me, hoping I might enjoy some measure of quiet in that free city, and perhaps the society of some of my friends and countrymen; divers of whom I knew had been necessitated to retire into foreign parts.

At Geneva I took up my lodgings in the house of one monsieur Perrot, who having served in the army of the parliament understood the English tongue; and having heard that Mr. William Cawley, an able and antient member of parliament, had passed through part of France, I hoped to find him in this place; but upon inquiry, I was informed, that there were no Englishmen in the town, except one Mr. Felton and his servant. In the house where I lodged, the mistress being an English-woman, I found good beer, which was a great refreshment to me, after the fatigue of my journey, and constant use of wines, by which my body had been much distempered with rheums. The next day after my arrival, I received a bill of exchange, inclosed in a letter from monsieur Marga, a banker of Paris, for six hundred crowns, payable by a merchant of Geneva; but having a considerable sum remaining, of the stock I brought with me from London, and received no advice of that supply, I writ to monsieur Marga, to keep the money in his hands till I should receive letters from my friends.

I had not been here many days, before I was informed, that various reports had been raised in England concerning me; some saying, that I had been taken as I was endeavouring to make my escape in a disguise; others, that upon notice given that I was concealed at the house of a countryman, some persons coming to seize me, and offering money to that purpose, the man of the house refusing the offer, had caused me to be conveyed from thence by a private way. These things being believed by many, served to amuse my enemies, who suspected me to be still in England, and doubting the fidelity of the army, doubled their diligence to find me out. But my friends and relations being advised of my retirement, were not at all disturbed at their proceedings.

The convention, before their adjournment, had referred to the king the things in dispute between the episcopal and presbyterian parties, who, in prosecution of their desires, required them to consider, how far each party could condescend for mutual accommodation. The presbyterians finding the tide to be against them, agreed with the bishops in many particulars, desiring only to be dispensed with in wearing the surplice, reading some parts of the liturgy, and using some ceremonies; on which conditions they promised to subject themselves to the bishops, as superintendents of the church, if some ministers might be joined with them in the act of ordination. These propositions and condescentions being communicated to the bishops, and those of the bishops to the presbyterians, it was soon perceived, by discerning men, that these two competitors for

eccleſiaſtical power and riches, would not be eaſily brought to agree. However, the king thinking fit to temporiſe, as long as the army was on foot, appointed a conference between the diſagreeing parties, at which he was preſent in perſon; where tho' the biſhops appeared as inflexible as before, yet the king, for the reaſon above-mentioned, thought convenient to publiſh a declaration, forbidding the liturgy, ſurplice, and ſome ceremonies, to be impoſed upon thoſe who ſhould be unwilling to uſe them. Which ſhew of moderation took ſo much with the preſbyterians, who were ready to ſtretch their conſciences to the utmoſt, that they preſented their humble thanks to him for this favour. The like method was obſerved to lay thoſe aſleep who had purchaſed the church-lands, and who promiſed themſelves full ſatisfaction, according to the meſſage from Breda; commiſſioners being appointed to that end. But after they had ſat once or twice, and heard bitter invectives againſt the late ſales, as ſacrilegious, the purchaſers finding them for the moſt part to be of the ſame opinion, were quite diſcouraged from any farther proſecution of that matter.

In the mean time, the buſineſs of the country gentlemen who were members of this convention, was, during their adjournment, to be aſſiſting in the raiſing thoſe great ſums of money they had laid upon the people; for the payment of which, the intended diſbanding of the army afforded a moſt plauſible pretence, that the laws, as they ſaid, might run in their proper channel, without impediment or controul: but indeed that the men in power might deliver themſelves from the fear of thoſe who had reduced the government within its proper channel, and that the word of their king, with the aſſiſtance of an inconſiderable party, might paſs for a law without controul.

The firſt letters I received from England, after my arrival at Geneva, informed me, that major-general Harriſon, Mr. John Carew, chief juſtice Coke, Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Gregory Clement, colonel Adrian Scroop, colonel John Jones, colonel Francis Hacker, and colonel Daniel Axtel, being accuſed of having contributed in their ſeveral ſtations, to the death of the king, had been condemned and executed. This important buſineſs had been delayed during the time that Mr. Love was to continue ſheriff of London, he being no way to be induced, either for fear or hopes, to permit juries to be packed, in order to ſecond the deſigns of the court. But after new ſheriffs had been choſen, more proper to ſerve the preſent occaſion, a commiſſion for hearing and determining this matter, was directed to thirty four perſons, of whom fifteen had actually engaged for the parliament, againſt the late king, either as members of parliament, judges, or officers in their army; moſt, if not all of them, the lord mayor excepted, having been put into places of truſt and profit ſince the late revolution.

Colonel George Monk being commiſſionated to be of this number, was not aſhamed to ſit among them, any more than Mr. Denzil Hollis and the earl of Mancheſter, who, having been two of the ſix members deſigned by the late king for deſtruction, before the beginning of the war, and therefore perſonally concerned in the quarrel, had contributed the utmoſt of their endeavours to engage divers of the gentlemen (upon whom they were now to ſit as judges) on that ſide, were not contented to abandon them in this change, but aſſiſted in condemning them to die for their fidelity to that cauſe, which themſelves had betrayed. Mr. Arthur Anneſley, who had been alſo a member of the parliament whilſt they made

made war against the king, was also one of this number. Finch who had been accused of high treason twenty years before, by a full parliament, and who by flying from their justice, had saved his life, was appointed to judge some of those who should have been his judges; and Sir Orlando Bridgman, who, upon his submission to Cromwel, had been permitted to practise the law in a private manner, and under that colour had served both as spy and agent for his master, was entrusted with the principal management of this tragical scene; and in his charge to the grand jury, had the assurance to tell them, "That no authority, no single person, or community of men; not the people collectively or representatively, had any coercive power over the king of England. For proof of which assertion, he cited Spencer's case, in the time of Edward the second. And after-ages may, with as much reason, cite the proceedings of this court for precedents of the same kind.

All things being prepared, and the court assembled at the session-house in the Old-Bailey, Sir Hardress Waller, major-general Harrison, and Mr. Heveningham, were ordered to be set to the bar, where the indictement being read, containing many strange expressions, it was contrived that Sir Hardress Waller (who was known to be a man that would say any thing to save his life, and was prepared to that purpose) should be first demanded, whether he were guilty or not guilty. Which being done, he, after a little shifting, according to the expectation of the bench, pleaded guilty, taking the blood which had been shed during his employments in the army, upon his own head. But when major-general Harrison was required to answer, he not only pleaded "not guilty," but justified the sentence passed upon the king, and the authority of those who had commissionated him to act as one of his judges. He plainly told them, when witnesses were produced against him, that he came not thither with an intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to light, owning his name subscribed to the warrant for executing the king, to be written by himself; charging divers of those who sat on the bench, as his judges, to have been formerly as active for the cause, in which he had engaged, as himself or any other person; affirming, that he had not acted by any other motive than the principles of conscience and justice; for proof of which, he said, it was well known, he had chosen to be separated from his family, and to suffer a long imprisonment, rather than to comply with those who had abused the power they had assumed to the oppression of the people. He insisted, that having done nothing, in relation to the matter in question, otherwise than by the authority of the parliament, he was not justly accountable, either to this or any other inferior court; which being a point of law, he desired to have council assigned upon that head; but the court over-ruled; and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his defence, they clearly manifested a resolution of gratifying the resentments of the court upon any terms. So that a hasty verdict was brought in against him, and the question being asked, if he had any thing to say, why judgment should not pass, he only said, that since the court had refused to hear what was fit for him to speak in his defence, he had no more to say; upon which, Bridgman pronounced the sentence. And that the inhumanity of these men may the better appear, I must not omit, that the executioner in an ugly dress, with a halter in his hand, was placed near the major-general, and continued there during the whole time of his trial; which action I doubt whether it was ever equalled by the most barbarous

nations. But having learned to contemn ſuch baſeneſs, after the ſentence had been pronounced againſt him, he ſaid aloud, as he was withdrawing from the court, that he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of the cauſe in which he had been engaged. This ſentence was ſo barbarouſly executed, that he was cut down alive, and ſaw his bowels thrown into the fire.

Mr. John Carew was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Cornwall, educated in one of the univerſities, and at the inns of court. He had a plentiful eſtate, and being choſen to ſerve in the great parliament, he was elected into the council of ſtate, and employed in many important affairs; in which he ſhewed great ability. He found the ſame uſage from the court as major-general Harriſon had done, being frequently interrupted, and council denied, tho' earneſtly deſired by him, in that point of law touching the authority by which he had acted: when he ſaw that all he could ſay was to no purpoſe, he frankly acknowledged, that he ſat in the high court of juſtice, and had ſigned two warrants, one for ſummoning the court in order to the king's trial, and another for his execution. Upon this, the court, who were well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the jury, permitting him to ſpeak, he ſaid, that in the year 1640, a parliament was called according to the laws and conſtitution of this nation: that ſome differences ariſing between the king and that parliament, the king withdrew his perſon from them; upon which the lords and commons declared ——— Here the court being conſcious, that their cob-web coverings were not ſufficient to keep out the light of thoſe truths he was going to produce, contrary to the liberty they had promiſed, interrupted him, under colour that what he was about to ſay, tended not only to juſtify the action for which he was accuſed, but to caſt a ball of diviſion among thoſe who were preſent. But Mr. Carew going on to ſay, the lords and commons by their declaration —— Judge Foſter interrupted him again, and told him he endeavoured to revive thoſe differences which he hoped were laid aſleep, and that he did ſo to blow the trumpet of ſedition; demanding if he had ever heard, or could produce an act of parliament made by the commons alone. To this he would have anſwered, but was not permitted to finiſh what he began to ſay, or hardly any one thing he endeavoured to ſpeak in his defence during the whole trial; Mr. Arthur Anneſley particularly charging him with the excluſion of the members in the year 1648, of which number he had been one; to which he only replied, that it ſeemed ſtrange to find a man who ſat as a judge on the bench, to give evidence as a witneſs in the court. Theſe irregular proceedings, unbecoming a court of judicature, obliged Mr. Carew to addreſs himſelf to the jury, leaving them to judge of the legality of his trial; and appealing to their conſciences, whether he had been permitted to made his defence. But they who were not to be diverted from the reſolutions they had taken, without any regard to the manner of his trial, declared him guilty as he was accuſed.

Colonel Adrian Scroop was accuſed for ſitting as one of the judges in the high court of juſtice, when the king was brought to anſwer as a priſoner at the bar, for ſigning one warrant for ſummoning that court together, and another for the execution of the king. He denied nothing of this, but pleaded the authority of the parliament in his juſtification; denying that he had been acted by any motive of malice, as the indictement had untruly ſuggeſted; and aſſerting, that in what he had done relating to the king, he had followed the light of his reaſon and the dictates of his conſcience. At this trial, the principal witneſs was that Brown,

Brown, who having been major-general in the service of the parliament, and mention'd already in this work to be of a mercenary spirit, was now brought to betray a private conversation; and to depose, that talking one day with colonel Adrian Scroop in the speaker's chamber, and telling him that the condition of the nation was sad since the murder of the king, the colonel had answer'd, That men had different opinions touching that matter; and being desired by the said Brown to explain himself, he told him, he should not make him his confessor. Tho' this evidence be in appearance very insignificant; yet having influenced the house of commons, as I mention'd before, 'tis not to be admir'd if it took effect with a jury in an inferiour court, who taking every thing said against the person accused for substantial proof, made no scruple of bringing him in guilty of treason.

Mr. Thomas Scot was on the same day brought to a trial, or rather to receive the sentence of condemnation: he was charged with sitting in the high court of justice at the king's trial, with signing the two warrants above-mention'd; and desiring that the following inscription might be engraved upon his monument, " Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudg'd the late king to die." Divers witnesses were produced to prove these things; and among them Mr. William Lenthal speaker to the parliament, who, tho' when the king enter'd the house of commons, and had demanded of him the five members, he knew how to answer, " That he had neither ears to hear, eyes to see, or mouth to speak except what the house gave," could now appear as evidence against Mr. Scot for words spoken in parliament, which he was conscious to himself was a high breach of privilege; acquainting the court, that the person accused, had justified in the house the proceedings against the king. Mr. Scot said in his defence, that whatever had been spoken in the house ought not to be given in evidence against him, not falling under the cognizance of any inferiour court, as all men knew: that for what he had done in relation to the king, he had the authority of the parliament for his justification: that the court had no right to declare whether that authority were a parliament or not; and being demanded to produce one instance to shew that the house of commons was ever possess'd of such an authority, he assured them he could produce many. But having begun with the Saxon times, he was interrupted by the court, and told that the things of those ages were obscure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that way, he took the liberty to tell them, That he could not see for what reason it was not as lawful for that house of commons in which he had sat as a member, to make laws, as for the present convention which had been called by " the authority of the keepers of the liberties of England." I had the authority of parliament, the legislative authority to justify me---- Here the court interrupted him; but having no reasons to give, Finch said in a passion, " Sir, if you speak to this purpose again, I profess for my own part I dare not hear any more: 'tis a doctrine so poisonous and blasphemous, that if you proceed upon this point, I shall (and I hope my lords will be of the same opinion) desire that the jury may be immediately directed." Mr. Scot replied, " My lord, I thought you would rather have been my council, as I think 'tis the duty of your place. But in this matter I am not alone, neither is it my single opinion: even the secluded members owned us to be a parliament, else why did they, supported by an armed force, intrude themselves contrary to the resolutions of the house, in order to procure the major vote for our dissolution?" To which Mr. Annesley

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Mr. Thomas Scot was on the ſame day brought to a trial, or rather to receive the ſentence of condemnation: he was charged with ſitting in the high court of juſtice at the king's trial, with ſigning the two warrants above-mention'd; and deſiring that the following inſcription might be engraved upon his monument, " Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudg'd the late king to die." Divers witneſſes were produced to prove theſe things; and among them Mr. William Lenthal ſpeaker to the parliament, who, tho' when the king enter'd the houſe of commons, and had demanded of him the five members, he knew how to anſwer, " That he had neither ears to hear, eyes to ſee, or mouth to ſpeak except what the houſe gave," could now appear as evidence againſt Mr. Scot for words ſpoken in parliament, which he was conſcious to himſelf was a high breach of privilege; acquainting the court, that the perſon accuſed, had juſtified in the houſe the proceedings againſt the king. Mr. Scot ſaid in his defence, that whatever had been ſpoken in the houſe ought not to be given in evidence againſt him, not falling under the cognizance of any inferiour court, as all men knew: that for what he had done in relation to the king, he had the authority of the parliament for his juſtification: that the court had no right to declare whether that authority were a parliament or not; and being demanded to produce one inſtance to ſhew that the houſe of commons was ever poſſeſs'd of ſuch an authority, he aſſured them he could produce many. But having begun with the Saxon times, he was interrupted by the court, and told that the things of thoſe ages were obſcure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that way, he took the liberty to tell them, That he could not ſee for what reaſon it was not as lawful for that houſe of commons in which he had ſat as a member, to make laws, as for the preſent convention which had been called by " the authority of the keepers of the liberties of England." I had the authority of parliament, the legiſlative authority to juſtify me---- Here the court interrupted him; but having no reaſons to give, Finch ſaid in a paſſion, " Sir, if you ſpeak to this purpoſe again, I profeſs for my own part I dare not hear any more: 'tis a doctrine ſo poiſonous and blaſphemous, that if you proceed upon this point, I ſhall (and I hope my lords will be of the ſame opinion) deſire that the jury may be immediately directed." Mr. Scot replied, " My lord, I thought you would rather have been my council, as I think 'tis the duty of your place. But in this matter I am not alone, neither is it my ſingle opinion: even the ſecluded members owned us to be a parliament, elſe why did they, ſupported by an armed force, intrude themſelves contrary to the reſolutions of the houſe, in order to procure the major vote for our diſſolution?" To which Mr. Anneſley

answered, That if the secluded members had not appeared in parliament, and by that means put an end to all pretences, the people had not so soon arrived at their happiness. These, with many other things of equal force being said by Mr. Scot in his defence, rather to justify himself to his country, than from any hopes of consideration from those with whom he had to do; the jury, as directed, found him guilty also.

Colonel John Jones and Mr. Gregory Clement finding all that had been said in vindication of the things objected against the gentlemen who had been already tried, to prove ineffectual, informed the court that they could say no more than had been already alledged; and therefore confessed the fact, upon which they were declared guilty, as the persons before mention'd had been.

On the thirteenth of November, 1660. the sentence which had been pronounced in consequence of the verdict, was executed upon major-general Harrison at the place where Charing-Cross formerly stood, that the king might have the pleasure of the spectacle, and inure himself to blood. On the fifteenth, Mr. John Carew suffer'd there also, even their enemies confessing that more steddiness of mind, more contempt of death, and more magnanimity could not be expressed. To all who were present with them, either in prison or at the place where the sentence was executed, they owned that having engaged in the cause of God and their country, they were not at all ashamed to suffer in the manner their enemies thought fit, openly avowing the inward satisfaction of their minds when they reflected upon the actions for which they had been condemned, not doubting the revival of the same cause; and that a time should come when men would have better thoughts of their persons and proceedings.

Mr. John Coke, late chief-justice of Ireland, had in his younger years seen the best part of Europe; and at Rome had spoken with such liberty and ability against the corruptions of that court and church, that great endeavours were used there to bring him into that interest: but he being resolved not to yield to their sollicitations, thought it no longer safe to continue among them, and therefore departed to Geneva, where he resided some months in the house of signior Gio. Diodati, minister of the Italian church in that city; after which he returned to England and applied himself to the study of the laws; and in that profession became so considerable, that he was appointed by the high court of justice to be their sollicitor at the king's trial. I have already said, that he was seized and imprisoned by Sir Charles Coote, who joining with Monk in his treachery to the commonwealth, sent him over to England, that he might sacrifice him to his new master, in satisfaction for the blood of his party which he himself had formerly shed. Being brought to his trial, he was accused of preferring, in the name of all the good people of England, an impeachment of high treason to the high court of justice against the late king; that he had signed the said impeachment with his own hand; that upon the king's demurrer to the jurisdiction of the court, he had prayed that the charge might be taken for confessed, and therefore had demanded judgment from the court against the king; but this indictment being to be particularly charged upon him in the three following articles,

[1] Viz. That he, with others, had propounded, consulted, contrived, and brought the death of the late king.

SECONDLY, That to bring about this conspiracy, he, with others, had assumed, authority and power to accuse, kill and murder the king.

THIRDLY, That a person unknown did cut off the king's head; and that the prisoner was abetting, aiding, assisting, countenancing and procuring the said person so to do.

HE answer'd, first, That he could not be justly said to have contriv'd or councelled the death of the king, because the proclamation for the king's trial, even by the confession of his accuser, was publish'd on the ninth of January, which was the day before he was appointed sollicitor to the high court of justice. In the second place, tho' the court should not admit that to be an act of parliament, which authorized him to do what he did; yet he assured himself they would allow it to be an order, which was enough to justify him. Thirdly, that he who had neither been accuser, witness, jury, judge, or executioner, could not be guilty of treason in this case. He urged, that having acted only as council, he was not answerable for the justice or injustice of the cause he had manag'd; that being placed in that station by a publick command, it could not be said he had acted maliciously or with a wicked intention, as the inditement mention'd; that words spoken do not amount to treason, much less when set down in writing by the direction of others; especially since no clear proof had been produced, that his name subscribed to the charge against the king was written by himself. He said, that to pray and demand justice, tho' injustice be done upon it, could not be treason within the statute; that when he demanded justice, it might be meant of acquittal as well as of condemnation; and that if it should be accounted treason in a councellor to plead against the king, it must also be felony to plead against any man who may be unjustly condemn'd for felony; that the high court of justice, tho' now called tyrannical and unlawful, was yet a court, had officers attending them, and many think had authority, there being then no other in this nation than that which gave them their power; and if this will not justify a man for acting within his own sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exercise his profession, unless he may be sure of the legality of the establishment under which he acts. These and divers other things of no less weight he said in his defence; but the cabal thinking themselves concern'd to prevent the like in the time to come, and to terrify those who were not only able but willing also to be employ'd in such service, procured from the jury a verdict of condemnation against him according to their desire.

THE charge against Mr. Hugh Peters was for compassing and imagining the death of the king, by conspiring with Oliver Cromwel at several times and places, and procuring the soldiers to demand justice; by preaching divers sermons to persuade the soldiery to take off the king, comparing him to Barabbas, and applying part of a psalm where 'tis said, "They shall bind their kings in chains," &c. to the proceedings against him; assuring them, that if they would look into their bibles they should find there, "That whoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" and that neither the king nor any other person are excepted from this general rule. He was also accused of saying, That the levites, lords and lawyers must be taken away in order to establish a commonwealth; that the king was a tyrant, and that the office itself was chargeable, useless and dangerous. These, with other things of like nature, being

being ſworn againſt him, Mr. Peters ſaid in his defence, That the war began before he came into England; that ſince his arrival, he had endeavour'd to promote ſound religion, the reformation of learning and the law, and employment of the poor; that for the better effecting theſe things he had eſpouſed the intereſts of the parliament, in which he had acted without malice, avarice or ambition: and that whatever prejudices or paſſions might poſſeſs the minds of men, yet there was a God who knew theſe things to be true. It was not expected that any thing he could ſay ſhould ſave him from the revenge of the court, and therefore he was without heſitation brought in guilty. This perſon had been a miniſter in England for many years, 'till he was forc'd to leave his native country by the perſecution ſet on foot in the time of archbiſhop Laud againſt all thoſe who refuſed to comply with the innovations and ſuperſtitions which were then introduced into the publick worſhip. He went firſt into Holland, and from thence to New England; where after ſome ſtay, being informed that the parliament had relieved the people in ſome meaſure from the abuſes in church and ſtate, and deſign'd to perfect that work, he return'd to England; and in all places, and on all occaſions, encouraged the people to appear vigorouſly for them. Having paſſed ſome time in England, he was made chaplain to a brigade that was ſent againſt the Iriſh rebels, and obſerving the condition of the plundered proteſtants in that country to deſerve compaſſion, he went into Holland, and improved the intereſt he had there with ſo good ſucceſs, that he procured about thirty thouſand pounds to be ſent from thence into Ireland for their relief. He was a diligent and earneſt ſollicitor for the diſtreſſed proteſtants of the vallies of Piedmont, who had been moſt inhumanly perſecuted and reduced to the utmoſt extremities by the tyranny of the duke of Savoy; and in gratitude to the Hollanders for the ſanctuary he had found among them in the time of his diſtreſs, he was not a little ſerviceable to them in compoſing their differences with England in the time of Cromwel.

An order being made, that the chief-juſtice Cooke and Mr. Peters ſhould die on the ſame day, they were carried on two ſledds to the place appointed for the execution of the ſentence that had been pronounced againſt them, the head of major-general Harriſon being placed on that which carried the chief-juſtice, with the face uncovered, and directed towards him; which was ſo far from producing the deſigned effect, that he not only ſeemed to be animated with courage from the reflection he might make upon that object; but the people every where expreſſed their deteſtation of ſuch uſage. At the place of execution, among other things, he declared that he had uſed the utmoſt of his endeavours that the practice of the law might be regulated, and that the publick juſtice might be adminiſtred with as much expedition and as little expence as poſſible; and that he had ſuffered a more than ordinary perſecution from thoſe of his own profeſſion on that account. He ſaid he underſtood not the meaning of the court, when they affirmed, That if the lords and commons had brought the king to the bar, it had been treaſon in them; and as to the part he had in the action with which he was charged, he was ſo far from repenting what he had done, that he was moſt ready to ſeal it with his blood: here the ſheriff rudely interrupting him, he replied, That it had not been the cuſtom in the moſt barbarous nations, much leſs in England, to inſult over a dying man; adding, that he thought he was the firſt who had ever ſuffered death for demanding juſtice.

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When this victim was cut down and brought to be quartered, one colonel Turner called to the ſheriff's men to bring Mr. Peters to ſee what was doing; which being done, the executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody hands together, aſked him how he liked that work? He told him he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worſt. And when he was upon the ladder, he ſaid to the ſheriff, "Sir, you have butcher'd one of the ſervants of God before my eyes, and have forc'd me to ſee it in order to terrify and diſcourage me; but God has permitted it for my ſupport and encouragement."

On the ſixteenth of October, Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Gregory Clement were drawn in one ſledd, and colonel Adrian Scroop with colonel John Jones in another, to Charing Croſs, in order to ſuffer death as the reſt had done. Mr. Scot was a gentleman who having been educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, had lived privately in the country, till upon a recruit of members to ſerve in the parliament, he was choſen to be of their number; and in that ſtation carried himſelf with ſuch conſtancy and zeal for the ſervice of the commonwealth, that during the interruption of the parliament by Cromwel, the country in which he lived, as a mark of their eſteem, choſe him to ſerve them as often as there was occaſion. When the parliament was a ſecond time interrupted by the army, he held a conſtant correſpondence with Monk for their reſtitution; in which he was very inſtrumental, as well by cauſing the letters he received from Monk, declaring his reſolution to live and die with the parliament, to be printed and publiſh'd, as by other ſervices. He had been ſeveral times choſen a member of the council of ſtate; and the parliament being again reſtored, they appointed him to be ſecretary to that board, and deputed him for one of the two commiſſioners they ſent to accompany Monk in his march to London. To this Gentleman Monk ſolemnly ſwore at St. Albans, That he would be faithful to the parliament; in confidence of which, when Mr. Scot had reſumed his place in the houſe, he undertook ſo largely for his integrity. But when his treachery was too manifeſt, he endeavour'd to paſs beyond the ſeas, and was taken by pirates; who having plundered him, ſet him aſhore in Hampſhire; yet by the aſſiſtance of his friends, he procured another veſſel to land him in Flanders, where he was no ſooner arrived but he was ſeized by an agent for the king. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then governour of the Spaniſh Netherlands, who had been ambaſſador for the king of Spain in England, during the government of the commonwealth, remembring the particular obligations he had to Mr. Scot, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty. Being freed from theſe dangers, and afterwards finding his name to be inſerted among others of the king's judges who were required to render themſelves if they expected any benefit by the act of indemnity; in confidence at leaſt of ſaving his life, he ſurrendred himſelf to the Engliſh agent within the time limited by the proclamation. And tho' he was thus enſnared, yet he was not unwilling to confirm what he had done, with the teſtimony of his blood, which he did with the greateſt demonſtrations of cheerfulneſs and ſatisfaction of mind. He attempted ſeveral times to ſpeak to the people at the place of execution, in juſtification of that cauſe for which he was to die; but thoſe who feared nothing ſo much as truth, interrupted him ſo often, that he found himſelf obliged to ſay, "That ſurely it muſt be a very bad cauſe which cannot ſuffer the words of a dying man."

Mr. Gregory Clement being the next that ſuffer'd, was a citizen and merchant of London, who by trading to Spain, had raiſed a very conſiderable eſtate. He was choſen a member of the parliament about the year 1646. and diſcharged that truſt with great diligence, always joyning with thoſe who were moſt affectionate to the commonwealth, tho' he never was poſſeſs'd of any place of profit under them. Being appointed one of the commiſſioners for the trial of the king, he durſt not refuſe his aſſiſtance in that ſervice. He had no good elocution, but his apprehenſion and judgment were not to be deſpiſed. He declared before his death, that nothing troubled him ſo much, as his pleading guilty at the time of his trial, to ſatisfy the importunity of his relations, by which, he ſaid, he had rendered himſelf unworthy to die in ſo glorious a cauſe.

Colonel Adrian Scroop was deſcended of an antient family, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate. His port and mien was noble, and the endowments of his mind every way anſwerable. He appeared early in the army of the parliament, being preſent and engaged at the battle of Edge-hill, in the head of a troop of horſe, which he had raiſed. He was firſt advanced to the degree of a major, and ſoon after appointed to be colonel of a regiment of horſe. He had been, for ſeveral years, governour of the Caſtle of Briſtol, and when the parliament thought fit to ſlight that gariſon, they made him one of their commiſſioners for the civil government of Scotland, in conjunction with the lord Broghil, Monk and others. In all theſe employments he manifeſted ſuch abilities and fidelity, that the parliament appointed him to be one of the commiſſioners for the trial of the late king; in which place he acted with all the impartiality that becomes a judge in whom ſo great a truſt is repoſed, and who ought to be no reſpecter of perſons. The hard meaſure he received from the convention at Weſtminſter, I have already mentioned; it remains only to give ſome account of what he ſaid at the place where he ſuffered death, which was to this purpoſe, That tho' he had been accuſtomed to be ſeen in better places; and other kind of circumſtances, yet it being the will of God he ſhould be brought into this condition, he ſubmitted cheerfully; that he never had entertained malice againſt any man, and that he now wiſhed no ill either to the jury who found him guilty, or to the judges who pronounced ſentence; or even to the perſon by whoſe means he was brought to that place, who, he preſumed, was ſo well known, that it was not neceſſary to name him. He ſaid he ſhould not boaſt of his birth, or education, or the private conduct of his life, becauſe he was going to appear before a tribunal where all men muſt come; and where the juſtice or injuſtice of every action would be manifeſt, deſiring the people in the mean time not to think uncharitably of him; for he was firmly perſuaded he ſuffered for the cauſe of God and his country.

Colonel John Jones, who next appeared on this bloody theatre, was a gentleman of a competent eſtate in North-Wales, and ſo well beloved in his country that he did conſiderable ſervice to the publick cauſe by his intereſt in thoſe parts. He reduced the iſle of Angleſey to the obedience of the commonwealth, and was ſoon after choſen to ſerve in parliament for that place. He had been one of the council of ſtate, and in the year 1650. was conſtituted one of the commiſſioners of parliament for managing the civil affairs of Ireland. This truſt he diſcharged during the courſe of divers years, with great diligence, ability and integrity, in providing for the

the happiness of that country, and bringing to justice those who had been concerned in the murders of the English protestants. When the great parliament was restored to the exercise of their authority, after the long interruption, they chose him to be one of those eight persons, to whom they committed the care of the publick safety, till they could establish a council of state. Of this also he was chosen a member, and soon after sent by the parliament to his former trust in Ireland, where he continued till the late change. Being drawn to Charing Cross on the same sledd with colonel Scroop, the gravity and graceful mien of these aged gentlemen, accompanied with visible marks of fortitude and internal satisfaction, surprised the spectators with admiration and compassion.

Colonel Daniel Axtel was next brought to trial. The chief heads of the accusation against him were, That he commanded the guards both at the trial and execution of the king; that he ordered the soldiers, in a tumultuous manner, to demand justice and afterwards execution; that he threatned to shoot a lady, who from a gallery that was near the court where the king was tried, had contradicted the president when he was speaking concerning the charge; that he sent for and encouraged the executioner, and that he had upbraided with cowardice one of the persons, to whom the warrant for seeing execution done upon the king was directed, for refusing to sign it. And these, with some other things of less weight, were called compassing and imagining the death of the king. Colonel Hercules Huncks, who was one of the three to whom the said warrant had been directed; one of the forty halberdiers attending the high court of justice, and one who had opposed with more than ordinary vehemence all those who were for the king, was the principal witness against him. Colonel Axtel having first acknowledg'd his ignorance in matters of law, and therefore desiring that no undue advantages might be taken against him on that account, proceeded to speak to this effect; That the war was made by the joint authority of the lords and commons assembled in parliament, who claimed a right of employing the military force of the nation for the publick safety, as appears by divers acts and declarations published by their order. This authority raised an army, made the earl of Essex general, then the earl of Manchester, of the forces of the Eastern association, and after that created and authorized Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general of all their forces. "Under this authority," said he, "I acted, which I conceive to be legal, because this parliament was not only called by the king's writ, and chosen by the people, but also because a bill had passed, that they should not be dissolved otherwise than by their own consent. Having this unquestionable authority for my justification, I presume my case comes not within the reach of the statute 25th Edward III. which could by no means intend such a power as was not only owned and obeyed at home, but acknowledged by princes and states abroad, to be the chief authority of the nation, by sending agents and ambassadors to them. The judges, who ought to be the eye and guide of the people acted under them, divers of them publickly declaring that it was lawful and justifiable to obey the parliament. But if their acts may not be accounted such, tho' they carried that title, and were obeyed by the judges, ministers, officers of state, and the whole nation; yet surely they cannot be denied to be orders of parliament; which would be sufficient to justify any man who acted by them. This parliament so constituted, so acknowledged and so obeyed, having made choice of a person to be general of their forces, I was by that general, in virtue of the authority he had received from them,

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conſtituted an officer under him: and therefore whatever I have done was as a ſoldier, and according to the duty of my office; for if I was in Weſtminſter-hall at the time of the king's trial, I was there by a command of the general: and if it be ſo great a crime to have been an officer in that army which was raiſed by the parliament, the earls of Eſſex and Manchester, the lord general Fairfax, Monk and others who have acted by the ſame authority, were no leſs criminal than myſelf." He cited the declarations of the lords and commons, publiſhed when they engaged the people to take arms, in which they aſſerted, That it was repugnant to reaſon that the judgment and actions of the parliament might not be a rule and guide to the nation in their duty; and declared that the perſons who ſhould act under their authority ought not to be queſtioned for ſo doing: he therefore preſumed that an inferiour court would not expound the law contrary to the judgment of the high court of parliament; adding, That if the houſe of commons who are the repreſentatives of the whole nation, may be guilty of treaſon, it will follow that all the people of England, who choſe them, are guilty alſo, and then where will a jury be found to try this cauſe? My commiſſion is dated the 27th of March, 1648. ten months before the king's death. The commiſſion by which general Fairfax was authoriſed to give mine to me, he received from the lords and commons aſſembled in parliament. I did nothing but my duty in going to my regiment; for if the general ſays, go to ſuch a place and ſtay there, if I refuſe, by the law of arms I am to die. But if I obey it ſeems I am in danger alſo. The queſtion therefore in law, I humbly conceive, will be this, and I deſire it may be truly and fairly ſtated, "Whether a man who is guided by the judgment of the lords and commons aſſembled in parliament, acting only according to that judgment of parliament, and under their authority can be queſtioned for treaſon? To this the council anſwering, That he was not accuſed of levying war, but of aſſiſting at the trial and execution of the king, and encouraging the ſoldiers to clamour for juſtice and execution; the colonel replied, That he was no more guilty than the general, that his preſence in Weſtminſter-hall was not voluntary, and that he was there by command. This he preſſed ſo home upon the court, appealing to themſelves for their judgment in the caſe, that they were neceſſitated to fly to their old refuge of queſtioning the authority by which he had acted. To the reſt of the evidence he ſaid, That if any lady had talked aloud during the time of the king's trial, to the interruption and diſturbance of the court, he ſuppoſed it was no treaſon to bid her hold her tongue; that if he ſmiled, as colonel Temple depos'd, it could not amount to ſo great a crime; that if ſome ſoldiers did cry out juſtice, it was not by his inſtigation; yet he hoped that to deſire juſtice, which is one of the principal attributes of God, is no treaſon. Having ſaid theſe, with many other things in his defence, he addreſs'd himſelf to the jury, and acquainted them that he left his caſe and his life in their hands.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, Bridgman, who was preſident of this aſſembly, contented himſelf with repeating that ſtrange and unheard of doctrine, "That no perſon whatſoever, nor community, not the people either collectively or repreſentatively, have any coercive power over the king." For this he quoted ſome precedents as little to the purpoſe as the aſſertion itſelf, and then concluded the caſe to be ſo clear, that the jury needed not to ſtir from the bar. It ſoon appear'd that he knew the men,

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for they fully answered his expectations; and as they were directed, without any difficulty, declared colonel Axtel to be guilty of the treason with which he had been charged.

Colonel Francis Hacker being appointed to appear also in this tragical scene, he was brought to the bar; where an inditement for compassing and imagining the death of the king was read against him; and to prove the accusation witnesses were produced, who depos'd, that he was one of the persons that were upon the guard, and kept the king prisoner; that the warrant for seeing the sentence that had been pronounced by the high court of justice against the king put in execution, was directed to him with others; that in prosecution of that commission, he had sign'd a warrant for executing the king; and that he took the king, by virtue of the warrant he had received, out of the custody of colonel Thomlinson, and conducted him to the scaffold on which he had been put to death. Colonel Hacker excepted not against any of the jury, finding all of them to be of the same stamp; and said little more in his defence than that he had acted by the command of his superiours, and that he had always endeavoured to serve his country in all his publick actions; so that his trial was quickly dispatch'd, and he declared guilty of high treason. He was a gentleman of a considerable estate, derived to him from his ancestors, who lived in the county of Leicester: he had passed through several degrees of command in the service of the parliament, and particularly distinguish'd himself at the battle of Worcester, in the head of a regiment of horse which he had raised on that occasion for the defence of his country: he refused his assistance to support the usurpation of Mr. Richard Cromwel, tho' he had forced a knighthood, as 'tis call'd, upon him, and presented him with two swords, refusing to obey his orders, and joining with the commonwealth-party in his deposition: he had continued in the command of his regiment till he was taken in custody, having had assurances from Monk, that he should be fully indemnified. So that when he came to London, he made a visit to Monk, and was received with all the appearances of friendship and affection. But the next day after he had been thus caressed, he was seized, examined, and sent to the Tower.

Colonel Daniel Axtel had been captain, major and lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of foot; in the last of which employments he had assisted at the trial and execution of the late king. When lieutenant-general Cromwell was sent by the parliament into Ireland with an army against the rebels, and the regiment in which colonel Axtel served was drawn out by lot for that expedition, he chearfully undertook the employment; and for his fidelity, courage and conduct, was soon preferred to the head of a regiment; and not long after was made governour of Kilkenny and the adjacent precinct, which important trust he discharged with diligence and success. In this station he shewed a more than ordinary zeal in punishing those Irish who had been guilty of murdering the protestants; and on this account, as well as for what he had done in relation to the late king, the court had procured him to be excepted out of the act of indemnity.

Captain William Hewlet was also accused and tried for cutting off the king's head, or at least for being one of the persons that stood mask'd upon the scaffold during his execution; and tho' divers creditable witnesses depos'd, that Gregory Bandon, who was common hangman, had confessed and owned to have executed the king; yet the jury found him

guilty of the indictment. But the court being ſenſible of the injury done to him, procured his reprieve.

THOSE whom I mention'd before to have been excepted both for life and eſtate, with a reſerve, that if upon trial they ſhould be found guilty, ſentence of death ſhould not be executed againſt any of them except by act of parliament, were brought to be tried before this court; where ſome of them pleaded guilty ſimply; but others, tho' they acknowledged the guilt, denied the malice; and ſome confeſſing the fact, denied the guilt. Of this laſt number was colonel Henry Martin, of whoſe trial I ſhall only mention ſome few of the moſt remarkable paſſages, and ſo leave this melancholy ſubject: for if I ſhould give an account, tho' with all poſſible brevity, of what paſſed in the court during their ſeſſion, together with what might be neceſſary to ſay concerning the perſons accuſed, I ſhould be carried too far from my purpoſe. Colonel Henry Martin was charged with ſigning and ſealing the precept for ſummoning the high court of juſtice; with ſigning the warrant for executing the king; with ſitting in court almoſt every day of his trial, and particularly that on which he received the ſentence of death. To theſe things he anſwered, That he declined not to acknowledge the matter of fact that was alledged againſt him, the malice imputed to him by the indictment ſet aſide. Upon which, being told by one of the council, That he ſeem'd to be of opinion, that a man might ſit and adjudge a king to death, and ſign a warrant for his execution, meekly, innocently, charitably and honeſtly. He anſwer'd, that tho' he ſhould not compare his knowledge in the law with that of ſuch a learned gentleman; yet according to that little underſtanding he had been capable of acquiring, he preſumed, " That no fact could be named which in itſelf is a crime, but only as it is circumſtantiated;" and to make good that aſſertion, gave ſeveral inſtances. But the counſel to prove that he had acted maliciouſly, produced a perſon who depos'd, that he ſigned the warrant merrily and in a jeſting way, as he was rallying with lieutenant-general Cromwell. To which he replied, That ſuch a way of doing a thing does by no means imply malice. The council finding their inſinuations and aggravations of the charge againſt him ſo eaſily blown away by theſe and other anſwers, made up with paſſion what they wanted in the weight of reaſon; the ſollicitor-general exclaiming, " That all good people abhorr'd the action; and that he was ſorry to ſee ſo little repentance." To this the colonel only ſaid, He hoped that what was urged by the counſel, would not make that impreſſion upon the court and jury as ſeem'd to be deſign'd; and that if it were poſſible for that blood to be in the veins again, and every drop of that which was ſhed in the late wars, he could wiſh it with all his heart: but he preſumed it might be lawful to ſay in his own defence, That what he did, he thought at that time he might do. " There was," ſaid he, " a houſe of commons, as I underſtood it to be, tho' perhaps your lordſhips think them not to have been a houſe of commons: however, they were then the ſupreme authority in England, and acknowledged and reputed ſo to be both at home and abroad; I ſuppoſe he who gives obedience to the authority " de facto" in being, ſufficiently ſhews himſelf to be of a peaceable temper, and far from a traitor: there was a ſtatute made in the time of Henry the VIIth. to indemnify all thoſe who ſhould take arms for a king " de facto," tho' he were not ſo " de jure." And if a ſupreme officer " de facto" can juſtify a war, I preſume the ſupreme authority

authority in England, tho' "de facto" only, may justify a court of judicature. If it should be said, that the authority by which we acted was only one estate of three, and but part of that; I answer, it was all that was then existing. And I have heard lawyers say, that if there be commons appurtenant to a tenement, and that the tenement be all burnt down except one small stick, the commons still belong to that small piece as much as when the tenement was all standing. I shall also humbly offer it to consideration, whether the late king for some time before his trial, could truly and properly be called a king, who was not in the execution of his office, but made a prisoner, and no way concerned in the administration of publick affairs." But notwithstanding these and divers other things which he said in his defence, with as much presence of mind as solidity of argument, he was brought in guilty of the treason for which he had been accused; in pursuance of which verdict, the sentence of condemnation was passed against him, the convention making no provision for securing the lives either of him or the rest of the gentlemen that had been decoyed into a surrender of their persons, tho' they had implicitly promised them favour.

The army that had so long stood in the way of the court, was now wholly disbanded, except only Monk's regiment of foot; and that was balanced by a regiment of horse raised under colour of being a guard to the king. This, together with the payment of their arrears, and a liberty of trading in corporations, was the reward they received for their services, notwithstanding all the fair promises both of Monk and the king. And thus these men who had accumulated treachery upon treachery, were dismissed with infamy; for the very acknowledgment that was made by the king, that they had been the chief instruments of his return, reproached them with infidelity to the parliament, and their own desires to be absolved from the guilt of their former actions, was a confession that they had been rebels to the king. However, the dissipation of these men was not caused by the king's aversion to a standing army; for the whole course of his life demonstrates the contrary; but being perswaded that they who had already made so many changes in England, were able to bring about another, and to turn him out again with as little consideration as they had brought him in, he thought it most safe and necessary to free himself at once from such dangerous companions.

This work being accomplished, the court began to take off the mask: for tho' the king had published a declaration for accommodation in matters of publick worship and ceremonies, and tho' the episcopal party in the convention had patiently permitted a committee to be appointed to consider of that matter; yet being delivered from the terror of the army, they opposed the report of the committee with such violence, that it was not thought fit to press it any more: by which means all the hopes of the presbyterians vanished, and this mountain brought forth a mouse. The natural tendency of these things was so visible, that Mr. Pryn, who had manifested a more than ordinary zeal for disbanding the army, finding his expectations defeated, and the presbyterian party so miserably deluded, after he had made report of the number of regiments that had been disbanded, desired the house, that they would be mindful not to do those things that might bring them together again. Upon which the adverse party fell upon him with that fury, that if the house had not risen immediately in great disorder, he had been obliged to explain himself at the bar.

But

BUT for all this, the convention, tho' called in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, as if they had deſigned to put the people beyond the hopes of any remedy, made a preſent to the king of the cuſtoms and exciſe during his life, beſides other great ſums charged upon the nation to ſupply his preſent occaſions: and tho' before the paſſing the bill of indemnity they had ſeemed ſenſible, that they were in honour concerned to make proviſion for the ſecurity of the lives of thoſe, who having ſat as judges of the late king, had rendered themſelves into their hands upon the proclamation which had been publiſhed by their advice; yet they not only abandoned thoſe poor deluded gentlemen who lay under the ſentence of condemnation, and waited for the favour they had implicitly promiſed; but alſo paſſed a bill of attainder againſt thoſe of the king's judges and other perſons, who having been excepted out of the act, had eſcaped their hands, adding to other unuſual clauſes, "That all truſts for their uſe ſhould be forfeited." But the duke of York, upon whom theſe confiſcated eſtates were beſtowed, muſt be ſupplied by any means.

Henrietta Maria of France, widow to the late king Charles, who had been a principal inſtrument to adviſe and encourage him in his illegal actions, paſſed over into England about this time; and being arrived at London, the houſe of commons, in which were many perſons, who had been members of that parliament which had threatened to accuſe her of high treaſon, not only congratulated her return, but preſented her daughter that had accompanied her in her journey, with the ſum of ten thouſand pounds. But notwithſtanding all the flattering ſubſerviency they could ſhew, and all that they could do to procure themſelves to be thought fit for the ſervice of the court; yet being not thoroughly principled to do the work of the church, they were acquainted that they ſhould be diſſolved on the 24th of December next enſuing; againſt which time it was deſired, that all bills under conſideration might be made ready. And leſt the people ſhould, upon the diſſolution of this aſſembly, form a body of men, and aſſert their liberties, it was pretended that a great plot to ſeize the king and the Tower, to kill the queen with all thoſe that ſhould be found of the French nation, and to reſtore the parliament, was carrying on throughout England. Under this colour, major-general Overton, colonel Deſborough, colonel Salmon, lieutenant-colonel Farley, major Whitby, and divers other perſons were ſeized in London; and colonel Duckenfield, major Anthony Morgan, and ſeveral others were impriſoned in the country.

DURING the noiſe of this conſpiracy, the queen, accompanied by her daughter and Jermyn, returned to France, which induced many to believe that ſhe was terrified by the deſigns againſt her perſon. But ſhe, who knew the plot to be no more than a fiction, had other real grounds for her departure. For having endeavoured to perſwade her ſon to remove the chancellor Hyde from his councils, and finding ſhe effected nothing by her continual ſolicitations, ſhe ſoon grew weary of England; where, tho' by the importunity of the king, ſhe had at laſt admitted the new dutcheſs of York to come into her preſence; yet by applying herſelf to other company, not deſiring her to ſit, and taking the firſt opportunity to withdraw from the room, ſhe abundantly ſhewed, that ſhe thought her not worthy to be treated as a daughter. Theſe were the principal, if not the only reaſons that moved the queen to quit the court of her ſon, and

to

to retire into her own country, tho' to give a better colour to her departure, and to conceal these domestick divisions, they made use of the pretences before-mentioned.

On the day of the dissolution of the convention, Sir Harbottle Grimeston, who was their speaker, made a speech to the king filled with the greatest flattery: in answer to which, the chancellor was no way sparing of complements, applauding the wisdom of the house in the king's restitution, and their diligent endeavours to give his majesty satisfaction, by settling things in such a manner as might prevent new disturbances and troubles. Yet he could not forbear to reflect upon them for not investing the king with the militia, (which, he said, had been the great bone of contention during the late war) nor declaring any thing concerning that matter, but leaving it uncertain as they found it, and consequently a foundation of new differences. To prevent which, and to secure the peace of the nation, he acquainted them, that the king would be constrained to establish it for the present, as formerly his predecessors had done. And to convince them of the necessity of this arbitrary proceeding, he took occasion to put them in mind of the late plot (an admirable state-engine fitted for all times) telling them, that tho' the persons engaged in this conspiracy were only the lees of the people, yet small beginnings ought not to be neglected, especially considering that all things in this design had been brought to a head; that I had been nominated to command two thousand five hundred men in London, who were ready to seize the Tower; that the like number was inlisted under my command in the western parts of England; and that another person, whom he named not, had as many in the north ready to prosecute the same design. To give the best colour they could to these falshoods, all places where it could be suspected I might lie concealed, were diligently searched; my wife was several times plundered of her wearing cloaths; the lodgings of colonel Kempson my brother-in-law were ransacked, and many of his goods taken away; all my writings, which I had recommended to the care of a friend, were betrayed by a servant in hopes of reward, and seized; and one who had waited on me in my chamber was imprisoned in the Gate-house, where he lay ten weeks, because he could not discover where I was.

Colonel John Barkstead and colonel Okey, with colonel Walton and colonel Dixwel, who had been commissioners in the high court of justice at the trial of the late king, having made their escape from England into Germany, were received into protection at Hanaw, and made burgesses of the town. Of these colonel Barkstead and colonel Okey took a journey to Holland, to meet some relations who were contented to banish themselves with them, and to conduct them to the place which they had chosen for their residence. But one Mr. George Downing, who was agent for the king in Holland, and had formerly been a preacher and chaplain to colonel Okey's regiment, having received information that such persons were in that country, obtained an order from the states general for their seizure; by virtue of which they were taken, together with Mr. Miles Corbet, one of the king's judges also, sent into England in a ship of war, and committed prisoners to the Tower. Two things seemed especially remarkable in this action, the treachery of Downing, after he had given assurance to a person sent to him by colonel Okey to that end, that he had no orders to look after him; but chiefly the barbarous part of the states in this conjuncture, who, tho' they had themselves shaken

off the yoke of tyranny, and to that time had made it a fundamental maxim to receive and protect all thoſe who ſhould come among them; yet contrary to the principles of their government, and the intereſt of their commonwealth, to ſay nothing of the laws of God, nature, and nations, without any previous engagement to the court of England, contributed as much as in them lay to the deſtruction of theſe gentlemen. But a treaty was to be made with England, and their trade ſecured at any rate, tho' the foundations ſhould be laid in blood.

Mr. Miles Corbet was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Norfolk. He had applied himſelf with diligence to the ſtudy of the laws of England in the ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn, and for the ſpace of thirty ſeven years had been choſen to ſerve his country in the ſeveral parliaments that were called. Being appointed one of the high court of juſtice for the trial of the late king, he appeared not among the judges by reaſon of ſome ſcruples he had entertained, till the day that ſentence was pronounced. But upon more mature deliberation finding them to be of no weight, he durſt no longer abſent himſelf, coming early on that day into the court, that he might give a publick teſtimony of his ſatisfaction and concurrence with their proceedings. He was afterwards by the parliament made one of their commiſſioners for the civil government of Ireland, in which employment he manifeſted ſuch integrity, that tho' he was continued for many years in that ſtation, yet he impaired his own eſtate for the publick ſervice, whilſt he was the greateſt huſband of the treaſure of the commonwealth. The day before his death, he aſſured his friends, that he was ſo throughly convinced of the juſtice and neceſſity of that action for which he was to die, that if the things had been yet intire, and to do, he could not refuſe to act as he had done, without affronting his reaſon, and oppoſing himſelf to the dictates of his conſcience; adding, that the immoralities, lewdneſs, and corruptions of all ſorts, which had been introduced and incouraged ſince the late revolution, were no inconſiderable juſtification of thoſe proceedings.

Colonel John Barkſtead was a citizen and goldſmith of London, who being ſenſible of the invaſions that had been made upon the liberties of the nation, took arms among the firſt for their defence, in the quality of captain to a foot company in the regiment of colonel Venn: he had not been long in this employment, before his merit advanced him to the degree of a major, in which ſtation he was made governour of Reading: and afterwards being preferred to the command of a regiment, he was conſtituted by the parliament, in conſideration of his ſervices, lieutenant of the Tower of London. When he was brought to confirm with the teſtimony of his blood that cauſe for which he had fought, he performed that part with chearfulneſs and courage, no way derogating from the character of a ſoldier and a true Engliſhman.

Colonel —— Okey was alſo a citizen of London, and one of thoſe who appeared early in the ſervice of the parliament. He had been firſt a captain of foot, then a captain of horſe, and afterwards major in the regiment of Sir Arthur Haſlerig. In the year 1645, at the time when the army was new modelled, he was made colonel of a regiment of dragoons, which was afterwards converted into a regiment of horſe. In theſe employments he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, conduct, and fidelity; and during the uſurpation of Oliver Cromwel was diſmiſſed from his command in the army, on account of his affection to the commonwealth. He was choſen by the county of Bedford to repreſent and

ſerve

ſerve them in the convention that was called by Richard; and after the reſtitution of the great parliament, they reſtored him to his command in the army. Being ready to ſuffer for that cauſe which he had ſtrenuouſly defended, he ſaid in the preſence of many witneſſes, That if he had as many lives as he had hairs on his head, he would willingly hazard them all on the ſame account. The ſentence againſt theſe three gentlemen having been executed on the 19th of April, 1662, the king beſtowed the body of colonel Okey upon his wife, to diſpoſe of as ſhe thought fit; upon which ſhe ordered him to be interred at Stepney, where his firſt wife lay in a vault that he had purchaſed for himſelf and family. But the report of this funeral being ſpread among the people, ſeveral thouſands of them aſſembled themſelves in and about Newgate-market, where the body lay, reſolving to attend it to the grave. And tho' they behaved themſelves with decency and modeſty, yet the king, upon notice of this appearance, was ſo alarmed, that he revoked his grant to the colonel's wife, diſpatched orders to the ſheriff to diſperſe the company, and commanded the body to be interred in the Tower.

THE report of the inhumanity of the ſtates towards our friends being brought to Geneva, we began to doubt whether that little commonwealth, who were under great apprehenſions of the king of France, might not, if our enemies could engage him to preſs them, follow the example of the Dutch, and deliver us up alſo. We reſolved therefore either to procure an aſſurance of ſafety for our perſons, or to make the beſt proviſion we could for ourſelves in ſome other place. To this end we employed Mr. Perrot, our landlord, to diſcourſe with monſieur Voiſin, the principal ſyndic, and to deſire him to inform us what uſage we might expect, in caſe we ſhould be demanded of that ſtate. The ſyndic, upon this application, promiſed to ſerve us to the utmoſt of his power, aſſuring us, that if any letters ſhould come to his hands concerning us, he would not only give us timely notice, but if ſuch a thing ſhould fall out in the night, he would cauſe the water-gate, of which he always kept the key, to be opened for our eſcape; and if we ſhould be obliged to depart by day, we ſhould have a free paſſage through any of the city-gates that we ſhould chuſe: to all which he added this farther promiſe, that when his brother ſyndic monſieur Dupain ſhould return from Bern where he then was, they would conſult together how to make our reſidence more ſafe to us, either by a publick act or otherwiſe, as ſhould be found moſt convenient. With theſe aſſurances I was fully ſatisfied, being, as I thought, as much as could be expected. But Mr. Liſle and Mr. Cawley, who were likewiſe in the ſame place, made many objections againſt our ſtay, and preſſed Mr. Perrot upon the return of Mr. Dupain, to put him upon conferring with monſieur Voiſin touching our affair. Mr. Perrot upon this went to the nephew of the ſaid Mr. Dupain, who was procurator-general of Geneva, and by him was adviſed that we ſhould addreſs ourſelves in a publick manner to the council for their protection. This way I oppoſed, as a thing not fit for us to aſk or the city to grant, leſt they ſhould be brought into difficulties, and perhaps danger upon our account. But Mr. Perrot affirming, that the procurator was of opinion, that it was both eaſy and fit to be done, and that his brother, who was a leading man in the council, was of the ſame judgment, I thought they were beſt acquainted with their own affairs, and therefore reſolved to let them proceed as they pleaſed. Having made their attempt, they found the ſucceſs I expected. For the buſineſs being brought before the council, monſieur

Let, one of the ſyndics, from whom the firſt ſyndic had endeavoured to conceal his correſpondence with us, expecting the payment of a great debt due to him from the king of England, or poſſibly inclining in his affections to that intereſt, not only obſtructed the addreſs, but charged thoſe who had promoted it, with a deſign of ſurprizing the council. However, the council was ſo favourable, that tho' they thought not convenient to grant the requeſt, yet being unwilling to deny us their protection, they put off the farther conſideration of this affair to another day, ſome of their members, in friendſhip to us, adviſing privately that it ſhould be withdrawn, which was done accordingly. In the mean time, that we might not be wanting to ourſelves in this conjuncture, we made application to the lords of the Swiſs canton of Bern for their protection, in which we were moſt friendly aſſiſted by monſieur Bailival, lieutenant-governour of Lauſanna, who had been lately put into that place upon the death of one Godward, the only friend to monarchy and enemy to our cauſe that lived in that town.

Mr. Liſle and Mr. Cawley meeting with this diſappointment at Geneva reſolved to remove, and to that end hired a boat to carry them to Lauſanna. I accompanied them to the water-ſide, and whilſt I was taking leave, a letter was brought to me from the perſon we had employed to their excellencies of Bern; in which I was aſſured, that they had readily condeſcended to our deſires. This was an incouragement to me to continue ſome time longer at Geneva, not doubting their protection when they ſhould find us to be favoured and countenanced by their beſt friends and allies. Therefore a day or two after the departure of my two friends, I went to the principal ſyndic, and having excuſed them, as well as I could, for leaving the town without waiting on him, I acquainted him that the application to the council was made without my advice, and that I was before, as well as now, fully ſatisfied with the verbal engagement he had given for our ſecurity; which I had no ſooner ſaid, when he, not without diſcompoſure, and as I conjectured, fear, made anſwer, that he could no longer think himſelf obliged by his promiſes, having gone ſo far, in expectation that what had paſſed between us ſhould be kept ſecret; whereas now he thought the king of England might have notice of it. Upon this retraction, thinking it too hazardous to remain any longer at Geneva, I departed the next day, accompanied by a particular friend, for Lauſanna, where we found Mr. Liſle and Mr. Cawley, who had received the act of protection from the lords of Bern, granted under our proper names, which I mention for their honour, who ſhewed their courage and generoſity in owning us and our cauſe, when we had been abandoned by thoſe whoſe true intereſt was the ſame with our own.

In the month of July, 1662, I received letters from England, with an account of the trial, ſentence, and death of Sir Henry Vane; of which I ſhall only ſay, that he behaved himſelf on all thoſe occaſions, in ſuch a manner, that he left it doubtful, whether his eloquence, ſoundneſs of judgment, and preſence of mind, his gravity and magnanimity, his conſtant adherence to the cauſe of his country, and heroick carriage during the time of his confinement and at the hour of death; or the malice of his enemies, and their frivolous ſuggeſtions at his trial, the breach of the publick faith in the uſage he found, the incivility of the bench, and the ſavage rudeneſs of the ſheriff, who commanded the trumpets ſeveral times to ſound that he might not be heard by the people, were more remarkable.

The

in THE following account of this (and another transaction which I care not to insist upon) being sent to me at Geneva, I may not omit to insert this place, because it seems to give the true reasons of the court of England for hurrying Sir Henry Vane out of the world.

" ON Friday last being the sixteenth of this instant June, 1662. Sir " Henry Vane pleaded for his life, and major-general Lambert for his; " or rather, the first pleaded for the life and liberties of his country, and " the other for his own. The issue, in all appearance, will be, that Sir " Henry will be put to death, and Lambert pardoned, tho' both are under " sentence of condemnation. The reason of this distinction is no other, " than the manner of their defence, the one alledging the authority of " the great parliament for his justification, and that he was indemnified " by the act of amnesty; the other meanly extenuating and excusing " what he did against Sir George Booth and Monk (which was the prin- " cipal part of the accusation against him) by pleading ignorance of their " intentions, neither of them having declared that they designed to " restore the king, and Monk to the contrary having openly declared for " the restitution of the parliament. Sir Henry Vane was long in his " defence, but not tedious: he much perplexed both court and counsel, " and has acquired eternal reputation by nobly pleading for the dying li- " berties of his country; it being clear that all the party which seemed to " be indemnified by the act of amnesty, shall be punished in his person; " and that for this cause only, that in his pleading he undertook by the " authority of the said parliament to justify what he had done, maintain- " ing, that the house of commons representing the whole body of the " people, in case of difference between the authority royal and politick, " possesses a just power to defend the rights of the people, and to autho- " rize the people of England, and every one of them, to defend " them."

SIR Henry Vane was a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Durham, eldest son to Sir Henry Vane, who had been secretary of state and comptroller of the household to the late king. Being scandalized with the innovations brought into the publick worship, he went to New-England, and remained there for the space of five or six years; the two last of which he was consecutively chosen governour of that country, tho' not exceeding the age of twenty four years. In the beginning of the great parliament, he was elected to serve his country among them, without the least application made on his part to that end: and in this station he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing in the highest perfection, a quick and ready apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added, a singular zeal and affection for the good of the commonwealth, and a resolution and courage, not to be shaken or diverted from the publick service. He had been removed by the late king from being treasurer of the navy, for performing his duty in the house of commons; and being restored to that employment by the parliament, he freely contributed one half of the profits, amounting to the sum of two thousand pounds yearly, towards carrying on the war for the liberties of England. When that war was ended, he put the receipt for the navy in such a way, that by order of the parliament, the whole expence of that office exceeded not one thousand pounds by year; men being brought by this means to understand, that they were not placed in employments to

ſerve themſelves, but to ſerve the publick. And that this conduct was not miſtaken, the ſucceſſes of our arms by ſea againſt Portugal, France, Holland, and other enemies, did abundantly manifeſt. When Cromwel had treacherouſly advanced himſelf upon the ruins of the commonwealth, he would not be induced by any means to favour or countenance his uſurpation, chuſing rather to ſuffer impriſonment and other hardſhips, than to comply with tyranny under any form. Upon the return of king Charles, being conſcious to himſelf of having done nothing in relation to publick affairs, for which he could not willingly and chearfully ſuffer, he continued at his houſe in Hampſtead near London; where under falſe and unworthy pretences, that he had engaged in councils with ſome of the army to drive him out of England again, he was ſeized and impriſoned in the Tower; from whence he was carried from one place to another for the ſpace of about two years; after the expiration of which, they who feared his abilities, and knew his integrity, thought convenient to violate the publick faith, and under a form of law to put him to death.

The king of France, who had been fully informed of the importance of the town of Dunkirk, which had been acquired by the arms of the commonwealth; and that his brother in England, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums he had received from the people, ſtill wanted more to ſupply the exceſſes of his way of living, tempted him with the offer of between three and four hundred thouſand pounds for that place, which after ſome difficulties was accepted, the bargain ſtruck, and the town ſurrendered to the French: an action ſo infamous that it wants a name, rendering him equally contemptible both to proteſtants and papiſts, and ſo aſtoniſhing in the eyes of all Europe, that no man on this ſide the ſea would believe it poſſible, till they found it confirmed from all parts, that the French were actually entered into poſſeſſion.

About the ſame time a treaty was concluded between England and Holland, the foundation of which having been laid in the blood of our three friends before-mentioned, the ſuperſtructure was raiſed with the like materials; and the Dutch agreed to an article, importing, that if any, who had been the judges of the late king, or otherwiſe excepted from the benefit of the act of indemnity, ſhould be found within their territories, they ſhould upon demand be forthwith delivered into the hands of ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the king of England to receive them: and that if any other perſons of the Engliſh nation ſhould at any time be demanded by the king, the ſtates obliged themſelves to ſurrender them alſo, in caſe they ſhould be found in that country fourteen days after ſuch demand made.

In the mean time, the Engliſh court knowing themſelves to be fallen under the hatred and contempt of the people for their cruelty, immorality and corruption, aggravated by the late ſale of Dunkirk, reſolved by the contrivance of a plot to diſarm their enemies, and provide for their preſent ſafety. To this end, by the means of major-general Brown and others, money was advanced, and arms put into the hands of ſome perſons, among whom one Bradley, who had formerly belonged to Cromwel, was the principal, that by giving ſmall ſums to indigent officers of the late army, and by ſhewing the arms they had ready, they might engage them and others in this pretended deſign. An account of this plot was printed and publiſhed, affirming, that divers thouſands of ill-affected perſons were ready, under my command, to ſeize the Tower and city of London; then to march directly to Whitehall, in order to kill

the king and Monk, with a reſolution to give no quarter to any that adhered to them, and after that to declare for a commonwealth. By this means one Baker, who had been of the guard to Cromwel, and ſince the diſbanding of the army had been reduced to grind knives for a poor living, having received half a crown from Bradley, and promiſed his aſſiſtance when there ſhould be occaſion, was executed with ſome others for this conſpiracy. However this ſerved the court for a pretence to ſeize five or ſix hundred perſons; to diſarm all thoſe they ſuſpected; to require thoſe they had taken to give bonds of 200l. each, not to take up arms againſt the king, and to increaſe their ſtanding guards. They were not aſhamed alſo to give it out, that their meſſengers had been ſo near to ſeize my perſon, that they had taken my cloak and ſlippers, and committed two gentlemen to the Tower for accompanying me, as they ſaid, to the ſea-ſide, in order to my eſcape; tho' at the ſame time they knew ſo well where I was, that they had employ'd inſtruments to procure me to be aſſaſſinated in Switzerland, which was diſcovered to a merchant of Lauſanna by a perſon of quality living in theſe parts, who had refuſed ten thouſand crowns offered to him on the part of the dutcheſs of Anjou, ſiſter to his gracious majeſty, if he would undertake that province.

The earl of Antrim, an Iriſh papiſt, and one who had been concerned among the firſt in the rebellion of that country, having been ſeized at London, as I mentioned before, and afterwards ſent priſoner to Ireland, was ordered by a letter under the king's hand and ſeal to be cleared and ſet at liberty, charging the guilt of that rebellion upon his father, and affirming in the ſaid letter, " That the earl of Antrim had not done any thing, without warrant and authority from the king his father;' tho' it was well known that he had his head and hands deeply and early engaged in that bloody work. Thus the maſk was openly taken off, in confidence, that a people deprived of their leaders, diſpirited by the late executions, and awed by the authority of a complying houſe of commons, would not be able to ſhew their reſentment.

In the months of September and October 1666, we had a conſiderable addition to our company by the arrival of Mr. William Say, colonel Biſco, Mr. ſerjeant Dendy, Mr. Nicholas Love, Mr. Andrew Broughton, Mr. Slingſby Bethel, and Mr. Cornelius Holland, at Lauſanna. The three gentlemen firſt named having paſſed by Bern in their journey to us, had made a viſit to Mr. Humelius, the principal miniſter of that place, who having a competent knowledge of the Engliſh tongue, had been highly kind and ſerviceable in procuring the order of the lords of Bern for our protection. By him they were entertained with all manner of civilities, and informed that we were at Lauſanna, which gave us an opportunity of returning our acknowledgment for his favour to our friends and countrymen, with our deſires that he would be pleaſed to preſent our humble thanks to their excellencies for their honourable protection; being obliged to uſe this way rather than any other, not only becauſe of the reſpect he had acquired in that place by his ſingular merit, but becauſe we were not ſufficiently acquainted with the language of the country, to make our addreſſes to the government. Upon the return of his anſwer to our meſſage we perceived that he had performed our deſires with great affection, and that it was the opinion of our beſt friends there, and in particular of Mr. treaſurer Steiger, that for many reaſons it would be more convenient for us to remove to Vevay, than to remain longer at Lauſanna. Having received this advice, ſix of us, after we had taken leave of the magiſtrates,

who

who expreſſed their ſorrow for our departure, quitted our reſidence and went to Vevay; but Mr. Phelps and colonel Biſco having bought goods at Geneva, and other places, reſolved to try if by trading in Germany and Holland, they could improve the ſtock of money they had. Mr. ſerjeant Dendy and Mr. Andrew Broughton choſe rather to continue at Lauſanna than to remove with us, yet promiſing to make us frequent viſits where-ever we ſhould reſolve to fix our habitation.

At Vevay we were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and affection both from the magiſtrates and people: the publick wine was preſented to us in great abundance, and the next morning the banderet or principal magiſtrate, accompanied by moſt of the members of the council, came to the place where we lay to give us a viſit; expreſſing themſelves ready to ſerve us to the utmoſt of their power; giving us thanks for the honour they ſaid we did the town in coming to reſide among them; and aſſuring us, That tho' they were ſufficiently informed concerning our perſons and employments both civil and military, yet the principal motive that inclined them to offer their ſervices in ſo hearty a manner was, the conſideration of our ſufferings for the liberties of our country. We returned our thanks as well as we could; and the next day having retired to a private houſe belonging to Monſieur Dubois who was one of the council of the town, we were again viſited by the magiſtrates and preſented with wine, with aſſurances that their excellencies of Bern had cauſed them to underſtand, That they would take the civilities they ſhould do to us, as done to themſelves. They acquainted us alſo, That ſeats were order'd for us in both their churches; that the commander, as they name him, was directed to accompany us the firſt time to the one, and the chatelain to the other. Theſe favours ſo conſiderable, ſo cordial and ſo ſeaſonable, I hope a man in my condition may mention, without incurring the charge of oſtentation.

The endleſs prodigality of the Engliſh court, the perſecution of the diſſenters, the ſale of Dunkirk, the articles exhibited in parliament by the earl of Briſtol againſt the chancellor Hyde, and the factions enſuing on that account, together with many other cauſes of diſcontent and diviſion, had ſo alienated the affections of the people from their king, that the beſt judges were of opinion, that if a favourable conjuncture ſhould happen, they would be as ready to ſhake off the yoke, as they had been fooliſh and inconſiderate in putting it on: and our friends in all parts began to entertain hopes that they might be again employ'd to reſcue their country from ſervitude. In this poſture of affairs, colonel Algernon Sidney, who, when Monk acted his treacherous part in England, was one of the three plenipotentiaries that had been ſent by the parliament to mediate a peace between the two Northern crowns, which they effected in conjunction with the like number impowered by the ſtates of Holland to that end; and ſince that time had reſided at Rome and other parts of Italy, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that if an opportunity ſhould offer, he might not be wanting to his duty and the publick ſervice. In his way he was pleaſed to honour us with a viſit in our retirement in Switzerland, aſſuring us of his affection and friendſhip, and no way declining to own us and the cauſe for which we ſuffer'd. He favoured us with his company for about three weeks, and at his departure preſented me with a pair of piſtols, the barrels of which were made at Breſcia in Lombardy by old Lazzarino Comminazzo. Deſigning to go for Flanders, where he reſolved to paſs the enſuing winter, he took

took his journey by the way of Bern, doing all the good offices he could for us with the advoyer and other principal magistrates, assuring them of the great sense we had of their excellencies favours, and of our desires to have our acknowledgment presented to them in the best manner; not forgetting to let them know, that they would oblige a considerable part of the good people of England by their kindness and civilities to us. He had a long conference with the advoyer about the affairs of England, and in a letter written to me from Bern he acquainted me, that he thought he had left him and others in a temper rather to add than diminish their favours to us. But upon the whole matter our noble friend advised that some of us, who might be best able to travel, should go to Bern, and pay a compliment to the government in our own persons, intimating that so generous and publick a favour deserved a publick acknowledgment. Having imparted this advice to our friends, Mr. Nicholas Love, and Mr. Andrew Broughton (who tho' usually residing at Lausanna was then with us) offered their company; but Mr. Lisle made many objections against this undertaking at that time; so that we three were obliged to go to Bern in the name of the rest of the company. Being arrived there we went first to wait on our good friend Mr. Humelius, who received us with great affection, and expressed his joy for the resolution we had taken to present our thanks personally to their excellencies. We desired of him that some means might be found to make our addresses with as little ceremony and noise as possible, which he approved, and promised to see Mr. treasurer Steiger the same evening, and to consult with him, in order to serve us according to our desires, assuring us that the next morning we should hear from them. In conformity to his promise Mr. Humelius came to us in person, with assurances from the treasurer of his affection and services; acquainting us, That we should have the liberty of making our acknowledgment to the council of Bern in our own manner, either by speech or writing as should be most agreeable to us. Upon which, considering our inability to express ourselves in the French or German language as was requisite on such an occasion, we resolved to do it in writing. Having agreed upon this way, we accompanied Mr. Humelius to see his children, as he called them, who were orphans of both sexes, born of poor parents, and bred up by the magistracy in a place set apart for that purpose, all manner of necessaries being provided for them, 'till they should be capable of being employ'd in such trades as were proper for persons in their condition. From thence we retired to prepare our address, which we agreed to present in the French tongue as follows.

Illuſtres, Hauts & Puiſſans Souverains & Trez honorez Seigneurs.

" AYANT eſté contraints par l'etrange revolution des affaires " d'Angleterre (le lieu de noſtre naiſſance) pour eviter l'orage " qui nous menacoit & tous les gens de bien, de quitter noſtre patrie, " apres que nous y avions fait noſtre poſſible pour l'avancement de la " gloire de Dieu & le bien de la republique, nous avons trouvé une aſſiſtance " particuliere du tout puiſſant, en ce qu'il a diſposé vos Excellences a " nous ſecourir & proteger au temps de noſtre adverſité. C'eſt cette " faveur que deux de nos compatriotes & un de nous ont deja experi- " menté par la protection particuliere qui'l a plu à vos Excellences de leur " accorder, les autres ſe repoſans ſur la generale, que toutes perſonnes " pieuſes & paiſibles obtiennent ſous le gouvernement juſte & favorable de " vos Excellences.

" COMME nous ſommes obligez d'addreſſer nos voeux au Seigneur " pour le remercier d'une grace ſi particuliere; auſſi, afin de temoigner " à vos excellences juſqu'ou va noſtre reſſentiment, nous avons pluſieurs " fois prié quelques ſeigneurs de voſtre illuſtre ſenat, de vous l'aſſurer de " noſtre part. Mais ayant depuis eſprouvé les effets de voſtre bonté d'une " maniere extraordinaire, nous avons cru eſtre obligé de rendre perſonelle- " ment ce devoir a vos Excellences. C'eſt ce que font a preſent deux " d'entre nous, de noſtre propre part & de celle de ceux qui ont eſte " conſervé par voſtre protection generale; et un de noſtre nombre, de ſa " propre part, & de celle de Monſieur Guillaume Cawley, a qui vos " Excellences ont fait la grace de donner une protection particuliere; qui " eſt treſaffligé que les infirmitez corporelles qui l'accompagnent, le " privent du bien & du contentement qu'il auroit receu, s'il euſt " pu avoir l'avantage de vous temoigner ſa reconnoiſſance en per- " ſonne.

" COMME nous avons pris cette occaſion pour vous donner des aſſurances " du reſſentiment que nous avons de tant de bonté qu'il a plu à vos " excellences de nous temoigner, nous prenons auſſi ce temps pour " vous aſſurer de noſtre obeiſſance, & de la grande paſſion que nous " avons de vous en pouvoir donner quelques marques conſiderables, ſi " Dieu nous en donne l'occaſion, dont nous ne deſeſperons point. Cepen- " dant nous prierons l'Eternel qu'il vueille fortifier vos Excellences de plus " en plus a le ſervir, juſques a ce qu'ayant parachevé le cours de cette vie, " vous veniez a recevoir la couronne qui eſt preparé pour ceux qui le " craignent

Illuſtres, Hauts & Puiſſans Soverains,
& tres honorez Seigneurs,

Vos Serviteurs Tres humbles
& Treſobeiſſants,

Edmond Ludlow, &c.

The same in English.

## To the Illustrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns, and most honoured Lords, their Excellencies of Bern.

HAVING been constrained by the late extraordinary revolution of affairs in England, the place of our birth, for avoiding the storm that threatned us and the good people there, to quit that land, after we had used our utmost endeavours for the advancement of God's glory and the good of our country, we find cause to admire the goodness of the Almighty, for inclining your excellencies to succour and protect us in this time of our distress. This favour two of our country-men, and one of our number, have already received, by virtue of those particular protections which it has pleased your excellencies to grant; the rest of our company relying on the general one, that all pious and peaceable persons enjoy under your excellencies righteous and just government.

As we esteem ourselves obliged to bless God for this signal and especial favour; so also to testify to your excellencies our grateful acknowledgment, we have divers times desired some of the honourable Lords of this illustrious senate to present you with our most humble thanks. But every day more and more experiencing the effects of your goodness and favour, we have thought ourselves obliged personally to pay this duty to your excellencies. This two of us do at this time for ourselves, and in the behalf of others who have been preserved by virtue of your general protection; and one of us for himself and on the part of Mr. William Cawley, one of those, to whom your excellencies have been pleased to grant a particular protection: who finds himself sensibly afflicted that the infirmities of his body do now deprive him of the happiness and satisfaction he should have received if he could have tender'd his duty in person.

HAVING taken this occasion to testify the deep sense we have of your excellencies favours, we desire leave to assure you of our obedience, and the ambition we have to give some signal testimony of our gratitude to your excellencies, if God shall favour us with an opportunity, of which we do not despair. In the mean time, That God will fortify your excellencies in his service, till having finished your course in this world, you shall receive the crown prepared for those that fear him, shall be the prayer of,

Illustrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns,
and most honoured Lords,

Your most humble and most
obedient Servants,

Edmund Ludlow, &c.

We had ſcarce finiſhed this paper, when Mr. treaſurer Steiger, accompanied by Mr. Humelius, came to our lodging; and having acquainted us that he ſhould not have failed to be with us in the morning, if the publick affairs had not required his preſence at the council, he made us the offer of his ſervices in a moſt affectionate manner, and declared his reſolution to aſſiſt us to the utmoſt of his power; expreſſing his deteſtation of the late action of the ſtates of Holland, in delivering up our friends into the hands of their mortal enemies, and purchaſing the ſecurity of trade with ſo much ſhame to themſelves. When we had anſwered his civilities in the beſt manner we could, and given him our thanks for the offers of his favour, we ſhewed him the paper above-mentioned; which having peruſed and approved, he deſired Mr. Humelius to accompany us to the advoyer (or preſident of the council, by whoſe hands all addreſſes paſs to their excellencies) and took his leave for that time.

The advoyer being informed that we were waiting to preſent ourſelves to him, gave orders for our admittance, and received us with great kindneſs, expreſſing his ſenſe of the juſtice of that cauſe which we had defended, and for which we then ſuffered, together with the eſteem, which he aſſured us their excellencies in general, and himſelf in particular, had of our perſons. We deſired him to believe, that we had the deepeſt ſenſe of his and their excellencies favour, attributing the civilities and reſpect we had received, as well from the magiſtrates as from the people in all places within the territories of their excellencies, to the bounty and favour of the government towards us: to which he replied, that he was very glad, their officers and others of their ſubjects had ſo well performed their duty. Then proceeding to acquaint him with the occaſion of our coming to Bern, I delivered the addreſs into his hands, with our humble deſires that it might be preſented to their excellencies; which when he had read and intimated that my name was not unknown to him, he aſſured us with much affection, that he would not fail to preſent it to their excellencies, and to return a ſpeedy anſwer. I would have ſaved him that trouble, and therefore told him that we expected no anſwer, and deſired no more than their excellencies acceptance of our humble acknowledgments. But he ſaid we ſhould have an anſwer; accompanying us, when we took leave, to the outward gate, not permitting us to prevail with him to the contrary.

Having diſpatched this buſineſs, we went to take a view of the publick buildings, particularly that, where the ſenate and council of two hundred are uſed to aſſemble. The chambers are oppoſite to each other, and divided by a narrow paſſage, on both ſides of which are rooms for the reception of ſuch as have any affairs in either of thoſe places. From thence we were conducted to the Arſenal, where we ſaw a train of artillery conſiſting of about one hundred pieces of all kind of ordnance, with ammunition and all things neceſſary. There were arms, as I conjectured, ſufficient for about twenty thouſand foot, and a proportionable number of horſe. But I confeſs nothing that I ſaw gave me greater ſatisfaction, than to find a ſtatue erected in one of the chambers of the Arſenal, to the memory of William Tel, who may in a great meaſure be called, The founder of this commonwealth. For when a certain knight called Griſler, who was governour of Ury and Suitz, after many repeated acts of tyranny, had wantonly cauſed a cap to be ſet on the top of a pole in the market-place of Altorf, commanding all thoſe who ſhould paſs that way to uncover their heads, and to pay the ſame honours to the cap, as if

he himself had been there present in person; William Tel refused to obey, and for his disobedience was sentenced by Grisler to be put to death, unless he could with one arrow hit an apple that should be placed on the head of his son. To this hard condition he was compelled to submit, and on the day appointed, in the presence of the governour, struck the apple with his arrow from the child's head. But Grisler having observed that he had brought with him two arrows, tho' he might use no more than one; and desiring to be informed why he had so done, William Tel, upon the governour's promise that he should not be put to death, acknowledged, that if he had killed his son with the one, he would have revenged his blood on the tyrant with the other. The governour conscious of his own crimes, and therefore fearing the resolution of such a man, tho' he would not put him to death, resolved to imprison him during life; and to that end caused him to be tied and thrown into a boat, with intention to see him securely laid in the dungeon of the strong castle of Cusnach. After they had been some time upon the lake of Ury, a violent storm arising, the governour finding his life in great danger, and knowing Tel to be an expert water-man, caused him to be unbound, that he might help to save the lives of himself and company. This he undertook to do, and steering towards Suitz, brought the boat so near the shore, that taking up his cross-bow which lay by him, he leaped out upon a rock, (called to this day "the Stone of Tel") pushed off the boat with his foot, and made his escape into the mountains. In the mean time the governour lay floating in his boat upon the water, and not without great danger and difficulty at last arrived in the port of Brunn, from whence he continued his way to Cusnach; of which William Tel being informed, and well acquainted with every part of the woods and hills, he posted himself in a private place by which the tyrant was to pass, and with his cross-bow shot him dead upon the spot. The success of this action so animated the rest of his associates who had formed a design to restore the liberty of their country, that on a day appointed they seized their governours, demolished the castles where they lived, banished them and their families, and bravely freed themselves from that tyranny which they could not bear. Besides the statue of William Tel taken in full proportion, standing with a cross-bow in his hand, and aiming at an apple on a child's head, there is a statue of the first advoyer, with two more, of persons who were principally eminent in establishing the commonwealth, armed "de cap en pied," and one of them on horse-back, to encourage others to defend that liberty which their ancestors had purchased for them.

This night, as we were at supper, we received a complement from the advoyer, accompanied with a present of wine; and the next morning an order was brought to Mr. Humelius, who was then with us, from their excellencies of Bern, written in the German tongue, which being translated by him into English, contained as follows:

September the 3d, 1663.

"Concerning the three English gentlemen, who have for "some time resided at Vevay, and have this day presented in our "assembly of council their thanks for our protection formerly granted to "them; 'tis resolved, that they shall be saluted on our part with a present "of wine, and that Mr. treasurer Steiger, with Mr. Kilberger, and you

" our Doyne, do acquaint them with our affection and good will to them, " and assure them of the continuation of the same for the time to come."

Mr. Humelius, after he had read this order, informed us, that the gentlemen therein mentioned, with some other magistrates, designed to dine with us that day, and had desired him to accompany them. Accordingly, between eleven and twelve, Mr. treasurer Steiger, colonel Weiss, and one more of the 24 senators, in the room of Mr. Kilberger, who was diverted by some publick business, attended by the grand Sautier with his mace, and three other gentlemen, came to us at our lodging; where after about an hour's discourse, Mr. treasurer being informed that the dinner was set upon the table, invited us to go down into the hall, and with great civility placed our company, which being done, he ordered the grand Sautier to lay aside his mace. After we had sat about a quarter of an hour, two officers cloathed in their excellencies livery brought in the present of wine that had been ordered, upon which, one of the three gentlemen who came with Mr. treasurer arising from the table, harangued us in the name of their excellencies; concluding with an assurance of the continuation of their favour. To this we thought ourselves obliged to answer, That as we owed our lives and liberties to the protection of their excellencies, we resolved to sacrifice all in their service, when we should be so happy to find an occasion.

Dinner being over, a question was started by colonel Weiss, How it came to pass, that we, who for many years had the whole power of the three nations in our hands, were removed from the government without shedding one drop of blood? To which I answered, That for the right understanding of the affairs that had lately passed in England, it would be necessary to take up the matter from the beginning. But they pressing me to favour them with some account of those transactions, I told them with all the brevity I could, " That most of those persons who had first engaged in the war, having made their own peace, had endeavoured to deliver us and the cause itself into the hands of our enemies; and tho' they had many opportunities to have ended the dispute by destroying the king's army, they neglected all, and only endeavoured to reduce the crown to their own terms. This was visible in the conduct of the earl of Essex on several occasions, and in that of the earl of Manchester after the battle of Newbery, who tho' he had twenty thousand men in his army, flush'd with that victory, yet suffered the king with seven thousand only, to carry off the cannon he had left at a place which stood near the ground where he had been routed a few weeks before, without once offering to attack him, giving this at a council of war for the reason of his refusing to fight, " That if the king were beaten twenty times by us, he would be still king; but if he should once beat us, we should be all treated as traitors:" for which being accused in the house of commons, tho' they thought not convenient to proceed against him criminally; yet upon this and divers other considerations, they removed him, together with the earl of Essex, and the rest of the nobility, from their commands in the army, making choice of commoners to fill their places, whose interest they knew it was to take away the monarchy itself. By this means they soon put an end to the war, sentenced the king to die for the blood that had been shed, established a free commonwealth, brought their enemies at home to submit to their authority, and reduced those abroad

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to accept ſuch terms as they would give. In the midſt of all this proſperity they were betrayed by Oliver Cromwel, whom they had entruſted with the command of their army; who, having moulded the greateſt part of the officers to his purpoſe, by calumniating the parliament, propoſing advancement to the ambitious, and deluding the ſimple with a ſhew of religion; back'd by the aſſiſtance of the clergy and lawyers, (who had been threatened by the parliament with a reformation of their practices) ejected his maſters, and uſurped their authority; endeavouring during the five years of his reign, to ruin all that had been faithful to the intereſt of the commonwealth, and advancing thoſe who would not ſcruple to ſacrifice their conſciences to his ambition. By theſe ways the army became ſo corrupted, that tho' after the uſurper's death they had been perſwaded with great difficulty to depoſe the ſon, and to permit the reſtitution of the parliament, yet they were ſoon after induced, under frivolous pretences, to offer violence to them a ſecond time; which rendering them odious to the people, gave an opportunity to Monk, by declaring for the parliament, to divide their councils, and to render them uſeleſs. And when the parliament had in gratitude for their reſtitution conferred many undeſerved favours upon Monk, he alſo, who had been a creature of Cromwel, and advanced by him, betrayed his truſt, and contrary to many proteſtations, oaths, and ſolemn aſſeverations, brought a great number of perſons to vote in parliament who had formerly been ejected by the houſe, which turned the ballance from the ſide of the commonwealth, and under the influence of his forces brought in the ſon of the late king."

Tho' the brevity of this account would not admit of that clearneſs and perſpicuity which I could have wiſhed; yet our generous friends were not only willing to pardon the imperfections, but gave me thanks for the information they ſaid I had given them of our affairs, expreſſing themſelves deeply ſenſible of the troubles that had fallen upon us and the honeſt intereſt by ſo baſe a treachery.

After this converſation the ſenators riſing from their ſeats, we gave them thanks for the honours they had been pleaſed to do us, and according to our duty offered to accompany them to their reſpective habitations. But theſe truly noble perſons would by no means permit us; and being deſirous that their favours to us ſhould be yet more publick, they invited us to go to the church, that all men might ſee they were not aſhamed to own what they had done. To this end, Mr. treaſurer Steiger having ordered the mace to be carried before him, conſtrained me to take the right hand, monſieur Humelius and colonel Weiſs doing the like to Mr. Love and Mr. Broughton, obliging us to enter the church before them, and placing us in the moſt honourable ſeats; neither could we prevail with them to go before us from the place of publick worſhip, or to permit us to accompany them to their houſes. The next day we went to wait on the advoyer, who was then preparing for his embaſſy to France, where he and another perſon were appointed to repreſent the canton of Bern; and having acquainted him with the deep impreſſion their excellencies and his favours had made upon us, he expreſſed himſelf highly ſenſible of our condition, and heartily deſirous of our reſtitution, with aſſurances of his farther ſervices on all occaſions, and promiſing the like favour and protection to as many of our countrymen as ſhould come to them. At our taking leave, he accompanied us to the outward gate as in the firſt viſit, and when we told him he had exceeded in the honours done to us, he condeſcended to ſay, That in his own account he had

never received ſo much honour in his life. After this, we paid our reſpects and thanks to Mr. treaſurer Steiger, to the ancient bailif monſieur Lentulus, to colonel Weiſs, and to our true friend monſieur Humelius, with divers others of the ſenate and council. And being deſirous to wait alſo on general D'Erlach, who, we were informed, had much favoured us in the buſineſs of our protection, we went to his houſe; but he was gone out of town, and we had not the advantage to ſee him at that time.

HAVING been thus ſucceſsful in our affairs at Bern, we returned to our reſidence at Vevay, where we had not been long, before we were informed, that an Iriſhman going under the name of Riardo, and belonging, as he ſaid, to the dutcheſs of Orleans, was arrived at Turin, and had formed a deſign againſt our lives; and that Mr. Denzil Hollis, ſince the late revolution called lord Hollis, and at that time ambaſſador in France, had been with one monſieur Lullin, who was agent at Paris for the republick of Geneva, to deſire ſatisfaction for a book which he ſuppoſed to be printed in that place, in favour of thoſe who had been condemned for putting the late king to death. But that which alarmed us moſt, was a report, that letters had been ſent from the king of England to their excellencies of Bern, to demand our perſons. Of this information having given an account to Mr. Humelius, and deſired him to uſe his diligence in finding out the truth of theſe things; we ſoon received in anſwer, that he had heard nothing of the two firſt: and as to the laſt, he aſſured us, that no letters of that ſort from England were yet come to the hands of their excellencies; but if ſuch a thing ſhould happen, he would not fail to give us timely notice and advice, for our government on ſuch an occaſion. By a ſecond, which we received from him ſoon after, he informed us, that general D'Erlach had acquainted him with the arrival of a courier from France, who had brought letters for their ambaſſador, together with particular orders to inform himſelf, whether their excellencies of Bern might by any means be induced to deliver us up, or at leaſt to withdraw their protection from us. But not finding the ambaſſador in the country (he having taken a journey to the court of France, to be preſent at the reception of the Swiſs ambaſſadors, who had been ſent thither to ratify the treaty lately concluded with the king) he was returned to Paris, and had carried his letters back with him. And I am inclined to believe that our enemies, upon information of the honourable reception we had found from their excellencies, were intirely diſcouraged from attempting any thing in that way, and therefore turned their malice againſt us into deſigns of violence and aſſaſſination.

DIVERS letters from Turin, Geneva, Lyons, and other places, which we and our friends at Vevay received, were full of advices from thoſe parts, that ſo many and ſuch deſperate perſons had engaged againſt us, that it would be next to impoſſible to eſcape their hands: and one of my beſt friends, who was then at Geneva, ſent a meſſenger expreſs to me with a letter to inform me, that he had received a billet from a perſon who knew our friendſhip, and deſired not to be known, with theſe expreſſions at the end, "If you wiſh the preſervation of the Engliſh general at Vevay, let him know, that he muſt remove from thence with ſpeed, if he have any regard to his own ſafety." We alſo received certain information, that Riardo had been ſeen in the Pais de Vaux, and in ſeveral parts of Savoy. Being ſomewhat alarmed with theſe things, our company met, in order to conſult what was fit to be done on this occaſion,

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and ſoon came to a reſolution, that we would not remove into any country that was governed by a monarch, leſt we ſhould be guilty of our own blood, by ſeeking protection from thoſe who were concerned in intereſt to deſtroy us. It remained only to conſider, whether we ſhould quit the place of our preſent reſidence for any other under the ſame government; or whether we ſhould remove from the territories of Bern to ſome other republick. The firſt we were unwilling to do for many reſpects, and particularly on account of the good will and affection that the people had expreſſed to us: and to the ſecond we could by no means conſent, becauſe the protection of their excellencies, had been ſo frankly, publickly and generouſly extended to us. So that having determined to remain at Vevay, and being informed that a fair would be kept there in a few days, we contented ourſelves with changing our lodging for one night, and procuring the guard of the town to be doubled during the day of the fair, leſt our enemies ſhould diſguiſe themſelves, and mixing with the concourſe of people paſs unſuſpected, till they might find an opportunity of ſurpriſing us.

ACCORDING to our information, ſome of the villains who were employ'd to deſtroy us, had on the fourteenth of November 1663. paſſed the lake from Savoy, in order to put their bloody deſign in execution the next day as we ſhould be going to the church. They arrived at Vevay about an hour after ſun-ſet, and having divided themſelves, one part took up their quarters in one inn, and the other in another. The next day being Sunday, Monſieur Dubois our landlord going early to the church, diſcovered a boat at the ſide of the lake with four watermen in her, their oars in order, and ready to put off. Not far from the boat ſtood two perſons with cloaks thrown over their ſhoulders, two ſitting under a tree, and two more in the ſame poſture a little way from them. Monſieur Dubois concluding they had arms under their cloaks, and that theſe perſons had way-laid us, with a deſign to murder us as we ſhould be going to the ſermon, pretending to have forgotten ſomething, returned home and adviſed us of what he had obſerved. In his way to us he had met one Mr. Binet, who acquainted him that two men whom he ſuſpected of ſome bad intention, had poſted themſelves near his houſe, and that four more had been ſeen in the market-place; but that finding themſelves obſerved, they had all retired towards the lake. By this means the way leading to the church through the town being cleared, we went to the ſermon without any moleſtation, and ſaid nothing to any man of what we had heard, becauſe we had not yet certainly found that they had a deſign againſt us. Returning from church I was informed, That the ſuſpected perſons were all dining at one of the inns, which excited my curioſity to take a view of the boat. Accordingly I went with a ſmall company, and found the four water-men by the boat, the oars laid in their places, a great quantity of ſtraw in the bottom of the boat, and all things ready to put off. About an hour after dinner I met our landlord, and having inquired of him concerning the perſons before-mentioned, he aſſured me they could be no other than a company of rogues; that they had arms under the ſtraw of the boat; and that they had cut the withes that held the oars of the town-boats, to prevent any purſuit if they ſhould be forced to fly. But theſe ruffians who had obſerved the actions of monſieur Dubois, and ſuſpected he would cauſe them to be ſeized, came down ſoon after I had viewed the boat, and in great haſte cauſed the watermen to put off, and returned to Savoy. This diſcovery being made, the chatelain, the banderet, together with all the magiſtrates and people

of the town, were much troubled that we had not given them timely notice, that ſo they might have been ſeized. We afterwards underſtood that one Du Poſe of Lyons, Monſieur Du Pre a Savoyard, (of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely) one Ceriſe of Lyons, with Riardo before-mention'd, were part of this crew, and that Riardo paid the whole expence they made at Vevay.

The bailiff, the chatelain and the whole council, ſhewing themſelves highly ſenſible of this affront offered to the government of their excellencies, and of the injury done to us, the banderet gave order that the boats of the town ſhould be ready to attack them in caſe they ſhould return to make any attempt againſt us. They not only offer'd us a guard for the ſafety of our houſe, but condeſcended to tell us, That they were ready to do that office themſelves. The bailiff directed the chatelain to require all the inn-keepers every night to give an account upon oath, either to him or to monſieur Dubois our landlord, of all perſons that ſhould come to lodge at their houſes; and the council of the town order'd, That no burgeſs ſhould entertain any man, for whom they would not anſwer. Their excellencies of Bern alſo being informed of this attempt, ſent their orders to the bailiffs of Lauſanna, Morges and Vevay, to take eſpecial care of our perſons, and to ſearch all boats coming from Savoy, of which they ſhould have any ſuſpicion.

Monsieur Du Pre finding himſelf diſappointed in this enterprize, and fearing that for this affront to their excellencies of Bern, he might be deprived of the profits of ſome lands lying within their territories, of which he had lately taken poſſeſſion after a long ſuit at law in the right of his wife, and which had been ſequeſtred from him, becauſe he had violently carried her out of their country before marriage, procured one of my good friends at Geneva to write to me on his behalf, and to inform me that he had no otherwiſe engaged in this affair than to do me ſervice. Our landlord alſo being unwilling to provoke him any farther, knowing the deſperate reſolution of the man, deſired that if I ſhould write to any of my friends at Bern concerning this attempt, I would only name Riardo, who was confeſſed to be the principal undertaker. But tho' I thought it not proper for us to be the accuſers and proſecutors of thoſe who were concerned in this deſign; yet being not able to ſee any reaſon to do as was deſired in his behalf, I reſolved to leave the whole matter to the wiſdom of their excellencies; who after they had received the report of thoſe in our parts, to whom they had committed the examination of this affair, being aſſured that monſieur Du Pre was one of that number, ſeized again into their hands the eſtate he had enjoy'd in the right of his wife.

Our enemies ſtill giving out in all places where they durſt, That they would not deſiſt till they had effected their deſign, I received a letter from a good friend in which I found theſe words. "You are hated and feared more than all the reſt of your companions: your head is ſet at a great price: 'tis againſt you they take all this pains to find aſſaſſins, and 'twas on your account they contrived the late attempt; ſo that upon the whole matter I cannot but adviſe, that you would reſolve to retire to ſome place where you may be unknown, there being, in my opinion, no other way left to ſecure you from the rage of your enemies." But having ſtrengthened our houſe, and made the beſt proviſion we could for our defence, being aſſured of the affections both of the magiſtrates and people of the town, and the government having given me power to ring the alarum-

alarum-bell upon occasion, and to that end contrived it so that I could do it from my own chambers, our lodgings joining to one of the gates, I resolved not to remove; especially considering that those who had made the late attempt, being for the most part well known, had render'd themselves uncapable of returning again to Vevay: whereas if we should have removed to any other place, the same persons would have found greater facility to execute their design. As to that part of the advice, tending to persuade me to go to some place where I might not be known, I knew it was in vain to think of finding any such within the territories of their excellencies, and out of them I resolved not to depart.

In the mean time I was informed by letters from England, That Riardo having been at that court to give account of the ill success of the late attempt against us, was not only well received by the king, but dispatched with new orders to carry on the same design; and that in his passage through France he had been with the dutchess of Orleans, who was the principal instrument used by his gracious majesty for incouraging and carrying on this manly attempt. I was also assured from France that in a letter to that king, he had acquainted him, That not thinking himself safe so long as the principal traitors were alive, he desired his assistance to seize or destroy those that were on that side the sea, and particularly those in Switzerland.

In prosecution of the orders that had been sent from their excellencies of Bern, the bailiff of Morges having notice that one of the watermen who had brought the assassins from Savoy to Vevay was in that town, caused him to be seized, and sent prisoner to the castle of Chillion, which is the place of residence for the bailiff of Vevay. On the first of January we were invited by the bailiff to a publick entertainment in the castle, and by that means were present at his examination. For some time he confessed nothing material; but being found to contradict himself in his answers, and therefore threatned with the Strapada by the bailiff and the baron de Chatteler, he seeing the cord made ready, informed them, That one monsieur De la Broette, and monsieur Du Fargis, both Savoyards, were among those who came in the boat with Du Pre, and that one of the four watermen was the person who cut the withes of all the town-boats to prevent them from pursuing; adding, that Du Pre told them at their return to Savoy, That if they had succeeded in their enterprize they should have had money enough; but constantly denying, that he knew any thing of the design till it had miscarried.

Yet neither the care of the government to provide by their justice for our future safety, nor the disappointment of the assassins in their late attempt, could remove the fears our friends had entertained of new designs against our persons, or persuade them to believe that we could be safe whilst we remained in the place where we were. Among others, Mr. treasurer Steiger wrote a letter to the bailiff of Vevay, in which he desired him to persuade us to remove our quarters either to Yverden, Lausanna, or some other place that was near the center of their excellencies territories, where they might be better able to defend us, than he doubted they could at present, by reason of the advantages that the situation of the lake afforded to our enemies, who, he said, might come by water from Savoy, or Versoy a place belonging to the French, to the foot of our garden-wall without fear of surprize or discovery; assuring him, that having been the first adviser of our settlement at Vevay, if any ill should happen to us whilst we continued in that place, he should account

account himſelf the moſt unhappy man in the world. The bailiff having communicated this letter to me, I anſwered, That our company was extremely obliged to Mr. treaſurer Steiger for the care he expreſſed to be upon him for our ſafety; but that our diſeaſe being intirely perſonal and not at all local, we ſhould, in my opinion, be ſo far from mending upon the change of air, that I feared we ſhould render our condition worſe, by going to a place where we were not known, and putting ourſelves under a neceſſity of making new friends, which by the favour and goodneſs of the magiſtrates and people we had already acquir'd at Vevay; that therefore we ſhould willingly acquit Mr. treaſurer and all our friends from the blame of whatever might befal us, and take the conſequences of our ſtay upon ourſelves. With theſe and other reaſons the bailiff, and by his means the reſt of our friends were ſo well ſatisfied, that we heard no more from them on that account.

About this time I received a letter from one monſieur De la Fleſchere, a near relation of that Monſieur Du Pre who was one of the twelve that came to aſſaſſinate us at Vevay, in which he declared his deteſtation of that villany, and promiſed to inform me from time to time of what he ſhould learn of their deſigns; acquainting me of their intentions to attack us in our way to the church which was without the town, and therefore adviſing that I ſhould go ſeldom thither, and never without company and well armed. He counſell'd us by all means to keep together, and not to ſeparate as he was informed we intended to do, and that we ſhould continue in the place where we were, becauſe the lake was a great impediment to our enemies deſigns, who, he ſaid, aſſured themſelves of ſucceſs in their enterprize, if we ſhould go to Yverden, Lauſanna, or any other place, from whence they might make their eſcape on horſeback.

Divers other advertiſements of deſigns againſt us coming to our hands about the ſame time, moſt of them naming me to be the perſon, againſt whom the malice was principally directed, and inſinuating, that the reſt of our company were brought into hazard chiefly on my account, Mr. Liſle either really was, or pretended to be ſo alarm'd, that he withdrew himſelf from us and went to Lauſanna, under colour that expecting a viſit from his lady in the month of May next enſuing, he was unwilling ſhe ſhould come to Vevay, leſt it ſhould prove prejudicial to her after her return to England. Before he left us, he made his will, and took leave of the magiſtrates, and of all his friends in the town in a ſolemn manner. At our parting, I took liberty to deſire him to take the beſt care he could of himſelf, and not to be too confident of his ſecurity, upon ſuppoſition that I was the only perſon mark'd out for deſtruction; ſince he well knew, that at a conſult held by our enemies at Chatillon, they had inquired after him as well as myſelf: I adjur'd him therefore to be upon his guard, leſt preſuming too much upon ſafety, he might betray himſelf into their hands.

Soon after the departure of Mr. Liſle, I received advice by the means of Monſieur de la Fleſchere, that du Poſe and Ceriſe of Lyons, with one St. Du, had been at Tunno, a place lying upon the lake, to conſer with Du Pre, De la Broette and Du Fargis, about reſuming their former deſign, and that they had paſſed moſt part of that night in the wood of Courent, where it had been at laſt reſolved, That they would come no more to Vevay by the way of the lake; but that the next attempt ſhould be made by a ſmaller number of perſons on foot, with horſes kept ready

to receive them, and to carry them off either by the way of Chillion, St. Dennis, or Lauſanna; of all which I gave notice to Mr. Liſle, who with others of our friends and countrymen was then at Lauſanna.

About eight days after, one monſieur Du Moulin of Vevay, going towards Lauſanna, diſcovered in a lane not far from the lake on the way of Safron, three perſons well mounted and armed, with one on foot, and thinking them to have no good deſign, he ſent a ſervant to obſerve them, who upon his return confirming him in his ſuſpicion, monſieur Du Moulin diſmounted, and taking up the foot of his horſe to induce them to believe he only wanted a ſhoe, he returned immediately to Vevay. But they ſuſpecting themſelves to be diſcovered, and that he was returned to give us notice, as indeed he was, made ſo much haſte away, that before the people of the town could reach the place where they had been ſeen, they were arrived at Safron; and having a boat, which had brought them in the morning from Savoy, lying ready to receive them, they by that means made their eſcape. They had ſent two perſons on foot into the town to aſſaſſinate me by ſtabbing or ſhooting, and theſe horſemen were to have carried them off, as we afterwards underſtood: but that the town being raiſed by the information of monſieur Du Moulin, they alſo had thought convenient to ſhift for themſelves.

On the 21ſt of July 1664. we were informed, That ſome Savoyards had landed in the harbour of Ouches belonging to Lauſanna, and had let fall ſome words of a deſign againſt the Engliſh there. Upon which ſome of their friends having notice, went to the burgomaſter in order to procure his warrant to ſeize and bring them to be examined before him. But the burgomaſter refuſing to do any thing in the matter without the advice of the bailiff, they went to the caſtle; where, finding the bridge drawn up, they thought not fit to trouble him that night. The next morning they went again to the caſtle, and having acquainted the bailiff with what they had heard, he preſently granted his warrant, and order'd the fiſcal to ſummon the Savoyards before him. But they having notice of what was doing, got into their boat and were put off, before the warrant could be ſerved upon them. Yet it was ſuppoſed, that if the town-boats had been order'd to purſue them, they might eaſily have ſeized and brought them in; for they were within muſket-ſhot of the ſhore when the officer came to the port with the warrant, the lake very rough, and the wind directly in their teeth. However, I muſt not omit, that theſe villains had been ſeen to ſtand by the door of the church, where Mr. Liſle uſed to go, all the time the people were going in to the ſermon; but neither he nor any of our countrymen coming to the church that morning, they departed in a rage, one of them ſaying, "Le B.. gre ne viendra pas;" which words tho' they were not obſerved at that time, yet were afterwards too well underſtood.

Mr. Liſle having received advice from the lieutenant Balival that a certain Frenchman, who uſed to engrave upon ſeals and diſhes at Vevay, Lauſanna, and other places, had informed theſe Savoyards of the way they ſhould take for the execution of their wicked deſign, procured an officer of juſtice to demand him at his lodging in Lauſanna; where being informed that he was gone to Vevay, a meſſage was diſpatch'd to me, that I might cauſe him to be ſeized. Accordingly the bailiff, at my requeſt, granted a warrant for taking him in cuſtody. But he having heard how things had paſs'd at Lauſanna, and ſuppoſing the alarm to be over, was returned thither. Of which the government of that town having advice,

they cauſed him to be ſeized and carried before the burgomaſter, who after a ſlight examination, contented himſelf with baniſhing him from their juriſdiction. And now Mr. Liſle began to think that he had not much better provided for his ſecurity by abandoning Vevay.

On the Wedneſday of the ſame week, two men in the habit of grooms mounted upon good horſes came to lodge at an inn in Vevay; of which our landlord having received notice, (according to an order of the bailiff and chatelain formerly ſignified to all inn-keepers) he went to the houſe where they were, and upon examination was aſſured by them, that they belonged to a German count who was then at the baths in the Pais des Vallees; that they were by his order come to this place to wait his return, and that they had already ſent a meſſenger to acquaint him with their arrival. Being not able to draw any more from them, he came home, and having acquainted me with what had paſs'd, earneſtly deſired that I would be upon my guard. In the mean time theſe pretended grooms continued at Vevay till the Thurſday in the following week, when one coming from the baths before-mentioned, aſſured, that no ſuch perſon, as theſe fellows deſcribed, had been there; which added to a threatning meſſage ſent by our landlord to the inn-keeper for entertaining ſuch rogues, they haſtned away and went to Lauſanna.

On Thurſday the 11th of Auguſt, 1664. one monſieur Longeon of Lauſanna, brought me the ſad news, That Mr. Liſle going that morning to hear the ſermon in the church that ſtood near the town-gate, was ſhot dead by a perſon on foot, who had a companion waiting for him on horſe-back with a led horſe in his hand, which the murderer having mounted and cried "Vive le Roy," they immediately rode away together towards Morges. Soon after this barbarous murder was committed, we underſtood from Lauſanna by the deſcription of the perſons, their clothes and horſes, that they were the ſame that had lodged at Vevay. They had continued for a week in Lauſanna before they found an opportunity to put in execution their deteſtable plot, and had carried themſelves with ſuch indiſcretion, that divers perſons ſuſpected them to have a deſign againſt the Engliſh; of which Mr. Liſle being informed, he ſent his landlord twice to try what he could draw from them. But they had ſo well contrived their ſtory, that he could find no colour to remove them. Many perſons upon ſuſpicion of theſe fellows had deſired Mr. Liſle to be upon his guard, and to forbear going to the church he uſed; becauſe it lay ſo near the town-gate, that if any perſon ſhould make any attempt againſt him, they might with little difficulty eſcape by that way. Our countrymen alſo who were with him performed the ſame office; but he would by no means hearken to their advice, ſaying he was in the hands of God, and had committed himſelf intirely to his protection; adding to this anſwer, That my life was his defence, and that till our enemies had diſpatched me, he aſſured himſelf they would not think of him. The villain that murdered him had waited his coming at a barber's ſhop, where he pretended to want ſomething for his teeth, till ſeeing Mr. Liſle at diſtance he ſtept out of the ſhop, and as he came by, ſaluted him. Then following him into the church-yard, he drew a carabine from under his cloak, and ſhot him into the back. With the recoil of the piece the villain's hat was beaten off, and he himſelf falling over a piece of timber dropp'd his gun, which he left behind him, and as ſoon as he had recovered himſelf, running to his companion who held the led horſe, he mounted and made his eſcape. Thus died John Liſle, Eſq; ſon to Sir William Liſle

of

of the Isle of Wight, a member of the great parliament, one of the council of state, commissioner of the great seal, and one of the assistants to the lord president, in the high court of justice that was erected for the trial of the late king. The government of Lausanna was so remiss in the pursuit of the assassins, that it was suspected they had some friends among them. And of this the villains themselves seemed to give proof; for before they had advanced half a league on their way, calling to some men who were working in the vineyards, they bid them give their service to the governours of Lausanna, and tell them they would drink their healths. But the common people openly cried out against the burgomaster, and accused him of having favoured the assassins. And that I may do justice to the bailiff of Lausanna, who had been absent for some time from the town upon publick business, I must not omit, that, when he heard of the assassination of Mr. Lisle, he said, That if he had been at Lausanna, those villains should not have continued so long there without interruption.

Upon this we received a great number of letters from our friends in several parts, to inform us of the rage of our enemies, and of their resolution to leave no means of destroying us unattempted, some of them having affirmed, That if they could not accomplish their design either by stabbing, poisoning or shooting, they were resolved to attempt us even in our lodgings. These advices, together with the death of Mr. Lisle, so alarm'd my companions at Vevay, that I found it difficult to bring them to any certain resolution, every one making a different proposition touching the way we should take to provide for our safety; tho' for my own part I thought nothing so rational, as to fortify our interest in that place, where the magistrates and people had been always more ready to oblige and serve us, than we could be to ask any favour from them. To this end, with the concurrence of my country-men, which I at last obtained, I went to monsieur Geoffray, who was then chatelain and deputy-bailiff of Vevay, acquainting him with the letters we had lately received, and he readily offering to do whatever should be in his power for our service, I proposed, That, considering the design of our enemies was either to surprize us, as they had done in relation to Mr. Lisle; or (all other means failing) to attempt us by open violence; for prevention of both, orders might be issued out to the town of Vevay, and to the other towns and villages of that jurisdiction, to seize and examine such persons as they should find cause to suspect; and that upon the sound of the great bell at Vevay, upon the firing of a great gun, or the view of a fire upon any of the towers of the said place, they should take arms, secure the passes, and seize all unknown persons in order to carry them before the bailiff; and that if these signals should happen to be given in the night, they should be appointed to repair with their arms to our lodgings at Vevay, to receive such orders as should be necessary. The chatelain approved the proposition, and desir'd, That such an order might be prepared, promising he would send it to the bailiff to be signed; which being drawn up and sent to the castle of Chillion, the bailiff most readily signed four orders of the same tenour, and directed them to Vevay, Moutre, the Tower and Bloney, with injunction that they should be published two several times in the market-places, and before the churches of the said places, that none might pretend cause of ignorance. This worthy person, as he had done us great honour upon all occasions, so at this time finding us to be extraordinarily persecuted, he resolved to shew us more than ordinary

marks

marks of his favour; and therefore when he came to town, accompanied by the baron De Chatteler and monſieur l'Hoſpitalier of Villa Nova, he was pleaſed to make us a viſit, and to honour us with his company at dinner, expreſſing his abhorrence of the baſeneſs and treachery of our enemies, and aſſuring us of his friendſhip and ſervices to the utmoſt of his power.

But Mr. Say, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances and the care he ſaw taken by our friends for our preſervation, would by no means be perſuaded to think himſelf ſafe whilſt he continued in theſe quarters, where we were all ſo publickly known, and therefore reſolved to retire to ſome place where he might be incognito; and to that end, accompanied by colonel Biſco, prepared to depart for Germany, earneſtly preſſing me to the ſame reſolution, and profeſſing himſelf to be as much concerned for my ſafety as for his own. I gave him my thanks for his friendſhip; but acquainted him that I thought it much better to be in a condition of making oppoſition againſt my enemies, than to live in the perpetual fear of being diſcovered; with which being ſatisfied, he took leave, after he had aſſured me that if we ſhould continue at Vevay till the next ſpring he would make us a viſit.

The court of England being informed of the aſſaſſination of Mr. Liſle, that king procured one Dr. Colladon, a native of Geneva then reſiding at London, to write to one of his relations in theſe parts for a particular information of that action, and to inquire of the ſame perſon if I continued ſtill at Vevay, or had removed to Zurich, as was reported; which particulars being too well known to him, to need any ſuch information, it may be juſtly conjectured, that this meſſage was ſent to no other end, than to feel the pulſe of the gentleman, that by his anſwer he might know, whether he were a fit perſon to be employed in his honourable deſigns. Upon the reception of this letter, the perſon to whom it was directed, being a man of probity and honour, not only gave advice to our friends of the contents, but proteſted that if he had a thouſand lives, he would loſe them all, before he would do us the leaſt injury, utterly refuſing to give any information touching the things that were demanded. Monſieur De la Fleſchere alſo was pleaſed to continue his care of our ſafety, adviſing us, That his kinſman monſieur Du Pre, accompanied by Du Broetti, and Du Fargis, had lately given a meeting at Yvian to one of the duke of Savoy's guard who uſed to come into our parts; and that a certain Frenchman living at the ſame place, was alſo ſuſpected to be of their gang. He added, That tho' he had received a thouſand aſſurances from Du Pre that he would never make any farther attempt againſt us, yet he would not believe him, much leſs would deſire us to rely upon his word, but rather that we ſhould be conſtantly upon our guard, eſpecially in conſideration of what had lately happened to our countryman at Lauſanna.

This was the laſt meſſage we received from monſieur De la Fleſchere, who without any obligation laid upon him on our part, from the motives of humanity and true goodneſs, had been ſo generouſly ſerviceable to perſons he never ſaw. For many days had not paſs'd, before we were informed, that a difference ariſing between this gentleman and Du Pre, whoſe ſiſter he had married, a certain gentlewoman of Tunno, with whom Du Pre was too familiarly acquainted, undertook to make up the diſpute; to which monſieur De la Fleſchere conſenting, and coming to her houſe for that purpoſe, was there ſhot into the body by Du Pre, and

afterwards diſpatch'd with a ſtilletto. But this not being done without noiſe, divers perſons came about the door to enquire what was doing; to whom the gentlewoman anſwering, that there had been no other diſturbance in the houſe, than what had been made by ſome children, they preſently departed. Night being come, Du Pre went out; and after a ſhort ſtay, brought two country-men with him, and compelled them to take up the body, and lay it at the door of an infamous houſe in the ſame town, threatning to kill them if they diſputed his commands, or ſhould afterwards reveal the ſecret. And that it might be believed that his brother-in-law had been ſo uſed for endeavouring to effect ſome bad deſign, Du Pre went after them to the place where they laid the body, and firing a piſtol, left that and a ſword upon the ground by him: this hypocrite ſeemed to be much concerned for his death, and in deep mourning accompanied him to the grave; proteſting to his ſiſter, that he would willingly expend a great ſum of money to find out the murderer. Yet this maſk was ſoon taken off; for the parliament of Chambery in Savoy, having been informed of this murder, and deputed ſome of their number to make inquiry into the matter, they, by the depoſitions they received, ſuſpecting Du Pre to have been the author, ſent to ſeize him; but he having notice of their intentions, had made his eſcape before the officers could reach the houſe where he was.

In England, the preſbyterians had been long before ejected from all the benefices they poſſeſs'd, and rewarded in the current money of thoſe, for whoſe ſake they had betray'd their friends: the priſons had been frequently fill'd with all ſorts of men diſſenting from the church, eſtabliſh'd by the act of uniformity: the people had been exhauſted by frequent and exceſſive taxes to ſupply the luxury of the court: great numbers of the officers of the old army had under falſe or frivolous pretences been impriſon'd or executed: many of the Iriſh rebels had been reſtored to the lands that had been ſettled upon the Engliſh for the reward of their ſervices and blood: plots had been contrived to furniſh the court with a pretence to tranſport thoſe they feared, to remote and barbarous confinements; and the deſign of ſubverting the rights and liberties of the nation, was become manifeſt.

In this poſture of affairs, the court of England thought fit to declare war againſt the ſtates-general of the united provinces; by means of which, ſome of our friends conceiving great hopes of the reſtitution of the common-wealth, enter'd into a treaty with divers principal miniſters of that country, for procuring ſome forces to join with our oppreſſed party in England, againſt the common enemy. Having received information of this treaty, and being preſſed by a perſon of honour and integrity to declare my concurrence in the thing, I acquainted him, That tho' I ſhould be ready to embrace any good occaſion of ſerving the common-wealth, and relieving my country from oppreſſion; and that I had no great reaſon to be a friend to the preſent eſtabliſhment, yet the treachery of the Dutch, in delivering our three friends into the hands of their enemies, made me fear the ſame treatment from them in caſe of an accommodation with England. For if they had purchaſed their former agreement with the price of that blood, I could ſee no reaſon to perſuade me that they would not purchaſe another with ours: I told him, That all men knew they preferr'd the profits of trade before any other thing in the world; and how dangerous it might prove to engage with ſuch a ſort of men, I left to his judgment to determine; that being convinced in conſcience, that they had

contracted the guilt of the blood of our friends upon themſelves, my duty would not permit me to act in conjunction with them, till they ſhould make ſatisfaction for that injuſtice: however, I offer'd that if they might be brought to diſown that action, as done by the influence of a particular faction, and promiſe, at a more convenient time, to puniſh the immediate authors, I would freely hazard my life in the expedition.

In the mean time I received a letter from Mr. Say, who was then at Amſterdam; in which, among other things, I found theſe expreſſions;

" Believe me, Sir, things are ſo well prepared here to anſwer the " good ends we all deſire, that nothing ſeems to be wanting but hands " to ſet the wheels going. Invitations and incouragements are not only " offered, but preſſed upon you; and there is no ground to fear their " retreat, of which you ſeem to doubt. The ruin of the preſent " government in England is certainly intended, and I have cauſe to be- " lieve will be effected; the ſtates being unanimouſly for this war, " and at laſt brought to ſee that their common-wealth cannot long ſubſiſt, " if monarchy continue in England. Of this they will ſoon give the " cleareſt evidence, as well as of their reſolution to aſſiſt the common- " wealth intereſt as far as ſhall be deſired; in which they ſeem to be no " leſs zealous, than how to defend themſelves. As to the uſage our three " friends met with in this country, I have examined the particulars, and " find the thing to have paſſed in a different manner than has been re- " preſented: they are able here to give you or any perſon ſatisfaction, " that the matter does not lie ſo foul upon them, as is generally con- " ceived; and would, if it might be any way conducing to the advantage " of our affairs, ſet that buſineſs in its true light. But this is not thought " adviſable at preſent by many of our friends, who think ſuch a courſe " may too much alarm the court of England, and put them upon " meaſures of procuring peace at any rate. The king of England is never " mentioned without the utmoſt contempt, and writings every day " publiſhed to expoſe his perſon and government. You may propoſe " what you pleaſe for your ſafety, and I dare anſwer it ſhall be granted: " only I muſt take leave to tell you that the moſt private manner of " treating is beſt approved by our friends. The offers they make " here are very great, and yet no promiſes exacted from us for their " ſecurity. Therefore I beg of you to think of ſeeing this place, " and quitting the quarters where you are, that you may be inſtru- " mental in the ſervice of your country at this time. I am certainly " informed, That conſiderable numbers in England, Scotland and " Ireland, ſenſible of their preſent ſervitude, will appear for us; " and ſuch meaſures will be taken here for their aſſiſtance, that " I have great hopes of ſucceſs. Nothing ſeems now ſo much want- " ing as fixed councils both here and in England, and no one " can be more ſerviceable than yourſelf in this important matter: " I beſeech you therefore let us have your help, for we cannot be " without it, and I am perſuaded the work will proſper in our hands. " Make all the expedition you can in your journey; for tho' this " be not the conjuncture of action, yet I am perſuaded 'tis high time " to be preparing, and 'twill be to our ſhame if we neglect it.

About

About eight days after this, I received another from the ſame perſon; in which, having deſired me to give credit to the contents of his laſt, he added, That the Heer Nieuport had at a conference aſſured him, That the intentions of the government of Holland were to relieve the good people in England; and that he ſhould be glad of any overtures to that purpoſe from me or any other perſons; that there was more in the deſign of this war than was commonly underſtood, and that the deſtruction of the whole proteſtant party was intended: that ſome of the moſt eminent of that religion in France had ſent meſſengers into Holland to give information of this matter; adviſing, That the ſtates would make the beſt preparations they could for their defence, and aſſuring, That if they ſhould be born down in this war, the reformed religion would ſoon be extinguiſhed in France: That the Dutch had thirty thouſand men ready to put on board their fleet, of which number ten thouſand were land ſoldiers, and to be diſpoſed as we ſhould adviſe and direct: that a great ſum of money was prepared for this ſervice, and that the whole fleet ſhould be commanded to favour our enterprize: that if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to tranſport horſe into England, the ſtates would willingly comply in that alſo, having reſolved to endeavour a perfect friendſhip with the good people of England, which, he ſaid, he hoped ſhould never be broken. At the bottom of the letter were theſe words, "I beg of you to lay aſide all former prejudices, and as you love the cauſe in which you have ingaged, come ſpeedily, and ſet your heart and hand to this work. I can certainly aſſure you, That the moſt conſiderable miniſter of this ſtate, has lately very much inquired for you, and having received ſome account of you, has given us reaſon to hope, That if you will come to them in this conjuncture, they will place you at the head of ſuch a number of men, as ſhould, by the bleſſing of God, and the concurrence of our friends in England, be ſufficient to reſtore the common-wealth. I dare aſſure you from the beſt information I can get, That on ſuch an occaſion there would be a greater appearance for us than at the beginning of the late war. Let me therefore not hear from you, but ſee you."

Tho' theſe offers were very advantagious, eſpecially to one in my condition, and the honour I received more than I could expect, yet theſe things, I thank God, were no temptation to me. The cauſe of my country, which is dearer to me than my life, was that alone which made me earneſtly wiſh, that I could have perſuaded myſelf to lay hold of this opportunity, and to join with my friends in this enterprize for our common deliverance. But the reaſons before mentioned ſat ſo cloſe upon me; that I was conſtrained, not without great regret, to acquaint my friends with my intentions to perſiſt in my former reſolution, not to enter into a conjunction of counſels and intereſts with the Dutch, till they had given ſatisfaction touching the buſineſs of the three gentlemen they had ſo inhumanly delivered into the hands of our enemies, together with ſome reaſonable aſſurances that they would not abandon the concernments of ſuch as ſhould join with them.

In the mean time, a perſon of honour and quality of the Engliſh nation whom I had never ſeen, being then at Paris, took care to let me know by a third hand, that the king of England ſuſpecting I would join with the Dutch againſt him, had cauſed the aſſaſſins to double their diligence, and that the perſon who had murder'd Mr. Liſle was come to Paris, accompanied with others of the ſame trade, and had undertaken either to

carry me off alive, or to diſpatch me upon the place. St. Du, another of this tribe, endeavoured alſo to engage one monſieur Torneri, a a gentleman of Savoy, and my friend, in the deſign againſt me, promiſing him a great recompence if it proved ſucceſsful. He dated his letter from Paris, and deſired the anſwer to be directed to one at Lyons. But monſieur Torneri ſuſpecting him to be nearer to us than he would have it believed, and being deſirous to penetrate farther into their ſecrets, told him in his anſwer that money was not to be refuſed; but that I kept myſelf ſo much upon my guard, that nothing could be attempted without previous conſultation. This gentleman did me the favour to give me a ſight of the letter and anſwer, with aſſurances of his ſervice, and a promiſe to ſend me St. Du's reply, as ſoon as it ſhould come to his hands. He informed me alſo that Du Pre had been degraded, and broken on the wheel in effigie, for the murder of monſieur De la Fleſchere; that his eſtate in Savoy had been confiſcated, and that he was fled for protection to the town of Friburg, and that he was countenanced by the magiſtrates of that place. Theſe things made me reſolve upon withdrawing from my lodgings at Vevay, and lying privately for ſome time, that my enemies might be amuſed, and uncertain how to lay their deſigns; which having done, it produced the effect I deſired. For no ſooner had I withdrawn myſelf from the publick view, but it was generally concluded I was gone for Holland, which I conjecture might put a ſtop to the deſigns againſt me for that time, and rendred my country-men at Vevay more ſafe and undiſturb'd than they had formerly been.

DURING this retirement, I received letters from my friends in England, with advice that four perſons had been diſpatch'd by the king for our parts with the accuſtomed inſtructions; but hearing no more concerning them, I concluded they were either the villains of whom I was already informed from Paris, or part of thoſe who had been ſent to Auſburg, with orders from the ſame hands to aſſaſſinate colonel Algernon Sidney; and probably being ten in number might have effected their deſign, if having undertaken a journey to Holland upon buſineſs relating to the publick, he had not removed from that place before their arrival. After I had continued about ſix weeks privately with my friends at Lauſanna, I returned to my quarters at Vevay, and had not been there above eight or ten days, before a Frenchman, well furniſhed with money, and arms, came to one monſieur Du Fort, a merchant of Vevay, with a letter unſealed from a trader of Geneva, who was little known to him, which contained an account, That the perſon who ſhould bring him that letter, having been proſecuted in France, for getting a wench with child, had deſired to be known to ſome perſons in this place, which he had choſen for his retreat. Tho' ſuch a recommendation had been ſufficient to have cauſed him to be whipp'd out of the town; yet other things contributed chiefly to his removal. For it had been obſerved that he had acknowledged he came lately from England, and ſeemed to be well informed of the affairs of that court; that he was no leſs inſtructed in all the circumſtances of the aſſaſſination of Mr. Liſle; that he intruded into all companies, and had endeavoured to lodge in ſeveral houſes that ſtood moſt convenient to diſcover our uſual walks; that he had expreſſed his diſcontent, that no one would entertain him without the permiſſion of the council, and had offered to pay double at certain places for a lodging. To this was added, That on a market-day, having dreſſed

dressed himself in the habit of a buffoon, with a basket on his back, and wooden shoes on his feet, he bought many things that were to be sold at much more than the value, and gave them to the meanest of the people, drawing by that means many idle persons after him. Upon consideration of these things, the chatelain, by order of the bailiff, went attended with his officers to the inn where he lodged, and upon examination, finding him unwilling to tell his name, or business in this place, he acquainted him, That by reason of divers attempts that had been made against the English gentlemen, who had been taken by their excellencies into protection, it had been resolved that no stranger should remain at Vevay, without giving a good account of himself; which he having not done, had incurred the consequence, and therefore must resolve to depart within the space of twenty four hours. He was much disturbed whilst the chatelain was present; but having recovered his spirits by drinking brandy after his departure, he hired a boat for Villa Nova, pretending to go directly for Milan, but we were informed afterwards, that from Villa Nova, he turned short to Savoy, and by the way of Lyons went to Paris.

Some publick business requiring the presence of Mr. treasurer Steiger at Vevay, he came accompanied by monsieur Lentulus, late bailiff of Lausanna, commissary-general Godart, and another person of the senate of Bern; and having dispatch'd his affairs, did us the honour to make us a visit, in which having expressed great kindness and friendship, he informed us, That Du Pre had procured the magistrates of Friburg to give instructions to colonel Pharamond, and their other deputies then at Bern, to sollicit their lordships for the restitution of his lands; but that the council was so far from doing as he desired, that they forthwith caused the advoyer to issue out an order to seize his person if he should come within the territories of their jurisdiction, and to send new instructions to the bailiff of Morges, for receiving his rents, and employing them in publick uses; directing the said treasurer Steiger to give the deputies an account of their proceedings; which when he had done, and acquainted them with the attempt Du Pre had made to assassinate us, together with the murder he had committed on the person of his brother-in-law, and many other villanies of which he had been guilty, the colonel said, That he had not heard any thing of these matters before; and desiring to be excused, promised never to open his mouth more in his behalf. The next day we returned the visit we had received from the treasurer and his company; and were most affectionately received, all of them expressing themselves with the utmost friendship, and assuring us of the care and favour of the government.

Of this we had in a short time the most evident demonstration; for their excellencies of Bern having received information that Du Pre designed to take a journey to a place in Burgundy, called Joigny, they sent out two parties to lie upon the way; one of which meeting with him, and commanding him in their lordships name to surrender himself, he at first made some resistance; but finding that way too hazardous, he clapp'd spurs to his horse, and when he was at some distance from the guard, endeavouring to leap a deep and broad ditch, he fell with his horse into the middle of it. Some people who were carrying in the harvest, seeing him in distress, and not knowing that he was pursued by publick authority hastned to his relief. But he being conscious of his own crimes, and therefore suspecting all men to be his enemies, fired one of his pistols

upon them, which provoked the country-men to entertain him with ſtones, till the officers came up, and ſeized him. They found a caſe of piſtols at his ſaddle, another pair at his girdle, and a carabine hanging by his ſide. In his pocket was a letter directed to him without any name ſubſcribed, containing in ſubſtance, That he ſhould inform himſelf where the great whale or the little old fiſh might be found; and give notice if any publick honours had been done to the memory of the Engliſh gentleman who was kill'd at Lauſanna. The reſt of his papers and letters he had torn in pieces before he could be taken; but upon putting them together in the beſt manner that was poſſible, it appeared, That moſt of them had relation to the ſame ſubject, and were full of malicious expreſſions againſt the government of Bern. He was carried to the houſe of one monſieur De la Berchere, a gentleman living near the place where he was ſeized, and being kept there all night, he was the next day brought priſoner to Yverden, and committed to the caſtle.

THEIR excellencies having received information of the ſeizing and impriſonment of Du Pre, diſpatch'd orders to their officers of Vevay, to examine all perſons upon oath who might know any thing of the attempt made againſt us, in which he had been a principal actor; and to tranſmit to them the examination and confeſſion of the waterman which had been taken by the bailiff at the caſtle of Chillion. Whilſt the evidence was preparing againſt him, great intereſt was made to their lordſhips of Bern for their favour to the priſoner. But meeting with cold reception from them, they applied themſelves to thoſe of Yverden, who were to give the firſt judgment in the caſe. His mother being admitted to ſpeak with him in preſence of the guard, told him, That certain fathers capuchins would remember him in their prayers. But he had another game to play; and having already promiſed to quit the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and to educate his ſon in the reformed religion, if by that means he might ſave his life, anſwered, That he owned no ſuch perſons to be his fathers; that he needed not their prayers, and that they might have enough to do if they would pray for themſelves. By theſe and other artifices that were uſed by himſelf and his friends, the officers of juſtice at Yverden, were perſuaded to ſentence him only to be baniſhed, and to pay the fine of one hundred pounds; but four of the twelve who were his judges diſſented from the reſt, and not only voted him worthy of death, but ſigned a paper to that purpoſe, and preſented it in their own perſons to their excellencies, that they might caquit themſelves from the blame of this proceeding. When the judgment was preſented to the lords of Bern for their approbation, they eſteemed it to intrench upon the ſovereignty; in that an inferior juriſdiction had taken upon them not only to moderate the puniſhment, but alſo to aſcertain the fine. His mother, and divers other perſons who had accompanied the ſentence to Bern, moſt earneſtly ſollicited, to get it confirm'd; but becauſe Mr. treaſurer Steiger was to go to Friburg the next day about ſome publick affairs, the conſideration of this buſineſs was defer'd for ſeven or eight days. At which time the treaſurer being returned, the cauſe was heard before their excellencies; and after mature deliberation, Du Pre was condemned to loſe his head on the next enſuing Monday. The principal crimes objected againſt him were, That he had ſtollen and raviſhed the perſon he had ſince married, who was born, and reſided within the juriſdiction of Bern; and that he had made an attempt to aſſaſſinate one or more of the Engliſh gentlemen that were protected by their excellencies. He denied that he had taken his wife

away

away in a violent manner, or that he deſigned to take away the life of any other Engliſhman except me. He ſaid alſo, That having reſolved to uſe him thus, they might have acquainted him ſooner with their intentions, and not have incouraged him to ſuch a miſpending of his time as they had done. And indeed, tho' this could not juſtly be objected to their excellencies, who deſigned no more than that he might be civilly entertain'd till the time of his trial, yet divers of the magiſtrates of Yverden, can by no means be excuſed, who drank and plaid at cards with him in the priſon. The day appointed for his execution being come, he was brought down; but the terrors of death, with the diſmal reflections upon his paſt life, ſeized upon him to ſuch a degree, that he fell into a rage, throwing himſelf on the ground, biting and kicking thoſe that ſtood near, and aſking if there were no hopes of pardon. He was told that he ought to remember, That if he had been taken in his own country where he had murder'd his brother-in-law, and had been broken in effigie on the wheel, he ſhould not have been uſed ſo gently. He refuſed to go to the place of execution any otherwiſe than by force; ſo that about two hours were ſpent before he arrived at the place where he was to die, tho' it was within muſket-ſhot of the priſon. Here the executioner put a cap on his head, and placed a chair that he might ſit; but he took off the cap and threw it away, and kick'd down the chair among the people. When the executioner ſaw this he tied his hands between his knees, and having aſſured him, That if he perſiſted in his reſiſtance, he would cut him into forty pieces, after about an hour's conteſt, he at laſt performed his office.

Soon after this, Mr. treaſurer Steiger accompanied by our bailiff and ſome gentlemen of Bern, was pleaſed to make us a publick viſit, leaving the officers that attended him, who were fifteen or ſixteen in number at our gate, to the end as he informed us, That the people obſerving the conſideration and favour we received, might be quickened in their duty upon any occaſion that might happen. He gave us an account of the proceedings againſt Du Pre, and informed us, That when the watermen of Morges had carried his mother back to Tunno, and thoſe of that place had taken the liberty to cenſure the juſtice of Bern; madam de la Fleſchere, the widow of our good friend and ſiſter to Du Pre, coming to meet her mother at the water ſide, had preſently ſilenc'd them, and openly ſaid, That tho' he was her brother, yet ſhe acknowledged their excellencies had done nothing in relation to him but that which was moſt juſt. In this converſation he informed us alſo, That being in Italy in the year 1643. when the war between the late king and the parliament was, as he expreſſed it, moſt inflamed, he had there ſeen a bull from the Pope, for incouraging all good catholicks to take arms for the king againſt the parliament, promiſing that thoſe who ſhould loſe their lives on his ſide in that quarrel, ſhould go forthwith to heaven. Which is ſo plain that it *needs no comment.*

By this time, my friends in Holland began to think they had been deluded with vain hopes from that people; but being unwilling to take the ſhame of their credulity upon themſelves, they reſolved to lay the blame upon me; alledging, That thoſe of the ſtates who had treated with them, having inquired why I was not come to Holland, and receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, had concluded we had not agreed among ourſelves, and on that account would not proceed to finiſh the treaty. Whereas indeed the true reaſon was, That they were ſtill in hopes of patching up

a peace with England, or if that ſhould fail, they promiſed themſelves the aſſiſtance of France, whoſe intereſt ſeemed to be very different from ours. Accordingly the king of France being ſollicited by the Dutch to make good the laſt treaty with that ſtate, and finding he could not procure a peace for them, withdrew his ambaſſador from London, and declared war againſt England: ſoon after which a declaration of war was alſo publiſhed in London againſt the French king, and entertained by the people with great joy, the mayor and aldermen attending on the proclamation in their habits of ceremony.

On occaſion of this war, one monſieur Stuppa, a native of the Griſons, formerly a miniſter, and at that time an officer in the French ſervice, was ſent into his own country to raiſe men; and having performed his commiſſion, reſolved to paſs by Vevay in his return to Paris. Being come to this place, he procured ſome of my friends to deſire me to give him a meeting, to which I conſented. After ſome general diſcourſe upon the preſent conjuncture, he acquainted me, That tho' he had no expreſs orders either from France or Holland to make any propoſition to me; yet he acknowledged, that the Dutch ambaſſador then reſiding at Paris, had ſo far opened himſelf, as to tell him, that his maſters deſigning nothing more in this war than to ſecure themſelves from ſuch double dealing as they had met with from the Engliſh court; and their quarrel not being againſt the people, but only againſt the king of England, he hoped I might be brought to act in conjunction with them for the good of my own country. Then he proceeded to aſk what grounds there might be to hope that the commonwealth-party, with a moderate number of forces to join with them, would be able to carry their point, profeſſing himſelf to be as well in judgment as intereſt diſpoſed to wiſh them well: and on this head we went over many particulars, tho' I durſt not be ſo free with him as was requiſite to a full clearing of ſuch matters. Some days after this, we had another conference, in which by the perſuaſion of a particular friend, I acquainted him, That if any juſt and honourable way ſhould be propoſed for the reſtitution of the republick in England, I would readily uſe the beſt of my endeavours, and hazard my life in that ſervice. He ſeemed well ſatisfied with this anſwer; and having aſſured me that a great ſum of money would be advanced to give life to the intereſt of our friends, and to aſſiſt them in their preparations for action, we agreed on a way of correſpondence, and ſo parted.

The next morning, one Mr. Conſtance came to me from the count of Donnagh, with a meſſage to deſire me to meet him privately at Lauſanna, which I promiſed to do the more willingly, becauſe the ſaid count had lately given proof of his kindneſs to us, by ſending me advice, That his lady's father paſſing through Chatillion (the principal place of our enemy's rendezvous) had been certainly informed, That thoſe who had murder'd Mr. Liſle, were come again into theſe parts with intentions to aſſaſſinate us; and more particularly me, aſſuring, That I might give credit to the thing, becauſe it had been imparted to his father-in-law, on ſuppoſition that he approved the deſign. The gentleman informed me alſo, That the count had a commiſſion from the ſtates of Holland to raiſe three thouſand men in theſe parts; that the heer John de Witte had adviſed him to ſee me, and that he hoped the levies he was to make, might be imploy'd for the reſtitution of the common-wealth in England. To which I anſwered, as I had done before to monſieur Stuppa, that I was always ready to lay down my life in ſo good a cauſe.

FEW days after this, I received a letter from Holland to inform me, That our friends were entering into new meaſures, and that the heer John de Witte, together with the heer Nieuport, and others who ſeemed moſt affectionate to us, had adviſed, That for ſeveral reaſons, the treaty between Holland and our friends might be carried on at Paris; that colonel Algernon Sidney and I would repair to France for that purpoſe, where we ſhould be lodged at the houſe of the Dutch ambaſſador, promiſing that we ſhould have paſſports in the beſt form, requiring all magiſtrates and other officers in that kingdom to be ſerviceable and aſſiſting to us. In the ſame packet I had another from England to inform me, That the condition of our friends there was not contemptible, and that they thought no hazards too great to be ventur'd in order to deliver themſelves from the evils they ſuffer'd, and greater which they had juſt cauſe to fear. They exhorted me therefore to lay aſide all ſcruples and former prejudices, and to improve the preſent favourable conjuncture to the advantage of the commonwealth. Theſe letters were accompanied with three more; one from colonel Algernon Sidney, inviting me to give him a meeting at Baſle, in order to continue our journey from thence to Paris. The other two were written by Mr. Say, and colonel Biſco, to preſs me to engage in this undertaking, promiſing, That if I would reſolve to go, all the exiles would not fail to accompany me; and adding, That if I refuſed, they believed no man would ſtir. I found by theſe letters that there had been ſome heats and jealouſies between colonel Sidney and Mr. Say, the former charging Mr. Say with having privately diſſuaded me from engaging in this enterpriſe, and Mr. Say accuſing colonel Sidney of uſing all the means he could to diſcourage me; but to do them juſtice, I muſt needs ſay, That they both endeavoured to the utmoſt of their power to engage me in this affair.

THESE things brought me into great doubts and difficulties. For on the one hand, if I ſhould neglect the preſent offers, and the deſign ſhould miſcarry, I foreſaw that my friends, who had ſollicited me to engage, would not fail to attribute the fault to me, by whatever means the ill ſucceſs ſhould happen. On the other ſide, if I ſhould reſolve to enter upon ſuch a treaty, beſides my own want of ability for the management of ſo great an affair, the unſuitableneſs of my principles and circumſtances, together with the averſion I had to treat in France, and perhaps with that king's miniſters, who had all along favour'd thoſe bloody deſigns which had been contrived againſt my life, I could not ſee how I might come to any reſolution what to offer, demand, promiſe or perform. Being under this perplexity, I was attack'd again on the ſame account by two of our friends, who made a journey from Holland on purpoſe to perſuade me to take part in this affair; ſo that finding myſelf thus preſſed on all hands, I told them, That the lord Jermyn being lately arrived at Paris, with orders from the court of England, to treat of an acommodation with the king of France, in which he would not fail to be powerfully aſſiſted by the queen-mother of England; this treaty might take effect, as that of the biſhop of Munſter with the ſtates had already done; by which means it would certainly fall out, That, tho' we ſhould not be betray'd by the French, which I doubted, yet the lords of Bern would no longer think themſelves obliged to protect us as they had hitherto done; that if the levies of Swiſs ſoldiers which the ſtates were about to make, ſhould be deſigned for England as we had been informed, I thought my preſent ſtay in theſe parts might be of more uſe to the publick, than if I ſhould take the

journey that was propoſed; and that for many reaſons I was very unwilling to put myſelf into the hands of the king of France. Yet that they might ſee I would go as great a length in this buſineſs as I could, I offer'd, That if the ſtates ſhould think fit to publiſh a declaration to acknowledge the error of delivering up our three friends; promiſe to uſe their endeavours to reſtore the common-wealth to the exerciſe of their authority; furniſh ſuch a number of troops of the reformed religion as might be probably ſufficient to protect our friends in coming in to them, and oblige themſelves not to leave us in a worſe condition than we were at that time, I would heartily engage in the enterprize. With this anſwer my two friends returned to Holland, and being on their way ſent me word, That the perſon who reſided for the king of France at Mentz, and is brother to his ambaſſador at Ratisbon, had been at Frankfort on purpoſe to meet colonel Sidney and me, ſuppoſing we had both been at that place; where in a conference with the colonel, he had communicated to him a a letter from monſieur De Lyonne ſecretary of ſtate, written in cypher by the order of the king of France, in which he was commanded to acquaint us, That if we would go to Paris, we ſhould have all the ſecurity the government could give, or we could deſire, for the ſafety of our perſons.

THE court of England having received ſome obſcure informations of a deſign carried on by the Dutch to land ſome forces to aſſiſt their enemies at home, publiſhed a proclamation to require colonel John Deſborough, colonel Thomas Kelſey, colonel John White, major John Grove, Sir Robert Honywood junior, captain John Nicholas of Monmouth, and divers other perſons, to return into England and to ſurrender themſelves into the hands of ſome juſtice of the peace in the county where they ſhould land, before the 23d day of the next enſuing July, on pain of being proceeded againſt as traitors. But not being contented with this, they employed a Jeſuit to procure the penſioner John De Witte to be murder'd, who not only undertook that employment, but promiſed to get me to be aſſaſſinated alſo. Myn heer Nieuport, who had formerly been ambaſſador for the ſtates in England, ſent his ſon to Mr. Say to acquaint him with this matter, aſſuring him that the Jeſuit was already come to Holland, and that they hoped to ſeize him; but leſt other perſons might be engaged with him in the deſign againſt me, of whom they had no information, he deſired that I might be forthwith adviſed of what they had diſcovered: which Mr. Say punctually performed.

OUR friends began now to perceive the effects of Jermyn's negociation, and that the French king would rather choſe to procure to himſelf the management of the court of England at any rate, than either to do an honourable thing for men in diſtreſs, or to give his allies common ſatisfaction in the ſmalleſt things that might diſguſt his brother of England in this conjuncture. For the Dutch ambaſſador having demanded that Te Deum might be ſung in the great church at Paris for the late victory they had obtained againſt the Engliſh fleet commanded by Monk and prince Rupert; he refuſed to permit it for three reaſons. Firſt, On account that they differed in religion. In the ſecond place, That having had no forces in the engagement, he could have no ſhare in the victory. And thirdly, That it would be of little advantage to either of the ſtates to triumph over their enemies. Our friends had been made to believe that they ſhould have the aſſiſtance of France in a great ſum of money; but few of them approved of their ſending forces,

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as was at last proposed, suspecting their fidelity in case of success. And I think the event shew'd that this last proposition was made by the French (who had been lately intriguing with the court of England) in confidence that it would not be accepted.

But however affairs might stand in France, yet our friends in Holland had not lost all hopes, as may appear by the following letter which I received from thence.

SIR,

"WE cannot look upon the frequent and earnest applications of so "many of our friends for your coming into these parts to be "lost. We are fully satisfied of our interest with you, and have heard "with joy the report of those gentlemen who were lately at Vevay, "how much you are concerned for the publick cause. We cannot but be sensible of the difference between treating with a monarch, and engaging with a free state, and are glad to find that "the same principles which arm you against the one, cause you to "incline to the other upon reasonable terms; which we doubt not "would be offer'd, if you would appear among us. They have "here received such an account, of the condition of our friends "in England, that they are inclined to give us considerable succours of all things necessary for our enterprise. This is the "second time that the states have caused a great body of land-forces to be shipp'd on board their fleet purely on our account, "protesting in the most solemn manner, that they have no other "design than to give the good people of England a seasonable and "effectual aid. If we lose this opportunity, we may probably repent our folly, but shall hardly redeem our credit. For these reasons we renew our most affectionate desires that you would hasten "to us, and hope for your speedy answer rather in person than by "writing, lest this also be added to all our former afflictions, that "another opportunity be lost.

This letter being subscribed by many persons, was sent to me the way of Germany, and a duplicate being dispatch'd at the same time through France, I received both. From all which, considering that so much weight was laid upon my presence in Holland, tho' I could see little reason for their opinion, I resolved to insist no longer upon any thing to be done by the states previous to my engagement, but only that they would disclaim that action which had passed in relation to our three friends, and promise to make provision, in any treaty they should make with our enemies, for all those who should engage with them, or at least to leave them in as good a condition as they were at the time of their engagement. If this could be effected, I determined to make use of the following passport, which I had received from the count D'Estrades ambassador for the king of France to the states-general of the united provinces.

" Le Comte D'Eſtrades Lieutenant-General en chef dans les Armées du
" Roy, gouverneur de Donquerque, Maire Perpetuel de Bourdeaux,
" Vice-Roy de l'Amerique, Chevalier des Ordres de ſa Majeſté, &
" ſon Ambaſſadeur extraordinaire en Hollande.

" NOUS requerons tous Gouverneurs, Commandeurs, Capitaines,
" Lieutenants, Maires, Eſchevins, Juges, & autres officiers tant
" de mer que de terre, a qui il appartiendra, de laiſſer ſeurement &
" librement paſſer, chacun par les lieux de ſes pouvoirs & juriſdictions,
" le Sieur Edmond Ludlow & quatre Valets, ſans aucun trouble ou em-
" peſchement, mais plutoſt toute faveur, aide & aſſiſtance, & ils
" nous feront un ſingulier plaiſir. Fait a la Haye le 2 jour de Mars,
" 1666.

His ſeal of Arms was here affixed.

D'Eſtrades.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The Count D'Eſtrades, Lieutenant-General in chief of the King's Armies, Governor of Dunkirk, perpetual Mayor of Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy of America, Knight of his Majeſty's orders, and his extraordinary Ambaſſador in Holland.

WE require all Governors, Commanders, Captains, Lieutenants, Mayors, Sheriffs, Judges, and other officers to whom it may belong, as well by ſea as by land, to permit----------with four ſervants, to paſs freely and ſafely through the places of their reſpective powers and juriſdictions, without any trouble or impediment, but rather all manner of favour, aid and aſſiſtance. Given at the Hague the ſecond of March, 1666.

D'Eſtrades.

SOME time after this, an engagement happening between the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, tho' both parties made bonfires for the victory, yet the court of England conceiving the advantage to have been on their ſide, reſolved to improve the opportunity for the advancement of the prince of Orange. To this end the earl of Arlington, who was then ſecretary of ſtate, wrote a letter to one Buat a Frenchman, with whom he had correſpondence; and knowing him to be well affected to the prince, acquainted him that he judged this to be the time of promoting that intereſt. Buat, who, tho' he had a military command in Holland, yet pretended to ſerve that ſtate with intelligence from foreign parts, having on that account ſome paper to preſent to the penſionary John de Witte, put the lord Arlington's letter by miſtake into his hands. Upon this, Buat was ſeized with his papers; which, as was ſaid, gave them ſo much light, that Trump with his brother-in-law the ſieur Kuivoit of Roterdam, were removed from their employments, and forbidden to appear in any publick council; the latter, with one Vanderhulſt of the ſame place, departing the

the country. Many others were ſeized, and orders being given to proſecute Buat for treaſon, he was found guilty and condemned to loſe his head. Trump was confined to his houſe, and the baron de Ghent was appointed to ſucceed him in his command by ſea.

About the middle of September, 1666. the count of Donagh ſent me advice by M. Conſtance, That, having been at Chatillion, the uſual place of our enemies rendevouz, he had obliged the maſter of the inn where they met, to promiſe, That if he ſhould diſcover any perſons to have a deſign againſt us for the future, or if thoſe who formerly frequented his houſe on that account ſhould at any time return thither, he would not fail to inform him forthwith. This meſſage was the more ſeaſonable, becauſe within few days, our good friend monſieur Torneri, upon whom alone, ſince the death of monſieur de la Fleſchere, we depended for intelligence from Savoy, was murder'd by Du Fargis, one of thoſe who with Du Pre attempted to aſſaſſinate us in the year 1664. It was ſaid, That monſieur Torneri had ſpoken ſome words concerning Du Fargis, which containing too much truth, and therefore moſt offending, Du Fargis having waited ſome time for an occaſion of revenge, at laſt ſhot him in the head, as he was on horſeback taking leave of his ſiſter at her houſe in Yvian; of which wound he died the ſame day.

The court of England having procured from the parliament a grant of about eighteen hundred thouſand pounds, under colour of carrying on the war againſt Holland and France, began immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, to diſcover their intentions to make peace with their neighbours. Preſents and offices of civility paſſed frequently between Paris and London; and the king of France ſent orders to all his ports, That if any Engliſh ſhips ſhould be forced into them by ſtreſs of weather or otherwiſe, they ſhould be received and aſſiſted with all things neceſſary. The king of England acquainted the ambaſſador of Sweden, that as mediator he might intimate to the ſtates, That upon an invitation from them, they ſhould not find him averſe from peace, and that he was contented the Hague ſhould be the place of treating. But the penſionary John de Witte, who well knew what opportunities of ſowing diviſions among them the Hague would afford, calling to mind that the king had formerly pretended he would never be brought to treat in any other place than at London, and therefore ſuſpecting that by this ſeeming condeſcenſion he might propoſe to himſelf to do that by little arts, which he could not compaſs by open force, procured the ſtates to excuſe themſelves from treating at the Hague, under colour that being an open town, they could not ſo well protect ſuch miniſters as ſhould be ſent to treat, from the inſults of the people, as they had formerly experienced to their great regret, and to offer Utrecht, Breda, or Maeſtricht, for the place of treating, at the choice of the king of England. When the Swediſh ambaſſador had communicated this anſwer to the king, he fell into a great paſſion, not ſo much on account of their refuſal, but becauſe he ſaw his deſigns diſcovered. However, being reſolved not to ſet out the fleet, and therefore conſtrained to be calm, he ſwallow'd the bitter draught, and made choice of Breda for this purpoſe. He nominated Mr. Denzil Hollis, who for his merits in helping to bring about the late change, was now called lord Hollis, together with one Mr. Coventry, to be his commiſſioners for treating the peace, putting on an appearance of careſſing the Dutch, calling them his allies, offering that each party ſhould keep what they poſſeſs'd, and that the treaty concluded between

them in the year 1662. ſhould be the foundation of this. The ſeamen wanting employment, enter'd themſelves for the moſt part into the ſervice of the merchants, and ſome of them into that of the ſtates; by which means it became impoſſible to man out a fleet upon any occaſion however preſſing.

THE Dutch being well inform'd of what paſs'd in England, and thinking this opportunity not to be neglected, made as great preparations for war as they had ever done. De Ruyter was appointed to command the fleet, and four thouſand land-men were put on board under the conduct of one colonel Doleman, an experienc'd officer, and who for not rendering himſelf within the time limited by the late proclamation, had incurred the penalty of treaſon by virtue of a late act paſſed at Weſtminſter, and on that account believed to be more firm to their intereſt. In this conjuncture, my friends and countrymen in Holland attack'd me again with letters, aſſuring me, That nothing could hinder the ſpeedy diſpatch of this fleet but the expectation of my arrival; That the ſtates had reſolved to land a conſiderable force in a certain place in England by their advice, and that our friends in England ſhould have timely notice of their intentions; That colonel Doleman was to command thoſe troops as general, unleſs I ſhould arrive before the ſailing of the fleet, and in ſuch caſe it was order'd that he ſhould have the next poſt under me. But having received no ſatisfaction touching thoſe things upon which I had formerly inſiſted; being of opinion that it lay within the power of the court of England to make peace with the Dutch when they pleaſed, and conceiving that the great preparations made by the Dutch, and the correſpondences kept on foot with our friends, were only in order to conſtrain the king to a compliance with them; I returned for my anſwer, That I thought colonel Doleman, who was in the actual ſervice of the ſtates, and an able officer, to be much fitter for that employment than myſelf. But if, contrary to my ſenſe of things, the ſtates and our friends ſhould judge otherwiſe, I told them again, That if I might have ſatisfaction in the two points I formerly mentioned, I would not be wanting to contribute my beſt aſſiſtance to the ſervice of the publick, tho' in the loweſt degree of employment; and that if I might be aſſured that a journey to Holland at this time would not tend to deprive me of the protection I now enjoy'd, I would not fail for their ſatisfaction to undertake it without delay, that we might debate theſe things together upon the place. It ſoon appeared that I had good ground for this caution; for upon the arming of the biſhop of Munſter contrary to the late agreement he had made, and the reſtitution of Rhynberg demanded by the elector of Colen, together with ſome other accidents, the Dutch ſhewed themſelves ready to treat with England, upon the foot of the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662. with little alteration in the articles touching the king's enemies, and none at all in that relating to the late king's judges.

THE Engliſh plenipotentiaries, notwithſtanding the ill condition of affairs at home, ſpent a whole month at Breda without entring into conference with thoſe of Holland, which with the quarrels that happened between theſe two miniſters, gave the ſtates a farther occaſion to improve the preſent conjuncture to the beſt advantage; many of them declaring openly that they would protect the moſt obnoxious of the king's enemies. In this reſolution they ſent their fleet to ſea, and made directly for the river of Thames with their land-forces on board. The court of

England having made no preparations for the defence of the nation, was alarm'd to the last degree with the news of their approach; and at the first meeting of the council, a proposition was made to assemble the parliament with all possible expedition, tho' they had been adjourn'd to the tenth of October, that by their advice either a peace might be made to the satisfaction of the nation, or the war carried on to the best advantage. On the other side, the chancellor Hyde knowing himself to be in danger from the parliament, did all that he could to oppose that motion; and conceiving an army more useful to promote the arbitrary designs of the court, took this occasion to propose the raising of twelve thousand men. And tho' the major part of the council carried it for assembling the parliament on the 25th of the next ensuing July, and that a proclamation should be forthwith published to that end, yet the design of raising an army was not laid aside.

The Dutch admiral finding no enemies at sea, resolv'd to attack the English in their own harbours, and to that end made all sail for the river. The first English ships he saw were eight or nine outward bound merchant-men with their convoy, which upon discovery of the Holland fleet having tack'd about, he chaced them up to the Hope; but being suddenly becalmed, he was oblig'd to come to an anchor. Here he met with a storm, which ending in a favourable north-east wind, he stood towards the isle of Shepway, and being arriv'd there, he landed about eight hundred men, seized the island, and took the fort of Sheerness, a ship of war that lay for the guard of that fort, being taken by some of their great ships at the same time. Having possessed themselves of this fort, eighteen of their lesser vessels with some fire-ships, under the conduct of vice-admiral Van Ghent, sailed the next day into the river of Chatham, and notwithstanding the ships that had been sunk to hinder their passage, came up to an iron chain that traversed the river, and had been made on this occasion, fought the Mathias and Charles the fifth, which were order'd to defend it, killed most of their men, burnt the ships and broke the chain. Then passing by Upner-Castle they burnt the Mary, took the Unity and the Royal Charles, and placed their colours upon the latter in view of her master who stood on the shore, observing the effects of his prudent and vigilant government. On the third day they burnt the Royal Oak, the Royal James, and the Loyal London, with divers other smaller vessels. In this deplorable state of affairs, Monk being desirous to save the remaining ships, he caused them to be sunk in the river, and order'd five fire-ships to fall in among the Dutch fleet, but without the success he expected. In the mean time, the trained bands from all the adjacent parts were marching towards Chatham, to endeavour to prevent farther mischief by land; nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; and platforms furnished with artillery and works to defend them, were raised in divers places to hinder the enemy from coming up to London. But the Dutch, who had another game to play, having exacted a sum of money from the inhabitants of Shepway, and carried off the guns and ammunition they found at Sheerness, fell down with their fleet to the Buoy in the Nore, and Solebay; giving leisure to all parties to make their reflections upon this expedition; the court in the mean time taking hold of this occasion to colour the raising of land-forces.

These losses, and this dishonour falling upon the English, were not without effect at Breda. For their plenipotentiaries, who had hitherto

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been very ſlow in their negotiation, now applied themſelves ſo effectually to the work, that in two or three days they made a conſiderable progreſs in the treaty, and agreed to the articles that were thought to contain the greateſt difficulties. One article concerning Denmark retarded the concluſion for ſome days, the Engliſh ambaſſadors deſiring time to know the king's pleaſure in that matter. But he being compell'd to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity, order'd them to ſign all, expecting to take revenge at a more convenient time.

By this time it was manifeſt, That tho' the penſionary John de Witte, and the heer Nieuport, with one or two more, might be ſincere in their dealings with us; yet the far greater part of the ſtates and their officers had deſired our conjunction with them for no other end than to procure better terms for themſelves from our common enemy, chuſing rather to ſee a tyranny than a common-wealth eſtabliſhed in England, as knowing by experience that they could corrupt the former, and by that means poſſeſs themſelves of the moſt profitable parts of trade. And therefore having procured from the Engliſh court ſome new advantages for their commerce, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, and their moſt ſolemn proteſtations made to our friends, they agreed to articles touching the king's enemies, which were the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe of 1662. promiſing to deliver up thoſe they call regicides into the hands of the king's miniſters, or others appointed by him; and to deal with all perſons who ſhould be declared fugitives or rebels, as I have mentioned already in another place: only forſooth thoſe who flie to them for matters of conſcience ſhall not be judged to be comprehended in that article; as if the king would not be glad to clear his hands of all thoſe who have any conſcience, having preſſed them long ſince to ſhew their peaceable diſpoſition by retiring into ſome of the American plantations, where they might enjoy the liberty of their conſciences without interruption. Beſides, if he ſhould deſire to reach any perſons who might withdraw to Holland on this account, 'tis but charging them with ſome heinous crime, and then they are to be treated as rebels and fugitives. But having purchaſed the former peace with the price of blood, they reſolved to ſtrengthen the ſecond with the ſame cement. So that I think it may be concluded without injuſtice, that the Dutch had no real intention to do any good to thoſe who were oppreſſed in England, and that it was in the power of that court to make peace with them whenever they pleaſed, tho' with the ruin of thoſe who ſhould engage on their ſide. And I conceive my ſelf obliged to bleſs God for the caution I uſed in requiring them to deal plainly and openly in the things which I demanded, and they pretended to do for us, before I would join in the undertaking. If the Dutch had been neceſſitated by ill ſucceſs to accept ſuch terms as they could get from the court of England, I doubt not all the blame would have been thrown upon me; but ſince it pleaſed God to put it into their power to do us all the good imaginable, and our enemies all the hurt, 'tis paſt diſpute that the defect was altogether in their will.

Whilst theſe things were in agitation, the parliament met on the 25th of July, according to the late proclamation; and entring immediately upon the debate of the army, which they reſolv'd to break, ſpoke ſo clearly and freely touching that matter, that the court reſolv'd to give them a little interruption, hoping in that time to take off ſome of thoſe who had appeared with the greateſt warmth by ſuch means as they had in their hands, or if that deſign ſhould not ſucceed, to think upon taking new meaſures.

measures. To this end they were acquainted by the chancellor Hyde, That it was the king's pleasure they should adjourn till the 29th of the same month: but before this message came to them, they had passed a resolution, That the king should be desired forthwith to disband the army he had lately raised. The day to which they had been adjourned being come, and the house full of members, their speaker appear'd not, till the king came to the house of peers, where, having sent for the house of commons, he made a short speech touching the late peace, and then directed the chancellor to do as he had commanded; who, without any preamble told them, That it was his majesty's pleasure they should be adjourned to the tenth of October next. But for all this, some of the council had the courage to oppose these violent courses, and to advise, That the army might be disbanded according to the desire of the house of commons, that the seal should be taken from Hyde, and that the parliament should meet at the time appointed, and be left to the liberty of providing for the publick safety in their own way. Pursuant to this advice, Monk was employ'd to demand the seal of the chancellor, and embraced this occasion of revenge with joy; for the chancellor had openly blamed his conduct in presuming to attack the whole Dutch fleet the last year, whilst prince Rupert with part of the English fleet was separated from him. The chancellor refused to deliver the seal to Monk, under pretence that some men had suffered for parting with it too easily, telling him, That he would bring it to the king in council the next day, being not without hopes by his interest and presence to prevail with them to change their resolution. But his master finding himself obliged to give way to the present torrent, persisted in his demand, and having received the seal from his hands, entrusted it to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of lord-keeper.

AMONG the various reasons that were given to justify the king in abandoning the chancellor to the resentment of the people, one was, That he had countermined the king in the design he had to be divorced from the queen, under pretence that she had been pre-ingaged to another person; that she had made a vow of chastity before her marriage; and that she was incapable of having children. The person designed to fill her place, was one Mrs. Stuart, a young and beautiful lady, who had some office under the queen. The chancellor, who had procured his daughter to be married to the duke of York, and was therefore suspected of having made the match with the infanta of Portugal, that he might make way for the succession of the collateral line, sent for the duke of Richmond; and pretending to be sorry that a person of his worth, and near relation to the king should receive no marks of his favour, advised him to marry Mrs. Stuart, as the most certain way he could take to advance himself. The young man unwarily took in the bait, and credulously relying upon what the old Volpone had said, made immediate application to the young lady, who was ignorant of the king's intentions, and in a few days married her. The king being thus disappointed, and soon after informed by what means this match had been brought about, banished the duke with his new dutchess from the court, and kept his resentment against the chancellor to a more convenient opportunity.

BY letters from Paris I was informed, That the dutchess of Orleans, not at all discouraged by the unsuccessfulness of the attempts of her instruments against us, had openly declared, That she would not rest, till the design should be effected, if money would bring it about; and to

that end had employed other perſons than thoſe who had formerly endeavoured to aſſaſſinate us. Few days after, a Swiſs merchant reſiding at Lyons, coming to Vevay upon buſineſs relating to his profeſſion, acquainted me, That having obſerved an Engliſh gentleman of a reſerved carriage to have taken a lodging in a private houſe at Lyons, and finding upon inquiry that he was no trader; thinking him to be too far advanced in age to travel either for pleaſure, or to acquire experience, and diſliking the company he frequented, he began to ſuſpect him to be one of thoſe who were employed in the deſign againſt us; and being deſirous to know the truth in order to do us what ſervice he could, he ſoon found means to be introduced into his acquaintance. After two or three days converſation, the gentleman finding him to be a Swiſs, and of the canton of Friburg, inquired of him whether Vevay were within that juriſdiction, whether the Engliſh gentlemen were ſtill there, and in what number, and whether he had any acquaintance or intereſt in the place; and upon anſwer that he had many friends there, he began to make him great offers if he would enter into an engagement againſt us. He proceeded to tell me, That in order to draw out what he could of the deſign, he had objected the difficulty of the undertaking, by reaſon thoſe gentlemen were ſo conſtantly upon their guard, and ſo well beloved by all perſons in the town, that no ſtranger could come thither without being ſtrictly examined and diligently obſerv'd: beſides, that their excellencies of Bern, by ſo ſeverely puniſhing one of thoſe who had attempted to aſſaſſinate them, had ſufficiently declared to the world what uſage others might expect, who ſhould engage in ſuch an enterprize. To which the aſſaſſin made anſwer, That he was convinced there was no hope of carrying any of us off by force, or attempting againſt us in an open manner, but that the buſineſs might be done from a hedge or a wall by perſons diſguiſed; adding, That Riardo and others had fooliſhly ſquander'd away the money of the dutcheſs of Orleans; but that now the deſign was ſo well laid that it could not eaſily miſcarry. This perſon he deſcrib'd to be of a low ſtature, his hair of a dark brown beginning to turn gray, of quick apprehenſion, and of an active and ſtrong conſtitution. He informed me alſo, That tho' ſome perſons in Savoy had undertaken for a conſiderable ſum to raiſe ſuch a party of men as might ſeize us by open force; yet thoſe who had engaged them, failing to ſupply them with money according to agreement, that deſign, and all others of that nature, he believed, were totally laid aſide. He concluded with aſſuring me, That he would take pains to learn what he could of this or any other thing that might concern us, and not fail to give me timely and faithful advice of what he ſhould diſcover.

THE part in this ſcene, on which our enemies laid moſt weight, was to be acted by one Roux, a quick-witted, nimble-tongued and confident French-man, who upon recommendation from France was entertain'd at the houſe of one colonel Balthazar, in the country of Veaux, as others had been who were engaged in the ſame villanous deſign. He gave himſelf out for a conſiderable perſon, and pretended to be commiſſionated from the king of England, to treat about affairs of great importance with the four proteſtant cantons of Switzerland, and more particularly with their lordſhips of Bern. Colonel Balthazar had lived for ſome time in the Palatinate under mean circumſtances; but putting himſelf into the armies of the king of France, he in a ſhort time by plunder and rapine had accumulated great riches. Between theſe two it was concert-

ed, That colonel Weiss, a senator of Bern, whom I have had occasion to mention before, being at Geneva, by order of their excellencies, for adjusting some matters in difference between that republick and the duke of Savoy, should, after he had dispatch'd his affairs, be invited to the house of colonel Balthazar. Which being accordingly done, Roux was introduc'd into his company, and after some discourse inform'd him, That the king of England was desirous to entertain a more particular correspondence with the protestant cantons, and especially that of Bern, than he had done for the time past, if on their part they would make him the compliment to desire it by an agent to be sent into England on that account, and preliminary to this treaty, would withdraw their protection from those who had contributed to the death of his father; expressing himself amaz'd that their excellencies should favour those whom France and the Low-Countries had deliver'd up, and all other nations had abandon'd. An account of this business being sent to Bern, was imparted by Mr. treasurer Steiger, to our true friend Mr. John Henry Humelius, with advice to inform me forthwith of what was doing. In the mean time, Roux made it his business wheresoever he came, to endeavour by aspersions to render us odious, and to justify those who had kill'd Mr. Lisle at Lausanna, affirming they had been most liberally rewarded both in England and France, and that the king of England wanted not means to gratify all those who should do him service. Of this I had certain and speedy information by divers persons, who at several times had heard these and the like discourses from Roux; which I may not let pass without observing, that what he said concerning those who murder'd Mr. Lisle was so far from being true, that one of them died not long after he had committed that villany, in extreme want, at a mean lodging in Westminster: and the other, tho' advanc'd to be a captain in France, complain'd of the ingratitude of those who had employ'd them, protesting they had never receiv'd any other reward than three hundred pistoles from the dutchess of Orleans, of which two hundred had been spent in laying the design, and waiting an occasion of putting it in execution.

Roux having inform'd himself as well as he could of things in these parts, address'd himself to some of the government of Zurich, pretending to be sent from the king of England with a commission to propose that the four protestant cantons would enter into the alliance lately made by the king of England, the states of Holland, and the crown of Sweden, for securing the peace between the kings of Spain and France. Which proposition being communicated to the council, they having been inform'd concerning the pretended agent, and the condition annex'd to his business, "That their excellencies of Bern should abandon the English," refus'd him audience, under pretext that he had not any letters of credence, which he would have perswaded them he had left at a place in Burgundy call'd St. Claud. Having met with this cold reception at Zurich, he resolv'd to make tryal of the government of Bern; and accordingly procur'd one of their number to acquaint them with his propositions; but they us'd him more roughly, and order'd the person he had engag'd to inform them of his business, to let him know, That they approv'd neither of his person, nor of his propositions, and that he might return by the same way he came. Yet all this was not enough to check the impudence of this fellow. For upon the return of colonel Weiss from Geneva, (who had left the differences between that state and the duke of Savoy in a

fair

fair way of accommodation) he attack'd him again, in hopes by his means to procure ſome intereſt at Bern; proteſting that the king of England had a great deſire to enter into a more particular alliance with that canton than any other, provided they would deliver thoſe who had adjudg'd his father to death into his hands, or at leaſt withdraw the protection they had granted to them, tempting him with aſſurances, That whoever ſhould carry the news of their concurrence to the king, ſhould receive fifty thouſand crowns for a gratuity. To which the colonel made anſwer with more than ordinary indignation, That he could not think of the propoſition without horror, that it was derogatory to the honour of their excellencies, and that it was not the cuſtom of the Swiſs to betray thoſe who had put themſelves under their protection. This attempt was ſeconded by a letter pretended to be written from the court of England, by one who would be thought a great friend to the Swiſs intereſt, dated in Auguſt 1668. and addreſs'd to one of the Syndics of Geneva, in order to be communicated to the governors of Bern. Having obtain'd a ſight of this paper, I found in it the following words:

" YOU are deſir'd to give immediate notice to the lords of Bern,
" That their enemies have endeavour'd to perſwade his majeſty,
" that they have neither the reſpect nor affection for his perſon, that he
" might juſtly expect for them; that they have not only taken the mur-
" derers of the late king into their protection, but have publickly ho-
" nour'd them with extraordinary favours. This report I have endea-
" vour'd to diſcredit, even in the preſence of the perſon who kill'd Mr.
" Liſle at Lauſanna, aſſuring his majeſty, that if any ſuch perſons were
" within the territories of Bern, the government was not inform'd of
" their crimes; and that I firmly believed, if his majeſty ſhould deſire
" it, they would not only baniſh them, but deliver them up, as the
" Hollanders had done, to receive the juſt puniſhment of ſo horrible a
" crime.

Upon this letter, and other artifices us'd by our enemies, colonel Balthazar openly gave out, that this would be the laſt year of our reſidence at Vevay; but their excellencies of Bern having perus'd the letter, and finding no name ſubſcrib'd, concluded it to be written by ſome mercenary fellow, who had been hir'd to that purpoſe; and ſome of them did us the favour to promiſe that they would endeavour to find out the authors of the contrivance. Colonel Weiſs alſo ſent to inform me of the late converſation he had with Roux, and to aſſure us, that tho' he had been deluded into a good opinion of him, by the falſe pretences of Balthazar; yet being ſufficiently convinc'd of his miſtake, he ſhould be always ready to ſerve us to the utmoſt of his power, and would anſwer, that general D'Erlach ſhould alſo do the ſame, with as many of the ſenate as he could make to be our friends. Theſe aſſurances were accompany'd with a meſſage from the advoyer, by one captain Bartholomeo Turene, who had been an active officer in the defence of his country-men of the vallies of Piedmont, againſt the tyranny of the duke of Savoy. The contents of this meſſage were to let us know, that tho' we might have ſome enemies, yet we had many more friends at Bern; promiſing to continue his care of us, and to do his beſt to defeat the deſigns of our enemies.

ABOUT the ſame time, Mr. treaſurer Steiger coming to Vevay about the publick affairs, made us another viſit, and did us the honour to dine

at

at our quarters, accompany'd by the bailiff of the town, and other principal perſons of the country. In this converſation he inform'd us, That when application was made to their excellencies, that they would appoint ſome perſons to treat with Roux, or at leaſt give him an audience, he had taken the liberty to ſay in the council, That tho' there were no ground to ſuſpect him of ill deſigns, as there were but too much, and that the king of England ſhould ſend to them with all the ceremony and forms requiſite to deſire them to withdraw their protection from us, he could never prevail with himſelf to give his conſent to ſuch a reſolution; becauſe the protection having been granted after ſerious deliberation, and the Engliſh gentlemen having done nothing to forfeit their excellencies favour, it ought in his opinion to be eſteem'd ſacred. He told us, That the perſon who had mov'd the council to take Roux's buſineſs into conſideration, had been publickly reprimanded for his forwardneſs in that matter; and that their excellencies had refus'd to receive an agent from the king of England to reſide among them, returning for anſwer, That they had no buſineſs with that king for the preſent; but if at any time they ſhould have affairs to treat with him, they would addreſs themſelves by their own miniſters.

Roux having met with the repulſes above-mention'd, and receiving information from the bailiff of Nyon, That monſieur Gabriel de Dieſbach, at that time bailiff of the juriſdiction of Vevay, had threatned to treat him according to his merits if he ſhould preſume to come within his power, retir'd to St. Claud, in the free county of Burgundy; having made great complaints of the uſage he had received at Bern and Zurich; boaſting of his correſpondencies with the miniſters of Sweden and Holland, as well as of his preſent employment from the king of England, and ſhewing letters from Don Diego de Caſtel-Rodrigo, governor of Flanders, to the governor of the county of Burgundy, deſiring him to furniſh money and whatever might be neceſſary to his undertaking. From hence he went to Geneva, and was there ſeen frequently in the company of a certain ſtranger, who, by the deſcription we receiv'd of his perſon, we found to be the ſame that had been for ſome time at Lyons, and of whom I had an account by the Swiſs merchant of Friburg. After a ſhort ſtay at Geneva, he returned to St. Claud, and appearing in better equipage than he had formerly done, he ſent one of his companions to the bailiff of Nyon to inform him, That having received freſh inſtructions from the king of England, he had propoſitions to make to their excellencies of Bern, which would be of great advantage to their republick, particularly in the way of trade; deſiring leave to be admitted to impart the heads of his negociation to him. The bailiff who had been ſufficiently inform'd touching his perſon and deſigns, ſoon diſmiſs'd his meſſenger with this anſwer, That being abundantly ſatisfy'd, his principal errant was to attempt ſomething againſt thoſe Engliſh gentlemen, whom their excellencies had taken into their protection, and were reſolved to defend, he would have nothing to do with him. But this proving not ſufficient to oblige him to deſiſt, he ſent his meſſenger a ſecond time to the bailiff, to propoſe that he would ſurrender himſelf into the hands of the government of Bern for caution, that he intended no miſchief to our perſons; but indeed confeſſed, That being charg'd by the king of England with propoſitions to thoſe of Bern, tending highly to their advantage, he ſhould not conſult the honour of his maſter, by treating with them, whilſt his moſt dangerous and avow'd enemies were openly protected in their territories. Which being in effect

the ſame with what he had ſaid before, the bailiff contented himſelf to return the ſame anſwer, and immediately diſpatch'd his ſon-in-law to give me notice of what had paſs'd, and to adviſe me, tho' there ſeem'd to be little probability of his daring to attempt us openly, and that Balthazar would not be thought to correſpond with him, yet that we would be upon our guard againſt the private deſigns of both.

In the mean time monſieur Mouliere, who was then reſident for the king of France in Switzerland, having receiv'd information from ſome perſons (as I think I have reaſon to believe) that wiſh'd well to us, That this Roux, tho' a native of France, had ſollicited the cantons to enter into meaſures prejudicial to that king's intereſt, he preſently diſpatch'd advice of what he had heard to the court; upon which orders were given to one monſieur Martel, who had ſerv'd under the mareſchal Turenne, to ſurpriſe and ſeize him. Martel having travers'd the country for ſome months, before he could find an opportunity to compaſs his deſign, at laſt fell acquainted with and eaſily corrupted a prieſt of St. Claud, who was a great confident of Roux, procuring him to ſend a meſſenger to Balthazar's houſe, where Roux then was, with a letter to invite him to the houſe of another prieſt at Rouſſaire, on the frontier of Burgundy, where he promiſed a great regale ſhould be provided for his entertainment. Roux would by no means diſappoint his friend the prieſt, and therefore attended only by one ſervant, and the prieſt's man, he ſet forward in the morning, that he might reach the place of appointment in convenient time. But Martel with his party having placed themſelves in the way by which he was to paſs, as ſoon as he ſaw him approaching, rode up to him and ſeized him. Roux his ſervant made his eſcape and left his maſter to ſhift for himſelf. But the prieſt's man who was ignorant of the deſign, ſuppoſing them to be robbers, made what reſiſtance he could, and received a ſhot in the ſhoulder of which he died in a few days at Nyon. Roux being thus ſeized, Martel order'd his hands to be tied to the pommel of the ſaddle, and his feet under the horſe's belly, and in this poſture carried him off. As they paſſed by the abbey of Beaumont, which is ſituated within the territories of Bern, he began to call for aid, but a handkerchief being preſently put into his mouth, his voice was not heard. In three days they arrived at Lyons, and ſecured their priſoner in the caſtle of Pierre en Scize, where after he had remained ſome days, he was tranſported to Paris, and impriſoned in the Baſtile.

For this ſervice the king of France rewarded monſieur Martel with a thouſand piſtoles in money, and a promiſe of the firſt company that ſhould be vacant in his guards. The ſecond perſon in this party received ſix hundred piſtoles, and a promiſe of a foot company. The reſt had fifty piſtoles a man, and aſſurances of preferment according to their capacity. During the confinement of Roux, monſieur De Lyonne, ſecretary of ſtate, went frequently to him in the priſon; but tho' it had been reported that he had contributed much to the making of the league called the tripple alliance, yet he could draw nothing from him concerning any negotiations in which, 'twas ſaid, he had been concerned. Only he told him, that he had things of great importance to diſcover, which he reſolved not to communicate to any perſon but the king. In the mean time deſpairing of life, and dreading the puniſhment of the wheel with which he had been threatned, he gave himſelf a wound in the ſmall guts with a kniſe he had procured from one of his keepers; hoping by that means and an obſtinate refraining from eating, he might put an end to his fears. On the 21ſt

of June finding himself very weak, and as he thought almost ready to expire, he sent to acquaint monsieur De Lyonne with his condition, and to let him know that he had hesitated too long. Upon this the secretary went immediately to the king, and having informed him of the message he had received from Roux, the king sent one of his physicians to him; who returning with all possible expedition, and representing the danger he was in, a letter was immediately drawn by monsieur Colbert, signed by the king, and directed to the lieutenant-criminal to proceed without delay to his trial. Being brought before his judges, the witnesses deposed, that he had said, there were thirty Ravaillac's in France, which the king should find before the next August; with other things tending to prove that he had engaged in designs against the king's person. But he denied all, and refused, as before, to make any discovery of the things he knew, unless to the king himself. He was condemned upon the evidence to be broken alive on the wheel, and afterwards to be thrown into the common shore for endeavouring to kill himself in the prison; which sentence was order'd to be put in execution at the end of the Pont Neuf; but by reason of his weakness it was performed before the prison of the Chastellette, whither he had been removed from the Bastile. This Roux alias Font-covert, and St. Marcelle, was a native of Nismes in the province of Languedoc, and had been a spy for the court in the time of cardinal Mazarin; for which service he had been rewarded with a patent for licensing stage-coaches and other publick carriages in the said province. But the cardinal upon some information having suppressed that grant, and remov'd his brother from another employment, he became so discontented, that he quitted the kingdom, and procur'd himself to be naturaliz'd in Holland. During his imprisonment, Spain, Holland and Switzerland demanded him of the king of France; the first, because he was employ'd in their service; the Hollander for the same reason, and on account of his naturalization; the Swiss, only to lay claim to their right, he having been seized within their jurisdiction. But the court of England was by this time become so intirely French, that they said not one word in his behalf.

Our friends at Bern, according to their accustomed vigilance, gave us notice that a certain Englishman going by the name of Thomas Schugar, had applied himself to some of the magistrates, to procure them to recommend him to teach the mathematicks in that place, pretending to have been converted first from Popery to Lutheranism, and then from that to Calvinism, acknowledging that he had been a priest and a servant to the queen-mother of England, and that he had been in arms for the late king to the year 1646. at which time, upon the dissipation of that party, he had transported himself beyond the seas, and continued abroad till the year 1660. They described him to be of low stature, ill looks, speaking seven or eight languages, and that he was very inquisitive after the English gentlemen, who had put themselves under their excellencies protection. This person, under pretext that he could find no employment at Bern, came to Vevay, and used all possible means to become acquainted with some of our company, denying to them that he had ever been either a papist, priest, or servant to the queen-mother. But being told that we had too good information from Bern to doubt of that matter, he finding himself suspected, and therefore not likely to succeed in his designs departed from Vevay the next morning after this discourse. We understood afterwards that passing by Ausburg he had been entertained

eight or ten days at the houſe of Mr. Oliver St. Johns, who had been formerly chief juſtice of the common-pleas in England, and that having gotten the name of the perſon by whoſe means he received his letters, he had procured his correſpondence to be interrupted; which cauſed us to ſuſpect that he had found means to ſerve us in the like manner, our intercourſe with England being for ſome months wholly cut off 'till we had taken new meaſures to renew it.

About this time Henrietta Maria, queen-mother of England, and aunt to the preſent king of France, having been formerly an active inſtrument in contriving and fomenting the long and bloody civil war in England, and encouraging the barbarous maſſacre of the proteſtants in Ireland; and more lately from a ſpirit of revenge and malice, a principal adviſer of the cruelties acted in England upon the alteration of the government, died at Paris. Her diſtemper at firſt ſeem'd not to be dangerous, but upon taking ſomething preſcrib'd by the phyſicians to procure ſleep, the potion operated in ſuch a manner that ſhe wak'd no more. She receiv'd threeſcore thouſand pounds yearly from England, and yet left many and great debts unpaid. She was our particular enemy, and had conſtantly favour'd the deſigns that had been carried on againſt our lives.

The parliament in England having been prorogu'd for about eighteen months, met on the 20th of October, and the houſe of commons being ſent for to the lords houſe, after the king had acquainted them with his joy to ſee them again after ſo long abſence, he deſir'd they would conſider his debts, and exhorted both houſes to union. Which laſt admonition was thought to ariſe from a pamphlet that had been publiſh'd by the lord Hollis, touching the caſe of one Mr. Skynner a merchant of London, againſt the Eaſt-India company, in which diſcourſe he ſeem'd to out-do the higheſt of all thoſe who had ever written for the privileges of the lords. This was a ſtrange reverſe of the medal; eſpecially to thoſe, who knew, that when he was a member of the houſe of commons, he had ſo far deſpis'd the privileges of the lords, that at a conference between the two houſes, in which the lords ſhew'd themſelves unwilling to comply with the commons, he had openly ſaid, that if they perſiſted to refuſe their concurrence, the commons would do the thing in diſpute without them. However, one of the members of the houſe of commons anſwer'd Hollis's pamphlet with ſuch force and ſharpneſs, that upon debate they came to three reſolutions to this effect: that divers things affirm'd in his book were falſe and ſcandalous: that from this time the lords ſhall never originally intermeddle with the cauſe of any commoner: and that what the lords have done in the buſineſs of Mr. Skynner ſhall be razed out of their books. Theſe votes being carry'd to the lords for their approbation, they return'd for anſwer, That they would ſhortly ſend them a bill touching this matter.

The king of France having reſolv'd to viſit his late acquiſitions in the Low-Countries, put himſelf at the head of a great body of troops to that purpoſe; of which the ſtates of Holland having receiv'd information, and that the dutcheſs of Orleans would accompany the king to the ſea-coaſt, and then paſs over to meet her brother at Dover, they began not only to diſlike the perſonal neighbourhood of the king of France, but vehemently to ſuſpect that this interview was deſign'd to unite the two kings againſt them. And that they might not be wanting to themſelves in this conjuncture, they immediately diſpatch'd an ambaſſador to

complement

complement the king of France in his progress, and sent the heer Van Beuningen into England, to endeavour to dissipate the clouds that threatned from that side. The court of France, who were not ignorant of the designs carry'd on by the king of England, to subvert the laws and liberties of the English nation; and well understood how much the establishment of an arbitrary power in the crown would contribute to weaken that force which had been so formidable under a free government, had instructed the dutchess of Orleans not only to offer money to her brother, in case the usual way of supplying his luxury by parliamentary aids should fail, but also to give him assurances of whatever number of forces he should judge requisite to render the monarchy absolute and uncontroll'd. To these she herself had added another argument to be propos'd, no less prevalent where it was to be apply'd than the former. For she had in her train one Mrs. Queroualle, of a family in Low-Britany, who, besides her French education and carriage, was young, and had pass'd in France for a great beauty. With such baits the monarch was easily taken, and for this tinsel ware was contented to barter the affections and good of the people, together with the quiet of almost all Europe. Puff'd up with success the dutchess returns to Paris, and found such a reception from the king as so great services seem'd to deserve. But her husband the duke of Orleans, either upon suspicion of her too great familiarity with her brother, or of some other gallantry, to which she was not a little inclin'd, did not shew himself so well contented with her negotiation. However it was, she being at St. Cloud, a palace belonging to the duke, few weeks after her return, having taken a glass of limonade, or other cooling liquor, was suddenly seized with such violent convulsions that she died at two of the clock the next morning.

The death of the dutchess of Orleans being signify'd to the king her brother, he at first seem'd to be highly dissatisfy'd with the conduct of her husband, and full of suspicion that she had been us'd in a manner not uncommon among princes. But having resolv'd that nothing should disturb the measures lately taken between the two courts, he soon cool'd, and sent the duke of Buckingham with the character of his ambassador to the court of France, in appearance to condole with them for the death of the dutchess, but indeed to confirm the late agreement made at Dover, and to concert the methods of pursuing their design. The duke was receiv'd with all possible demonstrations of esteem and favour. The forces about Paris were exercis'd in his presence; balls and comedies were prepar'd to divert him; the king gave him divers rich presents, and made a publick feast on the day of St. Louis, principally on his account. Soon after his arrival, things began to proceed vigorously. A great sum of money was sent into England; the French army was order'd to break up, and to march towards the new conquests; draught-horses were bought, and dispatch'd to them with all expedition, and no man doubted any longer either of the league between France and England, or of their intentions to employ their joint forces against the common-wealth of Holland. The Dutch ambassador at Paris was so alarm'd with this news, that he went in great haste to monsieur de Lyonne, and desir'd to be inform'd whether the French army were to be employ'd against his masters. But the secretary assur'd him there was no ground for any such apprehensions, and that if those troops were us'd in an expedition, the storm would fall far enough from their territories. And accordingly the mareschal de Crequi at the head of about twenty

five thouſand men enter'd Lorrain, ſeiz'd Nancy, and all the places that lay on his way, and was within half an hour of ſurprizing the duke himſelf at Eſpinal. The French king pretended for the reaſon of this ſudden invaſion, that the duke of Lorrain had, contrary to a late treaty, fortify'd ſome of his own towns, and had endeavour'd in a clandeſtine manner to be admitted into the triple alliance; declaring that he intended not to retain the dutchy in his poſſeſſion, but deſigned to put it into the hands of ſome other perſon of the Lorrain family who ſhould be more worthy. In the mean time the mareſchal de Crequi having driven the duke out of his territories, publiſhed an order, forbidding his ſubjects to yield him obedience; commanding thoſe who had been in arms for him, to quit his ſervice, and to put themſelves into that of the king, and requiring all orders of men in that country to do homage and ſwear allegiance to him, under pain of death and confiſcation of eſtate.

The duke of Lorrain being in this manner diſpoſſeſs'd of his dutchy, without any preceding declaration of war on the part of France, fill'd all Europe with his complaints, and diſpatch'd a miniſter to the king of England, to deſire his good offices with the French king in this conjuncture; which he thought he had no reaſon to doubt, on account of the obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to ſerve him with his perſon and troops during the time of his exile. But inſtead of the favour expected, his miniſter received no other anſwer, than that he was ſorry for what had happened, and that the preſent violence, like the miſchiefs of a ſudden inundation, muſt be endured at this time.

The duke of Buckingham, after he had finiſhed the buſineſs of his embaſſy and received many extraordinary favours and preſents of great value from the king of France, return'd to England; ſoon after which, in order to find new pretences of breaking with the Dutch, a meſſage was ſent to the Engliſh miniſter reſiding at the Hague to demand the ſurrender of cornet Joyce, who having formerly, by command of the army, ſeized the late king at Holmby, where he was treating with the parliaments commiſſioners, had ſince the late revolution withdrawn himſelf from the fury of his enemies, and retired with his family to Roterdam. The pretext uſed by the court of England to colour this demand was, That Joyce being told that a ſhot had been lately made at the king, anſwered, That tho' that had miſs'd, another might prove more ſucceſsful; to which they added, That they had received information that he had actually engaged himſelf in a deſign againſt the preſent government in England. By this means they hoped it would come to paſs, either that the ſtates by refuſing to deliver him according to an article of the late treaty, might juſtly be charged with breaking the peace; or by ſurrendring his perſon, would totally diſoblige the common-wealth party, and make them leſs averſe to the intended war. Purſuant to his inſtructions the miniſter of England makes his demand; and the ſtates perceiving the ſnare that was laid for them, immediately ſigned an order to the magiſtrates of Roterdam for ſeizing the cornet, and delivered it into his hands: but ſo contrived the matter, that the officers who were appointed to take him in cuſtody, walked ſo long before his door, that he had time to go out by a back way, and by that means made his eſcape.

Our ancient and hearty friend Mr. treaſurer Steiger falling into a paralytical diſtemper, of which he ſoon after died, ſurrendered his employments into the hands of their excellencies, and one monſieur Velden was choſen to ſucceed him, who being well informed of the many favours

vours we had received from his predeceſſor, aſſured us upon his firſt journey into our parts, that he would do us all the good offices that ſhould be in his power, and would be as careful of our concernments as the late treaſurer had been. And here I may not omit, that one La Rue of Lyons, who had been engaged with Du Pre in his attempt to aſſaſſinate us, having ſome acquaintance with monſieur Du Four a merchant of Geneva, wrote a letter to let him know that he had heartily repented of that action, and would be more ready to ſerve us for the future than he had been to take part in ſo baſe a deſign. He informed him alſo that the Iriſhman, who had paſs'd under the name of Riardo, and was one of the principal inſtruments that were employed againſt us by the dutcheſs of Orleans, had lately been at Lyons, and had told him, that if he had known how many well-wiſhers I had among the beſt of his friends, he would not have enter'd into any engagement againſt me; that he had quitted the ſervice of the king of England on account of his ingratitude, and that he deſired above all things to have my good opinion, and to keep a conſtant correſpondence with me; that he had been with Mr. Richard Cromwell, where he had met with ſo good reception, that he had reſolved never more to apply himſelf to the court, and that he would ſerve the honeſt party in England with the laſt drop of his blood; all which being communicated to me by monſieur Du Four, I concluded, that Riardo (if not La Rue alſo) deſigned, according to the beſt of his underſtanding, to act the devil's part, firſt to enſnare and then to accuſe.

In the mean time colonel Balthazar who had entertained this Riardo at his houſe whilſt the deſign of our aſſaſſination was forming, and had received Roux alſo with the ſame familiarity, finding himſelf diſappointed in the hopes he had conceived and openly publiſhed of our removal from Vevay, reſolved to take new meaſures, and to employ artifices to perſuade their excellencies to withdraw their protection from us. To this end he went to commiſſary-general Godart, who was a member of the council of Bern, and pretending to have received letters from England, informed him, That the ambaſſador of the duke of Savoy then in that court, had offered to the commiſſioners appointed to treat with him, that if the king of England would by his intereſt and other means, endeavour to procure the reſtitution of ſuch places as were kept from him by the canton of Bern, his maſter would undertake to deliver us dead or alive into his hands. The commiſſary-general coming to Vevay by order of their excellencies to terminate ſome matters in diſpute between the baron de Chaſteler and his tenants, was pleaſed to give me an account of this buſineſs; and upon conference we agreed, that there was no probability of any ſuch offers made, for many reaſons, and particularly that the duke had refuſed to countenance the deſign againſt us, when he had been ſollicited by Riardo and others to that purpoſe; concluding it to be a contrivance of Balthazar to perſwade the government that the favour extended to us might prove prejudicial to the publick ſafety. But he who had endeavoured to bring us into danger, could not without difficulty preſerve himſelf. For the court of France upon information that Roux, who had been executed at Paris, as I have already related, had left his papers in Balthazar's houſe, ſent a party of between twenty or thirty horſe into the Pais de Gex, who hovering about that country for ſome time put him into ſo great a fright that he burnt the papers. He had at firſt ſlighted the report; but being informed by one Beauregard his wife's brother, that ſome of them were the ſame who had aſſiſted monſieur

Martel in ſeizing Roux, he made the beſt proviſion he could for his defence.

As the memory of thoſe men whoſe lives have been remarkable for great and generous actions, ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity with the praiſes they have deſerved, that others may be excited to the imitation of their virtues: 'tis as juſt that the names of thoſe who have render'd themſelves deteſtable by the baſeneſs of their crimes, ſhould be recorded, that men may be deterr'd from treading in their ſteps, leſt they draw upon themſelves the ſame infamy. For this reaſon I think it neceſſary to inſert in this place the true names of ſome of thoſe aſſaſſins who were employ'd by the court of England, and others to take away our lives, as I received them from an Engliſh gentleman who was well acquainted with their affairs, and who having paſſed ſome time in Italy, made me a viſit at Vevay in his return to England. He aſſured me that the villain who murder'd Mr. Liſle by ſhooting him into the back, is an Iriſhman, and named O Croli; that the name of his companion, who waited with a freſh horſe to carry him off, is Cotter, and that he is a native of the ſame country; that the aſſaſſin who goes under the name of Riardo is alſo an Iriſhman, and his true name Mac Carty, who having murder'd one colonel Dillon his countryman at Paris, had been puniſhed with death, if the queen-mother of England had not interceded for him and procured his pardon, for the good ſervices he had already done, and others that he promiſed to do for the time to come. Which favour that he might farther merit, he went into Holland ſoon after he was diſcharged from priſon, where he attempted to aſſaſſinate one Mr. William Carr, who having been a ſervant to the king, had taken liberty to write ſome things that diſpleaſed the court, and on that account had been obliged to retire from England.

The king of France making great preparations for war, obtained a new levy of Switzers from the cantons, and procured ſix thouſand men to be raiſed in England to be imploy'd in his ſervice. And that he might divide the ſtrength of the empire, and render them uncapable of aſſiſting the Hollanders when he ſhould think fit to attack them, he ſent an agent into Hungary to foment the diſcontents of that people who had been invaded in their privileges, and perſecuted for religion by the influence of the emperor's bigotted council. He cauſed his brother the duke of Orleans to marry the daughter of the elector Palatine, and on that account made many large promiſes to that prince which were never performed. He tamper'd with divers other princes of Germany; and knowing that the elector of Cologn had a deſign to ſeize and ſubvert the rights and privileges of that city, he tempted him with offers of his aſſiſtance. The court of England on their part recalled Sir William Temple from his employment in Holland, ſuſpecting him not to favour the French intereſt, but rather to be zealouſly inclined to maintain the triple alliance which they were reſolved to break, and ſent Downing to ſupply his place, who was a much fitter inſtrument to carry on the deſigns they had on foot. And ſince my ſubject has led me to ſpeak of this gentleman, I muſt here acknowledge, that tho' Downing had acted contrary to his faith, former pretences and obligations, in betraying our friends, as I mentioned before; yet none of thoſe who remained in Holland, or afterwards retired thither, were ever moleſted during his miniſtry, which was as much as could reaſonably be expected from a perſon in his poſt. To this was added an attempt, which for the ſingularity of the thing

deſerves

deserves to be remember'd. For upon notice that a considerable number of Dutch men of war were riding in the channel, the king to procure by any means some pretences for the intended war, gave orders to the commander of a yacht to pass through the fleet, and to oblige the admiral to take down his flag. The captain, pursuant to his instructions, sets sail with his yacht, and encountering the whole dutch fleet, who would not be brought to take down the flag, falls upon them and fired on all sides till his powder and ball was quite spent. But the Dutch well understanding the design of this insult, chose rather to suffer patiently the tearing of their tackle, than to return one shot. Thus they endeavoured by all means to keep fair weather with their neighbours: and that they might prevent the city of Cologn from falling into the hands of those who might make use of it to their prejudice, they treated with the magistrates of that place, and finding them disposed to receive their assistance, they sent them a regiment of foot commanded by colonel Bampfield.

The canton of Bern having raised two thousand four hundred men for the service of the king of France in twelve companies, proceeded to nominate the officers that were to command ten of them, leaving to that king the nomination of officers for the other two, according to the agreement made between them. They stipulated in their treaty, That none of their forces should be employ'd against any people of the reformed religion; which condition was readily accepted by the king of France, who knew that if he should break with the king of Spain or the emperor, he might use the protestant Switzers against them, whilst those that were furnished by the popish cantons should be employ'd against the Dutch. This contract with France was made without consulting the other cantons, and at a lower rate than had been settled by the last treaty with that crown; on which last account chiefly some members of this union shewed themselves much disgusted. But upon the whole matter, tho' I have heard many arguments brought to justify the way used by the Switzers for keeping their people continually exercised to arms, yet it were to be wish'd, that some means might be found to cause this traffick to cease, and to persuade those who have authority, to examine the justice of every cause in which they engage, and not to suffer their subjects to make a trade of war. The king of France was much displeased with the government of Zurich for refusing to permit any levies of men to be made among them at this time; but he sent letters of thanks to those of Bern for their ready compliance with his demands, confirming what had been promised on his part, and offering (as they had desired) his mediation to compose the differences between them and the bishop of Basle, with assurances of his assistance to constrain the bishop to accept reasonable conditions. He promised to maintain them in possession of the Pais de Veaux, and to pay all the arrears of pensions that should appear to be due to any of them.

In the mean time the Dutch with the utmost diligence prepare to send out their fleet. They nominated Michael Adrian de Ruyter to be their admiral, and the heer Cornelius de Wit to be commissioner for the states at sea, allowing a guard of twelve halberdiers to attend his person. They hoped to prevent the conjunction of the English and French fleets, but could not: for the English having notice that the count D'Estrees, who commanded the French, was arrived with his ships at the Isle of Wight, found means to join them in that road, yet not without the loss of one

of their frigates which carried thirty eight guns, and was taken by the Zelandia, almoſt without reſiſtance, the ſeamen being generally unwilling to be employ'd in this war. On the ſeventh of June 1672. the two fleets engaged near Solebay, the French ſquadron againſt admiral Bankart; the Engliſh blue ſquadron commanded by the earl of Sandwich, againſt the heer Van Ghent admiral of Amſterdam; and the red ſquadron commanded by the duke of York, againſt the Dutch admiral de Ruyter. The fight was bloody, and continued from eight in the morning to ſun-ſet. The French behaved themſelves as if they deſired to be ſpectators rather than actors in this tragedy: the duke of York was obliged to ſhift his ſhip, either becauſe ſhe was diſabled, or the better to provide for his own ſafety. But the greateſt loſs fell upon the blue ſquadron; the admiral of which was burnt by a Dutch fireſhip, the earl of Sandwich drown'd, many voluntiers and officers killed, with a great number of private ſeamen. On the Dutch ſide, the admiral of Amſterdam, the vice-admiral of Zealand, and captain Brakel were killed. Three of De Wit's guard were ſhot by his ſide, and a fourth loſt both his legs by a cannon ball. After this fight the French ſet ſail for Breſt, and the Engliſh retired into port, leaving the Dutch maſters at ſea for that time.

The ſtates of Holland well knowing that the alliance between the Engliſh court and the king of France was not at all pleaſing to the people of England, publiſhed a declaration, to ſhew that they had been conſtrained to make war againſt the king and his private council, who had deſigned and endeavoured to deprive them of their commerce and liberty, and to render the crown of England abſolute and independent. But that they were ready to conſent that the people of England might trade freely either with them or others. They diſcharged and ſet at liberty ſuch ſhips, men and merchandize belonging to the Engliſh nation, as they had ſeized in their ports, in requital of the attempt made by the court of England to ſurprize their homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, before any declaration of war had been publiſhed againſt them. Theſe things obliged the king to promiſe reſtitution of what had been unjuſtly taken from the Dutch before the date of the ſaid declaration. But whatever advantages the Dutch might have by ſea, they were infinitely over-balanced by their loſſes at land.

The king of France having drawn together one hundred and twenty thouſand effective men, divided them into three bodies: the firſt, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand, he took under his own peculiar command. At the head of the ſecond, which was of forty thouſand, he placed the prince of Conde; and gave about ten thouſand men more to the count of Chamilly to ſerve as a flying camp. All theſe forces directing their march towards Maſtricht, a council of war was held in the king's quarters, and a debate ariſing about beſieging that place, it was adjudged to be an enterprize ſo full of hazard and difficulty by reaſon of the numerous garriſon and good fortifications about the town, that they reſolved to turn their march towards the Rhine, where the places were not in ſo good condition. Yet it was thought convenient to leave Chamilly near Tongeren to prevent the excurſions of the garriſon of Maſtricht, which was done. The two armies commanded by the king and prince of Conde marched ſeveral days without ſeeing an enemy, except only about two hundred men who had intrenched themſelves on the ſide of the Rhine, and rendered themſelves priſoners after little reſiſtance. From thence

thence the prince of Conde was ſent to beſiege Weſel, whilſt the king beſieged Orſoy, and the mareſchal Turenne Burick. Theſe three ſieges being undertaken at the ſame time cauſed a general alarum. But when they ſaw that Orſoy had hardly held out twenty four hours, and that Burick and Weſel had been ſurrendered in little more than the ſame time, the conſternation greatly increaſed. The governor of Weſel, which was accounted a ſtrong place, was ſentenced to loſe his head; but having ſome friends about the prince of Orange, the executioner was order'd only to paſs the ſword over him. The count Deſtrades was, in conſideration of his ſervices and particular correſpondencies in Holland, made governor of this place. Reez, Emerick, Beavize, and Dedekom, follow'd the example; and an Iriſhman who commanded at Rhijnberg, finding himſelf beſieg'd by the king of France, was ſo frighted, that he delivered the town without a ſhot; and was afterwards beheaded for his cowardice. The king deſigning to paſs the Yſſel, in order to attack the places on the other ſide of that river, communicated his deſign to the prince of Conde and to the mareſchal de Turenne, who having diſſwaded him from the attempt as too dangerous, it was reſolved to try to paſs the Rhine, which they thought more practicable. In purſuance of this reſolution, they procured the beſt advice they could get, and were informed by a betrayer of his country, that there was a place where the water was low and the paſſage ſafe: which being tried and found to be according to the information, the king expreſſed more than ordinary ſatisfaction, becauſe he could as well enter the country that way as by the Yſſel, and fall upon the enemies rear. The Dutch ſuſpecting this place, had already ſent an officer to ſecure the paſſage; but he finding himſelf too weak, abandoned the poſt with the approbation of the ſtates deputies; and lieutenant general Wurtz was ſent by the prince of Orange with a greater force. By this means much time was loſt, and the king of France had leiſure to erect batteries, which gall'd the horſe of Wurtz in ſuch a manner, that they found themſelves obliged to ſhelter in the woods. All things being prepared by the French, part of a regiment of horſe paſſed the river, and were received ſo warmly by Wurtz, that they were forced back into the water: but being ſeconded by more of their companions, they ſoon became ſtrong enough to make good their ground, and to put the Dutch horſe to flight. However in this paſſage the duke of Longueville nephew to the prince of Conde was killed, and the prince himſelf wounded in the wriſt by a muſket-ball. After this the French took the caſtle of Tolhuys, and laid a bridge of boats over the Rhine; which ſo terrified the Dutch, that they abandoned all their intrenchments: ſo that the king, who had deſigned to attack them, finding that work over, repaſſed the river, and ſent the mareſchal Turenne to command the prince of Conde's army during his abſence. Then the king reſolved to paſs the Yſſel, and was not a little ſurprized to find the paſſage ſo eaſy, and quite otherwiſe than had been repreſented to him. Having beſieg'd and taken Doeſburg, deputies arrived in his camp from Utrecht, offering to deliver the town and dependencies. The duke of Orleans took Zutphen in Gelderland; and the king himſelf advanced to Utrecht, having ſent a lieutenant-general with ſome troops to take poſſeſſion before. Here he received the Dutch ambaſſadors who were ſent by the ſtates to know upon what terms he would treat. In the mean time the mareſchal Turenne poſſeſſed himſelf of Arnheim the fort of Knotſemburg and Nimeguen; which laſt place was bra-

defe-

defended than any other had been. Upon this news the Dutch abandoned Graven, which Turenne ſeized. Bommel and the Sckincken Scans fell alſo into the hands of the French: the biſhop of Munſter took Grol and Deventer: and the marquis De Rochfort made himſelf maſter of Naerden and ſome other places.

THIS aſtoniſhing ſucceſs attending the French in every attempt, drove the common people of Holland into rage and deſpair. Diſaſters came ſo thick upon them, that they could not diſcern the inequality of their forces when compared to the united ſtrength of France and England. They would not reflect upon the natural impetuoſity of the French nation, or the ſuddenneſs of the invaſion: but in ſpite to common ſenſe would needs believe that men of republican principles had conſpired to betray the common-wealth to one or both of the confederated monarchs. And tho' I am not concerned to defend thoſe who at that time had the principal part in the adminiſtration of affairs in Holland; yet the king of England himſelf ſhall be their compurgator, not only on his own account, but alſo in reſpect of his brother of France. His words are theſe: "* The inſolencies, and continual contrivances againſt me, of certain perſons, who for ſome time paſt have had the principal direction of affairs in the government of the United Netherlands, have neceſſitated me to make an alliance with the moſt chriſtian king, who alſo has the ſame grounds of complaint againſt them, having no other end, than to ſuppreſs the inſupportable greatneſs of the Louveſtein faction; and to ſecure ourſelves from the like inſults and affronts for the time to come, &c." But the people being deaf to all reaſon, things every where tended to ſedition and tumult; divers of the clergy, particularly one Lantman at the Hague, and Borſtius at Roterdam, exciting the populace both by printing and preaching, againſt their governours. In this unhappy ſtate of affairs it fell out, that on the 20th of June 1672. the penſionary John de Wit coming out of the council in the Hague at eleven a clock at night, accompanied only by one ſervant who carried a torch in his hand, was aſſaulted by four perſons, wounded, and left for dead. The next day one of the aſſaſſins by name Jacob Vander Graef was ſeized, tried, condemn'd, and in a few days executed, the ſtates of Holland judging this expedition to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of their own perſons in the exerciſe of their employments. On the 24th of July in the ſame year Cornelius de Wit, ancient burger-maſter of Dort, grand baily of Putten, and elder brother to the penſionary, was brought priſoner to the Hague, upon the accuſation of one Tichelaar a barber-ſurgeon, who depoſed, That the priſoner would have hired him to poiſon the prince of Orange. He was ſeveral times put to the rack, and conſtantly aſſerted his innocence. Yet he was ſentenced to loſe his offices and dignities, and to be baniſhed for ever from Holland and Weſt-Frieſland. This ſentence being publiſhed, cauſed men to murmur, as their paſſions variouſly inclined them. Some ſaid that if he were guilty, the puniſhment was too little; and if innocent, too much. Others ſaid, that he was certainly guilty, becauſe his judges had ſet the accuſer at liberty. Tichelaar in the mean time went about the Hague, and told the people that he had convicted the grand-baily; which ſuggeſtion brought great numbers of them about the priſon-doors. In the mean time his brother John de Wit came in his coach to take him out of the priſon, upon which one of the populace cried out, "That now the two traitors were together, they ſhould not eſcape." In this inſtant a

* Letter written by K. Charles II.



falſe

falſe report was ſpread among the people, that ſome thouſands of Boors were coming to plunder the Hague, by which means the two brothers were deprived of all hopes of ſafety. For upon this report, the guards that had been placed by the council of ſtate about the priſon for the defence of the priſoner, took occaſion to draw off, and left them to the mercy of the rabble; who growing impatient of any farther delay, immediately broke open the doors of the priſon, and divers of them ruſhed into the chamber where the two brothers were. John de Wit, who was ſitting on the bed-ſide with a book in his hand, demanded of them what they would have; and receiving for anſwer, that they ſhould ſee if they would go down, he took his brother by the hand and led him down to the ſtreet; where they were no ſooner arrived, but the enraged multitude fell upon them, and with a thouſand wounds moſt barbarouſly murder'd them. The particulars of this cruelty are ſo abominable and ſo exceeding all example, that I purpoſely omit any farther mention of this tragical ſtory.

The king of France in purſuance of the agreement he had made with the canton of Bern, procured the differences between them and the biſhop of Baſle to be adjuſted according to their excellencies deſire. But that part of the treaty by which he had promiſed not to employ their ſubjects againſt any of the reformed religion was not ſo well obſerved; for he had uſed them in the war againſt the ſtates of Holland, and obliged them to ſerve on all occaſions without diſtinction, contrary to his promiſe, and to the oath that both officers and ſoldiers had taken before their departure from Switzerland. This uſage the Swiſs officers and ſoldiers reſenting, deputed one monſieur De Beur an officer of their body to acquaint their excellencies, that they had been conſtrained againſt their inclinations to do what they had done. Of which the French having notice, they cauſed him to be ſeized at Metz, where he was put into a dungeon. And tho' upon the ſollicitation of his friends in Switzerland, their excellencies deſired his liberty, they could not for ſome time obtain any more than a better accommodation for him in the priſon; the late ſucceſſes of France having carried that court to ſuch a height, that they cauſed a letter to be written by monſieur Stuppa to the canton of Bern, to let them know, that the king accounted himſelf little obliged to them for the men they had raiſed under pretence of ſerving him; and that he was better ſatisfied with the refuſal of the canton of Zurich, than with their grant which was accompanied with ſuch reſtrictions and regret. The government of Bern finding their affairs with France to be in this uncertain condition, were doubtful what meaſures to take in the diſpute which had been on foot for ſome time, and ſtill continued between the duke of Savoy and thoſe of Geneva on account of a fort which had been built by the duke within half a league of that city, under colour of a magazine for the veſſels he had built, and to ſecure a port for their uſe; poſitively requiring all thoſe of Geneva who poſſeſſed lands within the juriſdiction of Savoy, to hear maſs on pain of forfeiture. However, the proteſtant cantons having ſeriouſly conſidered the importance of this affair, ſent to the duke of Savoy to demand, whether he would have peace or war, and whether he would in all things make good the treaties that had been concluded with them by his anceſtors, or not. But before the duke had determined what anſwer to give to this meſſage, an accident happen'd which ſerved to ſecure thoſe of Geneva from any apprehenſions from Savoy at that time. For the duke of Savoy having corrupted the governor

of Savona (which belongs to the republick of Genoa) and received his promiſe to put him into poſſeſſion of the place, had raiſed forces, and order'd them to march thither. But the officers not agreeing, either concerning the manner, or the time of putting the enterprize in execution, it was ſo long delay'd that the government of Genoa had notice of their march: and ſuſpecting their deſign, immediately removed the governour and changed the gariſon. The duke finding his project defeated, was yet unwilling to have it believed that he deſigned any clandeſtine attempt (for no ſort of men will avow an unſucceſsful treachery) and therefore he publiſhed a declaration of the reaſons that moved him to make war againſt Genoa; which were ſo ſlight and trivial, that it plainly appeared he rather ſought to cover his deſign upon Savona, than that he had any juſt cauſe of quarrel to pretend, it being notorious to all perſons concern'd, that the duke had receiv'd offers of ſatisfaction to the utmoſt of what he could demand. In conſequence of the declaration his forces poſſeſs'd themſelves of Pieve, a place belonging to the Genoeſes, but of no great ſtrength or importance. On the other ſide, the government of Genoa ſent to complain to the king of France, that contrary to the agreement, which he by his agent had made between the duke of Savoy and them, the duke's forces had attacked them in a hoſtile manner; but yet they omitted not, at the ſame time, to draw together what force they could to do themſelves right, if other means ſhould fail. The duke's army finding Pieve not to be tenable, quitted the place and marched to Caſtelvecchio, with intention to fortify it by reaſon of its advantagious ſituation. But the Genoeſes well knowing the importance of Caſtelvecchio, drew together about nine thouſand men, and ſeized all the avenues, before the Savoyards had made any proviſion for their ſubſiſtence. So that the governor with about three hundred officers and ſoldiers found no other way to prevent falling into the hands of the enemy but by withdrawing privately, which they effected, leaving the reſt to ſhift for themſelves, and the next day the Genoeſes poſſeſſed themſelves of the place, killing and taking priſoners all thoſe that were within. From thence they went to Oneglia, reſolving to ſtorm the town by ſea and land; but the Savoyards prevented them, and capitulated to leave both officers and ſoldiers to be priſoners of war. In theſe actions the marquis of Parella with many of the principal nobility, were taken and carried priſoners to Genoa: which, with ſome other ſucceſſes obtained by that common-wealth againſt the duke of Savoy, obliged him to entertain cooler thoughts than he had done, and to haſten his anſwer to the demands of the proteſtant cantons; in which he profeſſed, he would have no difference with them, being ſincerely deſirous of their friendſhip; that indeed, he had been much ſurprized they ſhould take any umbrage on account of a houſe he had built in his own territories, and intereſt themſelves in the differences which had happened between him and thoſe of Geneva, who, he ſaid, had broken the treaty of St. Julian, which yet for their excellencies ſake, he would obſerve, as if it were ſtill in full force.

A COL-

A

# COLLECTION of LETTERS

AND OTHER

# PAPERS,

RELATING TO

## Divers important Paſſages of the preceding Memoir.

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## The KING's Letters to the QUEEN:

### I.

Dear Heart, Oxford, Jan. 15.

SINCE my laſt, which was by Talbot, the Scots commiſſioners hav ſent to deſire me to ſend a commiſſion to the general aſſembly Edinburgh, which I am reſolved not to do; but to the end of mak ing ſome uſe of this occaſion, by ſending an honeſt man to London, ar that I may have the more time for the making a handſome negative, I hav demanded a paſsport for Philip Warwick, by whom to return my anſwe I forgot in my former to tell thee, that Lenthall the ſpeaker brags, Tha cardinal Mazarin keeps a ſtrict intelligence with him; tho' I will not ſwea that Lenthall ſays true, I am ſure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabran I am confident that either he or his inſtructions are not right for him wh is eternally thine.

EVEN now I am advertiſed from London, That there are three o four lords, and eight commons (beſides four Scotch commiſſioners) ap pointed to treat, and they have named Uxbridge for the place, not yet the particular perſons. I am likewiſe newly advertiſed general Goring proſpers well where he is, and ſince Monday taken eighty of the rebels horſe; and upon his advance they have Peterfield and Coudry.

POSTSCRIPT.

" The ſettling of religion, and the militia, are the firſt to b
" and be confident, that I will neither quit epiſcopac
" ſword which God hath given into my hands."

Copy to my wife, 9 Jan. 1644. by P. A. 29. 15.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edm

## II.

Dear Heart, 31. Oxford, Sunday 30 March.

SINCE my laſt (which was but three days ago) there are no alterations happened of moment, preparations rather than actions being yet our chiefeſt buſineſs, in which we hope that we proceed faſter than the rebels, whoſe levies both of men and money (for certain) goes on very ſlowly; and I believe, they are much weaker than is thought even here at Oxford. For inſtance, a very honeſt ſervant of mine, and no fool, ſhewed me a propoſition from one of the moſt conſiderable London rebels, who will not let his name be known until he have hope that his propoſition will take effect; it is this, That ſince the treaty is ſo broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can reſume it without at leaſt a ſeeming total yielding to the other, the treaty ſhould be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-aſſurance that the rebels will ſubmit to reaſon. The anſwer that I permitted my ſervant to give, was, That thou art the much fitteſt perſon to be the means of ſo happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this kingdom; " but that upon no terms thy name was to be " prophaned," therefore he was to be " ſatisfied of the rebels willing- " neſs to yield to reaſon, before he would conſent that any ſuch intima- " tion ſhould be made to thee, and particularly concerning religion and " the militia, that nothing muſt be inſiſted upon but according to my " former offers." This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertiſe thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this conſequence.

" I MUST again tell thee, That moſt aſſuredly France will be the beſt " way for tranſportation of the duke of Lorrain's army, there be- " ing divers fit and ſafe places of landing for them upon the " weſtern coaſts, beſides the ports under my obedience, as Shelſey " near Chicheſter and others, of which I will advertiſe thee when " the time comes.

" BY my next I think to tell thee when I ſhall march into the field, " for which money is now his greateſt want (I need ſay no more) " who is eternally thine."

18. 31.
To my wife, 30 March, 1645. by Petit.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

## III.

Dear Heart, 30. Oxford, Thurſday 27 March.

I Wrote to thee yeſterday by Sakefield, the ſubject of it was only kindneſs to thee; which, I aſſure thee, ſhall ever be viſible in all my actions: and now I come to Jermin's account, given me by thy command, which is very clear, hopeful in moſt particulars, and abſolutely ſatisfactory as concerning thy care and induſtry. As for the main impediment of the duke of Lorrain's buſineſs (which is his paſſage) why may

may thou not procure him paſſage through France? (if that of Holland be ſtuck at) it will much ſecure and facilitate the ſea-tranſportation in reſpect of landing on the weſtern coaſt, which I believe will be found the beſt, there being not ſo many places to chuſe on, any where elſe. But this an opinion, not a direction.

THE general face of my affairs methinks begins to mend, the diſſenſions at London rather increaſing than ceaſing, Montroſe daily proſpering, my weſtern buſineſs mending apace, and hopeful in all the reſt. So that if I had reaſonable ſupplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other) I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been ſince this rebellion began; and poſſibly I may put fair for the whole, and ſo enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto me. And ſo farewel, dear heart.

" I INTEND (if thou like it) to beſtow Percie's place on the M. of New-
" caſtle, to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have
" thy anſwer. As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee
" any hope of making him maſter of the wards: for Cottington had it
" long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to ſecretary Nich.
" if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell
" thee of it.

" I DESIRE thee to command lord Jer. to read to thee the D.'s letter,
" which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the
" tranſportation of the duke of Lorrain's army."

To my wife, 27 Mar. $\frac{23.}{1645.}$ by P. A.

This is a true Copy examined by

Miles Corbet.

## IV.

Dear Heart, Oxford, Sunday $\frac{39.}{4}$ May.

THE rebels new brutiſh general hath refuſed to meddle with foreign paſſes, ſo as yet I cannot diſpatch Adrian May to thee, by the way of London, which if I cannot very ſhortly, I will ſend him by the weſt; and now, if I could be aſſured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God my affairs begin to ſmile upon me again, Wales being well ſwept of the rebels. Farrington having relieved itſelf; and now being ſecured by Goring's coming, my nephews likewiſe having brought me a ſtrong party of horſe and foot, theſe quarters are ſo free that I hope to be marching within three or four days, and am ſtill confident to have the ſtart of the rebels this year: I am likewiſe very hopeful that my ſon will ſhortly be in the head of a good army; for this I have the chearful aſſurance of Culpeper and Hyde: of late I have been much preſſed to make Southampton maſter of my horſe, not ſo much for good will to him, as out of fear that Hamilton might return to a capacity of recoſening me; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealouſy and diſcontents were like to ariſe, wherefore I thought fit to put my nephew Rupert in that place, which will both

ſave me charge, and ſtop other mens grumblings: I have now no more to ſay, but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I reſt eternally thine.

To my wife, 4 May 1645. by Malin St. Ravy.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

## V.

Dear Heart, Oxford, $\frac{13.}{2}$ Jan.

HAVING decyphered thine which I received yeſterday, I was much ſurprized to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never miſt any occaſion of ſending to thee; and I aſſure thee never any diſpatch went from either of my ſecretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

" As for my calling thoſe at London a parliament, I ſhall refer thee " to Digby for particular ſatisfaction; this in general; if there had been " but two (beſides myſelf) of my opinion; I had not done it; and the " argument that prevailed with me, was, That the calling did no ways " acknowledge them to be a parliament, upon which condition and con- " ſtruction I did it and no otherways, and accordingly it is regiſtered in " the council-books, with the councils unanimous approbation; but " thou wilt find, that it was by misfortune not neglect that thou haſt " been no ſooner advertiſed of it."

As for the concluſion of thy letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didſt not know, thy deſire granted before it was aſked; yet I wonder not at it, ſince that which may bear a bad conſtruction, hath been preſented to thee in the uglieſt form, not having received the true reaſon and meaning of it; the fear of ſome ſuch miſchance made me the more careful to give thee a full account by Tom. Eliot, of the reaſons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London, which if it come ſoon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble; but if thou haſt not the patience to forbear judging harſhly of my actions, before thou heareſt the reaſons of them from me, thou may'ſt be often ſubject to be doubly vex'd, firſt with ſlanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, eſteem me as thou findeſt me conſtant to thoſe grounds thou left me withal, and ſo farewel dear heart.

Copy to my wife, $\frac{21.}{2}$ Jan. 1645. by $\frac{13.}{4.}$ P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

## VI.

Dear Heart, Oxford, $\frac{21.}{19}$ Feb. O. S.

I Cannot yet ſend thee any certain word concerning the iſſue of our treaty; only, the unreaſonable ſtubbornneſs of the rebels, gives daily leſs and leſs hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no

no rumours ſhall hinder thee from haſtening all thou may'ſt, all poſſible aſſiſtance to me, and particularly that of the duke of Lorrain's; concerning which I received yeſterday good news from Dr. Goffe, That the prince of Orange will furnith ſhipping for his tranſportation, and that the reſt of his negotiation goes hopefully on; by which, and many other ways, I find thy affection ſo accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their ſeveral kinds) to eſteem moſt; but I will ſay no more of this, leſt thou may think that I pretend to do this way what is but poſſible to be done by the continued actions of my life. Tho' I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, That even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montroſe; who upon ſurprize totally routed thoſe rebels, and killed 1500 upon the place. Yeſterday I received thine of 27 Jan. by the Portugal agent, the only way (but expreſſes) I am confident on, either to receive letters from thee, or to ſend them to thee; indeed Sabran ſent me word yeſterday, beſides "ſome compliments of the embargo of the rebels ſhips in France, (which I likewiſe put upon thy ſcore of kindneſs)" but is well enough content that the Portugal ſhould be charged with thy diſpatches. As for trulling the rebels either by going to London, or diſbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or ſo fillily: for I eſteem the intereſt thou haſt in me at a far dearer rate, and I pretend to have a little more wit (at leaſt by the ſympathy that is betwixt us) than to put myſelf into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So impatiently expecting the expreſs thou haſt promiſed me, I reſt eternally thine.

"I cannot now aſſure thee, That Hertogen the Iriſh agent, is an arrant "knave, which ſhall be made manifeſt to thee by the firſt oppor-"tunity of ſending packets.

11. 21.

To my wife, 19 Feb. 1645. by P. A.

4.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

## VII.

Dear Heart, 20.

THE expectation of an expreſs from thee (as I find by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good news to me, as likewiſe that thou art now well ſatisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there is every day leſs hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But I will abſolutely promiſe thee, That if we have one, it ſhall be ſuch as ſhall invite thy return. For I avow, That without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within myſelf. The limited days for treating, are now almoſt expired without the leaſt agreement upon any one article. Wherefore I have ſent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I aſſure thee, that thou "needeſt "not doubt the iſſue of this treaty; for my commiſſioners are ſo well "choſen, (though I ſay it) that they will neither be threatened nor diſ-"puted from the grounds I have given them; which (upon my word) "is according to the little note thou ſo well remembers." And in this not only their obedience, but their judgments concur. I confeſs in ſome

reſpects

reſpects thou haſt reaſon to bid me beware of going too ſoon to London: for indeed ſome amongſt us had a greater mind that way than was fit; of which perſuaſion Percy is one of the chief, who is ſhortly like to ſee thee, of whom having ſaid this, is enough to ſhew thee how he is to be truſted, or believed by thee concerning our proceedings here. " In " ſhort, there is little or no appearance but that this ſummer will be the " hotteſt for war of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in " making peace, I ſhall ever ſhew my conſtancy in adhering to biſhops, " and all our friends, and not forget to put a ſhort period to this perpe- " tual parliament. But as thou loves me, let none perſuade thee to " ſlacken thine aſſiſtance for him who is eternally thine, C. R."

15. 4.
Oxford, 25 Feb. 1645.

3. 20.
To my wife, 15 Feb. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

## VIII.

Dear Heart, 22.

NOW is come to paſs what I foreſaw, the fruitleſs end (as to a preſent peace) of this treaty; but I am ſtill confident, that I ſhall find very good effects of it: for beſides that my commiſſioners have offered, to ſay no more, full meaſured reaſon, and the rebels have ſtuck rigidly to their demands, which I dare ſay had been too much tho' they had taken me priſoner, ſo that aſſuredly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewiſe at this time diſcovered, and ſhall make it evidently appear to the world, that the Engliſh rebels, (whether baſely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies, tranſmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots, which (beſides the reflection it will have upon theſe rebels) will clearly ſhew, that reformation of the church is not the chief, much leſs the only end of the Scotch rebellion; but it being preſumption, and no piety, ſo to truſt to a good cauſe, as not to uſe " all lawful means to " maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furniſh thee with " for my aſſiſtance, than hitherto thou haſt had: it is that I give thee " power to promiſe in my name (to whom thou thinkeſt moſt fit) that I " will take away all the penal laws againſt the Roman catholicks in Eng- " land as ſoon as God ſhall enable me to do it; ſo as by their means, or in " their favours, I may have ſo powerful aſſiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a " favour, and enable me to do it." But if thou aſk what I call that aſſiſtance; I anſwer, That when thou knoweſt what may be done for it, it will be eaſily ſeen, if it deſerve to be ſo eſteemed. I need not tell thee what ſecrecy this buſineſs requires; yet this I will ſay, that this is the greateſt point of confidence I can expreſs to thee; for it is no thanks to me to truſt thee in any thing elſe but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us; " and yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this." I truſting thee (tho' it concern religion) as if thou wert a proteſtant, the viſible good of my affairs ſo much

much depending on it. I have ſo fully intruſted this bearer Pooly, that I will not ſay more to thee now, but that herewith I ſend thee a new cypher (aſſuring thee, that none hath or ſhall have any copy of it but myſelf) to the end thou may'ſt uſe it, when thou ſhalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and ſo likewiſe from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

To my wife, the $\frac{20.}{5}$ March, $\frac{2}{1645.}$ by Pooly.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

## IX.

The little that is here in cypher, is in that which I ſent to thee by Pooly.

Oxford, Wed. $\frac{33.}{9}$ April 1645.

Dear Heart,

THOUGH it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a ſlow meſſenger, yet all occaſions, of this (which is now the only) way of converſing with thee, are ſo welcome to me, as I ſhall be loth to loſe any; but expect neither news or publick buſineſs from me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by myſelf even theſe nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I ſhould chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too ſudden taking alarms; I pray thee conſider, ſince I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is unſeparably conjoyned with thine, muſt not all my actions tend to ſerve and pleaſe thee? "If thou knew what a life I lead, (I ſpeak not in reſpect of the common "diſtractions) even in point of converſation, which in my mind is the "chief joy or vexation of ones life, I dare ſay thou would pity me; for "ſome are too wiſe, others too fooliſh, ſome too buſy, others too re-"ſerved, many fantaſtick. In a word, when I know none better (I ſpeak "not now in relation to buſineſs) then 398. 270.55:5:7:67:18. 294:35:69: "16:54:6:38:1: 67: 68: 9: 66: thou may eaſily judge how my converſa-"tion pleaſeth me." I confeſs thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleaſed, but not leſs to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this diſeaſe. The end of all is this, to deſire thee to comfort me as often as thou can with thy letters, and doſt not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou ſpendeſt the time, are pleaſing ſubjects unto me, though thou haſt no other buſineſs to write of? Believe me, ſweet heart, thy kindneſs is as neceſſary to comfort my heart, as thy aſſiſtance is for my affairs.

To my wife 9 April, 1645. by Binion.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

## X.

Dear Heart, Oxford, Thurſday 20 March.

UPON Saturday laſt I wrote to thee by Sabran (but this I believe may come as ſoon to thee) and I have received thine of the ſeventh, upon Monday laſt, which gave me great contentment both in preſent and expectation, (the quick paſſage being likewiſe a welcome circumſtance) and yet I cannot but find a fault of omiſſion in moſt of thy latter diſpatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confeſs, that in this no news is good news, yet I am not ſo ſatisfied without a more perfect aſſurance; and I hope thou wilt by ſatisfying me confeſs the juſtneſs of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God ſend me a good unlading) for I look daily for ſome blow of importance to be given about Taunton or Shrewſbury; and I am confidently aſſured of a conſiderable and ſudden ſupply of men from Ireland, likewiſe the refractory horſe (as the London rebels call them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howſoever I doubt not, but if they ſtand out (as it is probable) good uſe may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having ſent to try their pulſes; Petit came yeſterday, but he having at London thruſt his diſpatches into the ſtates ambaſſador's paquets, I have not yet received them, and I would not ſtay to lengthen this in anſwer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Weſtern news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within theſe three or four days; only I congratulate with thee for the ſafe arrival of thy tinn adventure at Callis: and ſo farewel, ſweet heart.

THINE of the 10th I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much miſtakes me concerning Ir. for I deſire nothing more than peace there, and never forbad thy commerce there; only I gave thee warning of ſome Iriſh in France, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves.

To my wife 20 of March 164$\frac{3}{4}$. by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by
Edmond Prideaux.

## XI.

Dear Heart, Droit Wiche, Wedneſday 14 May.

MARCHING takes away the conveniency of ſending my letters ſo ſafe and quick to thee, as when I was at Oxford; however I ſhall not fail to do what I can to ſend often to thee; there is ſo little news for the preſent, as I will leave that ſubject for others, only upon Saturday laſt I received a diſpatch from Montroſe, which aſſures me his condition to be ſo good, that he bids me be confident that his country-men ſhall do me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500 horſe, he would undertake to bring me 20000 men before the end of this ſummer. For the general ſtate of my affairs we all here think to be very hopeful; this army being of a good ſtrength, well ordered, and increaſing; my ſons

ſuch,

ſuch, that Fairfax will not be refuſed to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good ſatisfaction from himſelf. 'Tis true that I cannot brag for ſtore of money, but a ſharp ſword always hinders ſtarving at leaſt; and I believe the rebels coffers are not very full (and certainly we ſhall make as good a ſhift with empty purſes as they) or they muſt have ſome greater defect, elſe their levies could not be ſo backward as they are, for I aſſure thee that I have at this inſtant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their Northern forces are, but except they are much ſtronger than I am made believe, I may likewiſe include them.

Now I muſt make a complaint to thee of my Son Charles, " which " troubles me the more, that thou mayeſt ſuſpect I ſeek by equivocating " to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things eſpecially " to thee: It is this, he hath ſent to deſire me, That Sir John Green- " field may be ſworn gentleman of his bedchamber, but already ſo pub- " lickly engaged in it, that the refuſal would be a great diſgrace both " to my ſon and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a " a juſt diſtaſte, eſpecially now, conſidering his father's merits, his own " hopefulneſs, beſides the great power that family has in the Weſt:". Yet I have refuſed the admitting of him until I ſhall hear from thee. Wherefore I deſire thee firſt to chide my ſon for ingaging himſelf without one of our conſents; then, not to refuſe thy own conſent; and laſtly, to believe that, directly or indirectly, I never knew of this while yeſterday at the delivery of my ſon's letter. So farewel, ſweet heart, and God ſend me good news from thee.

To my wife, May 14, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

## XII.

Dear heart,

I KNOW thy affection to me ſo truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to find my reputation as my life in danger: therefore leaſt the falſe ſound of my offering a treaty to the rebels upon baſe and unſafe terms ſhould diſturb thy thoughts, I have thought it neceſſary (to aſſure thy mind from ſuch rumours) to tell thee the ways I have uſed to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds. *I ſhall firſt ſhew* thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better underſtand and approve of my ways; then know (as a certain truth) that all, even my party, are ſtrangely impatient for peace, which obliged me ſo much the more (at all occaſions) to ſhew my real intentions to peace; " And likewiſe I " am put in very good hope (ſome hold it a certainty) that if I could come " to a fair treaty, the ring-leading rebels could not hinder me from a good " peace: Firſt, becauſe their own party are moſt weary of the war, and " likewiſe for the great diſtractions which at this time moſt aſſuredly are " amongſt themſelves, as Preſbyterians againſt Independants in religion, " and general againſt general in point of *command: upon theſe grounds a* " treaty being moſt deſirable (not without hope of good ſucceſs) the moſt " probable means to procure it was to be uſed, which might ſtand with " honour and ſafety; amongſt the reſt (for I will omit all thoſe which are " unqueſtionably councelable) the ſound of my return to London was " thought to have ſo much force of popular rhetorick in it, that upon it

" a

## XV.

Dear Heart,

SUNDAY last I received three letters from thee; one a duplicate of the 30 Dec. another of the 6 Jan. and the last of the 14 Jan. and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extremely wonder, that any who pretends to be a friend to our cause, (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to me by any; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance: but I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more than a bare suspicion: and indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire; these three last, making no mention of thyself. Now as for the treaty (which begins this day) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I SEND thee herewith my directions to my commissioners, but how I came to make them myself without any others, Digby will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning military as cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things (only not answering for words) truly shew myself to be eternally thine.

THE Portugal agent hath made me two propositions, first, concerning the release of his master's brother, for which I shall have 50,000 l. if I can procure his liberty from the king of Spain; the other is for a marriage betwixt my son Charles and his master's eldest daughter: for the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will "give such an answer, as shall signify nothing."

I DESIRE thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Irish agents in Paris, the particular reasons thou shalt have by Pooly, (whom I intend for my next messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of Jersey and Guernsey, it being impossible for us here to do much, tho' we were rich, being weak at sea.

To my wife, 30 Jan. $164\frac{4}{5}$. by Legge.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

## XVI.

Ormond,

THE impossibility of preserving my protestant subjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions; "which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing daily much more evident, "that alone were reason enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to "make my commands in the point more positive. But besides these "considerations, it being now manifest that the English rebels have (as

"far

" far as in them lies) given the command of Ireland to the Scots; that " their aim is at a total ſubverſion of religion and regal power, and that " nothing leſs will content them, or purchaſe peace here, I think my- " ſelf bound in conſcience, not to let ſlip the means of ſettling that " kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to loſe that " aſſiſtance which I may hope from my Iriſh ſubjects, for ſuch ſcruples " as in a leſs preſſing condition might reaſonably be ſtuck at by me: for " their ſatisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a peace " with the Iriſh, whatever it coſt, ſo that my proteſtant ſubjects there " may be ſecured, and my regal authority preſerved; but for all this, " you are to make me the beſt bargain you can, and not diſcover your " enlargement of power till you needs muſt. And though I leave the " managing of this great and neceſſary work entirely to you, yet I can- " not but tell you, That if the ſuſpenſion of Poining's act for ſuch bills " as ſhall be agreed upon between you there, and the preſent taking " away of the penal laws againſt papiſts, by a law will do it, I ſhall " not think it a hard bargain; ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage " themſelves in my aſſiſtance againſt my rebels of England and Scot- " land, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being againſt con- " ſcience or honour."

Copy to Ormond, 27 Feb. $164\frac{4}{5}$.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

## XVII.

## To ORMOND.

Ormond, Oxford, 16 Feb. 1644.

I SHOULD wrong my own ſervice, and this gentleman Sir Timothy Fetherſton, if I did not recommend him and his buſineſs to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to Digby: and now again I cannot but mention to you the neceſſity of the haſtening of the Iriſh peace, for which I hope you are already furniſhed by me, with materials ſufficient: but in caſe (againſt all expectation and reaſon) peace cannot be had upon thoſe terms, you muſt not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the ceſſation (according to a poſtſcript in a letter by Jack Barry (a copy of which diſpatch I herewith ſend you.) So I reſt.

### POSTSCRIPT.

In caſe upon particular men's fancies, the Iriſh peace ſhould not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needleſs) to ſeek to renew the ceſſation for a year, for which " you ſhall promiſe the Iriſh (if you can have it no cheaper) to join with them againſt the Scots and Inchequin;" for I hope by that time my condition may be ſuch, as the Iriſh may be glad to accept leſs, " or I be able to grant more."

A true copy. Zouch Tate.

## XVIII.

## To ORMOND.

Ormond, Oxford, 7 Jan. $164\frac{4}{5}$.

UPON the great rumors and expectations which are now of peace, I think it neceſſary to tell you the true ſtate of it, leſt miſtaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there.

" THE rebels here have agreed to treat; and moſt aſſuredly, one of the " firſt and chief articles they will inſiſt on, will be, to continue the " Iriſh war; " which is a point not popular for me to break on;" of " which you are to make a double uſe: firſt, to haſten (with all poſſi- " ble diligence) the peace there; the timely concluſion of which will " take off that inconvenience which otherways I may be ſubject to, by " the refuſal of that article, upon any other reaſon. Secondly, by " dextrous conveying to the Iriſh, the danger there may be of their " total and perpetual excluſion from thoſe favours I intend them, in caſe " the rebels here clap up a peace with me, upon reaſonable terms, and " only exclude them; which poſſibly were not councelable for me to re- " fuſe, if the Iriſh peace ſhould be the only difference betwixt us, be- " fore it were perfected there: theſe I hope are ſufficient grounds for " you to perſuade the Iriſh diligently to diſpatch a peace upon reaſonable " terms, aſſuring them that you having once fully engaged to them my " word (in the concluſion of a peace) all the earth ſhall not make me " break it.

" But not doubting of a peace, I muſt again remember you to preſs " the Iriſh for their ſpeedy aſſiſtance to me here, and their friends in " Scotland: my intention being to draw from thence into Wales (the " peace once concluded) as many as I can of my armed proteſtant ſub- " jects, and deſire that the Iriſh would ſend as great a body as they can " to land about Cumberland, which will put thoſe northern counties in " a brave condition; wherefore you muſt take ſpeedy order to provide " all the ſhipping you may, as well Dunkirk as Iriſh bottoms; and re- " member that after March it will be moſt difficult to tranſport men " from Ireland to England, the rebels being maſters of the ſeas: ſo ex- " pecting a diligent and particular account in anſwer to this letter, I reſt

Your moſt aſſured conſtant friend,

CHARLES R.

A true copy. Zouch Tate.

## XIX.

## To ORMOND.

Ormond, 15 Decemb. 1644.

I AM ſorry to find by colonel Barry the ſad condition of your particu- lar fortune, for which I cannot find ſo good and ſpeedy remedy as the peace of Ireland, it being likewiſe to redreſs moſt neceſſary affairs here; wherefore I command you to diſpatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publick diſpatch will give you ſufficient inſtruction and power; yet I have thought it neceſſary for your more encouragement in this neceſſary work, to make this addition with my own hand. As for Poining's act I refer you to my other letter: and for matter of religion, tho' I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which Brown gave you, yet I muſt command you to give him, my L. Muſkery, and Plunket particular thanks for it, aſſuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that ſticking to it, their nation in gene- ral, and they in particular ſhall have comfort in what they have done, " and to ſhew that this is more than words, I do hereby promiſe them, " (and command you to ſee it done) that the penal ſtatutes againſt Ro- " man Catholicks ſhall not be put in execution, the peace being made,

" and

" and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when " the Iriſh give me that aſſiſtance which they have promiſed, for the " ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, and I ſhall be reſtored to my rights, then " I will conſent to the repeal of them by a law; but all thoſe againſt ap- " peals to Rome, and premunire muſt ſtand:" all this in cypher you muſt impart to none, but thoſe three already named, and that with injunction of ſtricteſt ſecreſy: ſo again, recommending to your care the ſpeedy diſpatch of the peace of Ireland, and my neceſſary ſupply from thence, as I wrote to you in my laſt private letter, I reſt.

A true copy. Zouche Tate.

## XX.

## The earl of Glamorgan's inſtructions to me, to be preſented to your majeſty.

THAT (God willing) by end of May, or beginning of June, he will land with 6000 Iriſh.

THAT the gentlemen of the ſeveral counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Carmarthen, will very ſpeedily for your Majeſty's ſervice in ſecuring theſe parts, raiſe and arm four thouſand men.

THAT with the ſhips which ſhall bring over the Iriſh, his lordſhip deſigns to block up Milford Haven, at which time he doubts not to draw theſe Welch forces into Pembrokeſhire.

THAT to advance theſe his undertakings, he hath thirty thouſand pounds ready, ten thouſand muſkets, two thouſand caſe of piſtols, eight hundred barrels of powder, beſides his own artillery, and is aſcertained of thirty thouſand pounds more which will be ready upon his return.

THAT he hath intelligence from his ſhips, that divers Hollanders and Dunkirkers come in daily to him.

IN order to this ſervice, he commanded me humbly to put your Majeſty in mind of his commiſſion, and that he may in fitting time have ſuch command in theſe counties as may be ſuitable to his employment, and conducing to the ſervice in hand: theſe being counties in which (if other deſigns of landing fail) he can land in; and that your Majeſty will ſeriouſly conſider the ſervices he hath done you in compoſing the diſtractions of the county of Monmouth: and that you will be pleaſed to countenance Sir Thomas Lunsford, and graciouſly relieve the country in ſuch things, as without prejudicing your ſervice may eaſe them.

Concerning the county of Monmouth only.

THAT by his lordſhip's means (who hath now raiſed two regiments himſelf) Sir Thomas Lunsford's forces will be one thouſand eight hundred foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, which horſe is intended to be quartered in the foreſt of Dean, in places of ſecure quartering, as Langot, attempted to have been taken by Sir John Winter, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the foreſt, and ſecuring Monmouthſhire.

THAT by his lordſhip's intervention and endeavours, your Majeſty really ſees he hath much qualified the ſenſe of the grievances of the county, and moderated their complaints by ſubducting the intended petition, and therefore hopes your Majeſty will ſo ſpecially commend their humble ſuit to prince Rupert, as it may be ſucceſsful,

THAT though the prayer of their petition is to reduce the contribution to the proportion ſet by the parliament at Oxford, yet his lordſhip hath ſo wrought, as theſe petitioners have under their hands obliged themſelves to continue the double payment for two months more, and doubts not but in relation to the exigence of your Majeſty's ſervice to prevail for further time.

HIS humble ſuit is, That I may carry with me into the country your Majeſty's order, that the forces of Sir Thomas Lunsford may not be removed, but upon urgent occaſion, until his return; and that only upon your Majeſty's or prince Rupert's ſpecial order; otherwiſe it will be a great obſtruction and diſcouragement in raiſing or continuing the number propoſed.

THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed in their favour, to write your letter to prince Rupert, and that the country may have the honour to preſent it, to the end they may be eaſed of free quarter, exactions above their contribution, and unneceſſary garriſons, that Chepſtow and Monmouth may be the better ſtrengthened.

THAT Sir Thomas Lunsford may be qualified with authority, to protect them according to ſuch order as the prince ſhall make.

March 21. 1644. Theſe preſented by your loyal ſubject,

Edward Boſdon.

This a true copy. Zouche Tate.

## XXI.

## Colonel Fitz-William humbly prays, and propounds to the queen as followeth.

THAT your ſacred Majeſty will vouchſafe to prevail with his Majeſty, to condeſcend to the juſt demands of his Iriſh ſubjects, the confederate catholicks in his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, at leaſt in private.

THAT upon the conſideration thereof, colonel Fitz-William humbly propounds and undergoeth (with the approbation of Mr. Hardegan, now employed agent for the ſaid confederate catholicks in France) to bring an army of ten thouſand men, and more of his Majeſty's ſubjects in his kingdom of Ireland, for his majeſty's ſervice into England.

THAT colonel Fitz-William undertakes for the ſum of ten thouſand pound ſterl. to levy, ſhip, and arm the ſaid ten thouſand men, and ſo proportionably for more or leſs; and that the ſaid money may be put into ſuch hands as may be ſafe for his Majeſty, as well as ready for the colonel, when it ſhall appear the ſaid army ſhall be in a readineſs to be tranſported into England.

THAT upon the landing the ſaid men, there ſhall be advanced to the colonel one month's pay for all the army, according to the muſter, for the preſent ſupport of the army.

THAT colonel Fitz-William may be commander in chief thereof, and diſpoſe of all the offices, and only be commanded by his Majeſty, his highneſs the prince of Wales, and prince Rupert, and qualified with ſuch commiſſions as hath been formerly granted to his Majeſty's generals that have commanded bodies apart from his Majeſty's own army, as the marquis

quis of Newcaſtle, the earl of Kingſton and others, hereby the better to enable him in the levies as well as in the general conduct of the buſineſs; and that in reſpect the parliament gives no quarter to his majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects, therefore that the ſaid forces ſhall not by any order whatſoever be divided.

THAT the colonel may be ſupplied with a body of horſe, of at leaſt two thouſand, to be ready at the place of landing.

THAT the colonel may be provided with ammunition and artillery, or with money requiſite for himſelf to provide neceſſary proportions to bring with him.

THAT the army ſhall be paid as other armies of his majeſty.

HAVING taken theſe propoſitions into conſideration, we have thought fit to teſtify our approbation and agreement thereunto under our ſign manual, aſſuring what hath been deſired of us therein, ſhall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting to the ſatisfaction of the confederate catholicks of his majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, and to the ſaid colonel Fitz-William, ſo that we may juſtly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly from all parties in theſe ſeveral concernments.

This is a true copy of the original ſent by her majeſty to the king, May 16, 1645.

A. Lowly, ſecretary to the right honourable the Lord Jermine.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

## XXII.

To my wife, 14 Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$. by Choquen.

Dear Heart,

POOLY came the $\frac{13}{23}$ Jan. to whoſe great diſpatch, though for ſome days I cannot give a full anſwer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to ſomething in thy letter, not without relating to ſomething of his diſcourſe.

As I confeſs it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from me, ſo excuſe me to deny that it can be of ſo ill conſequence as thou mentions, if their affections were ſo real, as they make ſhew of to thee; for the difficulty of ſending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will ſhew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to find out ways of ſending, wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty; but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any fleſh living, that any body here ſhould hide from thee what is deſired that every one ſhould know (excuſe me to ſay it) is ſuch a folly, that I ſhall not believe that any can think it, though he ſay it: and for my affection to thee, it will not be the miſcarrying of a letter or two that will call it in queſtion; but take heed that theſe diſcourſes be not rather the effect of their wearineſs of thy company, than the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the propoſal of thy journey to Ireland, a pretty inſtance? for ſeriouſly of itſelf, I hold it one of the moſt extravagant propoſitions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it, being moſt aſſuredly only to expreſs thy love to me, and not thy judgment in my affairs: as for the buſineſs itſelf, (I mean the peace of Ireland) to ſhew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I

have

have ſent thee the laſt diſpatches I have ſent concerning it, earneſtly deſiring thee to keep them to thyſelf; only thou may'ſt in general let the Q. Regent and miniſters there underſtand, That I have offered my Iriſh ſubjects ſo good ſatisfaction, that a peace will ſhortly enſue, which I really believe. But for God's ſake, let none know the particulars of my diſpatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugal agent (and little to the French) it being by his means that I have ſent thee all my letters (beſides expreſſes) ſince I came hither, though I expected moſt from Sabran.

" I WILL not trouble thee with repetitions of news, Digby's diſpatch " which I have ſeen being ſo full, that I can add nothing; yet I cannot " but paraphraſe a little upon that which he calls his ſuperſtitious obſer- " vation: it is this, nothing can be more evident, than that Strafford's " innocent blood hath been one of the great cauſes of God's juſt judgments " upon this nation by a furious civil war, both ſides hitherto being almoſt " equally puniſhed as being in a manner equally guilty; but now this " laſt crying blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no preſumption " hereafter to hope that his hand of juſtice muſt be heavier upon them, " and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cauſe, having paſſed by our " faults."

This is a true copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

## XXIII.

## Copy to the D. of R.

Richmond,

I THANK you for the account you ſent me by this bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to Weſt. is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the ſecurity I aſk with my coming to Weſt. And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the independants and Scots; this bearer will tell you how well our Weſtern and Northern aſſociations go on, to whom I refer you for other things. I reſt.

This is a true copy,

Zouch Tate.

## XXIV.

## Memorials for ſecretary Nicholas concerning the treaty at Uxbridge.

Oxford, Feb. 1644.

1. FOR religion and church-government I will not go one jot further than what is offered by you already.

2. AND ſo for the Militia more than what ye have allowed by me; but even in that you muſt obſerve that I muſt have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; yet if they (I mean the Engliſh rebels) will be ſo baſe as to admit of ten Scots to twenty Engliſh, I am contented to name

name five Scots and ten Engliſh, and ſo proportionably to any number that ſhall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular perſons beſides ſecurity, I give you power to promiſe them rewards for performed ſervices, not ſparing to engage for places; ſo they be not of great truſt, or be taken away from honeſt men in poſſeſſion, but as much profit as you will: with this laſt you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hyde.

This is a true copy,

Zouch Tate.

## XXV.

## Directions for my Uxbridge commiſſioners.

### Firſt, concerning religion.

IN this the government of the church (as I ſuppoſe) will be the chief queſtion, wherein two things are to be conſidered, conſcience and policy. For the firſt, I muſt declare unto you that I cannot yield to the change of the government by biſhops; not only as I fully concur with the moſt general opinion of chriſtians in all ages, as being the beſt, but likewiſe I hold myſelf particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this church from what I found it. And as for the church's patrimony, I cannot ſuffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure ſacrilege, and likewiſe contrary to my coronation-oath; but whatſoever ſhall be offered, for rectifying of abuſes, if any have crept in, or yet for the eaſe of tender conſciences (ſo that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious anſwer thereunto. For the ſecond, as the king's duty is to protect the church, ſo it is the church's to aſſiſt the king, in the maintenance of his juſt authority; wherefore my predeceſſors have been always careful (and eſpecially ſince the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy intirely upon the crown; without which it will ſcarcely ſit faſt upon the king's head; therefore you muſt do nothing to change or leſſen this neceſſary dependency.

### Next concerning the Militia.

AFTER conſcience, this is certainly the fitteſt ſubject for a king's quarrel; for without it the kingly power is but a ſhadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known laws of the land: yet becauſe to attain to this ſo much wiſhed peace by all good men, it is in a manner neceſſary that ſufficient and real ſecurity be given for the performance of what ſhall be agreed upon. I permit you either by leaving ſtrong towns or other military force in the rebels poſſeſſion (until articles be performed) to give ſuch aſſurance for performance of conditions as you ſhall judge neceſſary to conclude a peace: provided always that ye take (at leaſt) as great care by ſufficient ſecurity, that conditions be performed to me: "And to make ſure that the "peace once ſettled, all things ſhould return into their ancient channels."

### Thirdly, for Ireland.

I CONFESS, they have very ſpecious popular arguments to preſs th point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends than t

and I have as much reaſon both in honour and policy to take care how to anſwer this as any: all the world knows the eminent inevitable neceſſity which cauſed me to make the Iriſh ceſſation, and there remains yet as ſtrong reaſon for the concluding of that peace; wherefore ye muſt conſent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be ſhown me how my proteſtant ſubjects there may probably (at leaſt) defend themſelves; and that I ſhall have no more need to defend my conſcience and crown from the injuries of this rebellion.

A true copy,

Zouch Tate.

## XXVI.

At Uxbridge on Wedneſday the 29th of January, 1644. the proteſtation under-written was unanimouſly conſented unto, and taken by all his majeſty's commiſſioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.

I A. B. being one of the commiſſioners aſſigned by his majeſty for this preſent treaty at Uxbridge, do proteſt and promiſe in the ſight of almighty God, that I will not diſcloſe nor reveal unto any perſon or perſons whatſoever (who is not a commiſſioner) any matter or thing that ſhall be ſpoken of during the treaty, by any one or more of his majeſty's commiſſioners, in any private debate among ourſelves, concerning the ſaid treaty; ſo as to name or deſcribe, directly or indirectly, the perſon or perſons that ſhall ſpeak any ſuch matter or thing, unleſs it be by the conſent of all the ſaid commiſſioners that ſhall be then living.

MEMORANDUM, That it is by all the ſaid commiſſioners agreed, that this ſhall not bind where any ten of the commiſſioners ſhall agree to certify his majeſty the number of aſſenters or diſſenters, upon any particular reſult in this treaty, not naming or deſcribing the perſons.

This is a true copy, examined by

Zouch Tate.

## XXVII.

The queen to the king from York, March 30, 1644. Alſo April.

My Dear Heart,

I NEED not tell you from whence this bearer comes; only I will tell you, That the propoſitions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution: Therefore find ſome means to ſend them back, which may not diſcontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir Hugh Cholmely is come with a troop of horſe to kiſs my hands: the reſt of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ſhip laden with arms, which the ſhips of the parliament had taken and brought thither, ſo ſhe is ours; the rebels have quitted Tad-

caſter

caſter upon our ſending forces to Whetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: we ſend more forces to drive them out, though thoſe we have already at Whetherby are ſufficient, but we fear leſt they have all their forces thereabout, and leſt they have ſome deſign; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the laſt of which they have burnt: between this and to morrow-night we ſhall know the iſſue of this buſineſs; and I will ſend you an expreſs. I am more careful to advertiſe you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have paſſports to ſend; and I wonder that upon the ceſſation you have not demanded that you might ſend in ſafety: this ſhews my love. I underſtand to day from London, that they will have no ceſſation, and that they treat at the beginning of the two firſt articles, which is of the forts, ſhips and ammunition, and afterwards of the diſbanding of the army: certainly, I wiſh a peace more than any, and that with greater reaſon but I would the diſbanding of the perpetual parliament, firſt; and certainly, the reſt will be eaſy afterwards. I do not ſay this of my own head alone; for generally both thoſe who are for you and againſt you in this country, wiſh an end of it; and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the firſt, in caſe it be not granted, Hull is ours, and all Yorkſhire, which is a thing to conſider of: and for my particular, if you make a peace and diſband your army, before there is an end to this perpetual parliament, I am abſolutely reſolved to go into France, not being willing to fall again into the hands of thoſe people, being well aſſured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in England. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent letters, and be more careful of me than you have been, or at the leaſt diſſemble it; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: the man haſtens me ſo that I can ſay no more.

York, this 30th of March.

## XXVIII.

THIS letter ſhould have gone by a man of maſter Denedſdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of this letter was upon this ſubject: and therefore by this man it ſignifies nothing, but the end was ſo pleaſing, that I do not forbear to ſend it to you. You now know by Elliot the iſſue of the buſineſs of Tadcaſter, ſince we had almoſt loſt Scarborough, whilſt Cholmely was here, Browne Buſhell would have rendred it up to the parliament: but Cholmely having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath re-taken it: and hath deſired to have a lieutenant and forces of ours to put within it; for which we ſhould take his: he hath alſo taken two pinaces from Hotham, which brought 44 men to put within Scarborough, 10 pieces of cannon, 4 barrels of powder, and 4 of bullet. This is all our news; our army marches to morrow to put an end to Fairfax's excellency. And I will make an end of this letter, this third of April. I have had no news of you ſince Parſons.

A true copy,

P. W.

30 March, 3 April.

XXIX.

know all. There is one other thing in your letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to myſelf your diſpatches, as if you believe that I ſhould be capable to ſhew them to any only to lord Jermyn to uncypher them, my head not ſuffering me to do it myſelf: but if it pleaſe you I will do it, and none in the world ſhall ſee them; be kind to me or you kill me. I have already affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not do, but your ſervice ſurmounts all. Farewel, my dear heart; behold the mark which you deſire to have to know when I deſire any thing in earneſt ✠, and I pray begin to remember what I ſpake to you concerning Jack Barkley for maſter of the wards. I am not engaged nor will not be for the places of lord Percy and others, do you accordingly.

13 March 1664.

## XXXIII.

My Dear Heart, Newark the 27 of June.

I RECEIVED juſt now your letter by my lord Savile, who found me ready to go away, ſtaying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two days ſtop, it is to have Hull and Lincoln. Young Hotham having been put in priſon by order of parliament, is eſcaped, and hath ſent to 260 that he would caſt himſelf into his arms, and that Hull and Lincoln ſhould be rendered, he is gone to his father, and 260. writes for your anſwer, ſo that I think I ſhall go hence Friday or Saturday, and ſhall go lie at Werton, and from thence to Aſhby, where we will reſolve what way to take, and I will ſtay there a day, becauſe that the march of the day before, will have been ſomewhat great, and alſo to know how the enemy marches; all their forces of Nottingham at preſent are gone to Leiceſter and Derby, which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our paſſage; as ſoon as we have reſolved, I will ſend you word. At this preſent I think it fit to let you know the ſtate in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the ſafety of Lincolnſhire and Nottinghamſhire. I leave 2000 foot, and wherewithal to arm 500 more, 20 companies of horſe, all this to be under Charles Cavendiſh, whom the gentlemen of the country have deſired me not to carry with me againſt his will, for he deſired extremely to go. The enemies have left within Nottingham 1000. I carry with me 3000 foot, 30 companies of horſe and dragoons, 6 pieces of cannon, and 2 mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as colonel of my guard, and Sir Alexander Leſley the foot under him, and Gerard the horſe, and Robin Legg the artillery, and her She-Majeſty Generaliſſima, and extremely diligent, with 150 waggons of baggage to govern, in caſe of battle. Have a care that no troop of Eſſex his army incommodate us, for I hope that for the reſt we ſhall be ſtrong enough, for at Nottingham we have had the experience, one of our troops having beaten ſix of theirs and made them fly. I have received your proclamation or declaration, which I wiſh had not been made, being extremely diſadvantagious for you; for you ſhew too much fear, and do not what you had reſolved upon. Farewel, my dear heart.

The queen to the king, 27 June, 1643.

Inſtructions

## XXXIV.

### Inſtructions to ------, ſent to the court of France, the 12th of July, 1626.

CHARLES Rex.

IT is not unknown both to the French king and his mother, what unkindneſſes and diſtaſtes have fallen between my wife and me, which hitherto I have born with great patience (as all the world knows) ever expecting and hoping an amendment, knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill craſty counſels of her ſervants, for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination: for at my firſt meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more teſtimonies of reſpect and love, then ſhe ſhewed; as to give one inſtance, her firſt ſuit to me was, That ſhe being young and coming to a ſtrange country, both by her years and ignorance of the cuſtoms of the place, might commit many errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my inſtructions learned her to eſchew them, and deſired me in theſe caſes to uſe no third perſon, but to tell her myſelf when I found ſhe did any thing amiſs. I both granted her requeſt, and thanked her for it, but deſired that ſhe would uſe me as ſhe had deſired me to uſe her, which ſhe willingly promiſed me, which promiſe ſhe never kept. For a little after this, madam St. George taking a diſtaſte becauſe I would not let her ride with us in the coach, when there was women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in England we think a ſtrange thing) ſet my wife in ſuch an humour of diſtaſte againſt me, as that from that very hour to this, no man can ſay that ever ſhe uſed me two days together with ſo much reſpect as I deſerved of her; but by the contrary, has put ſo many diſreſpects on me, as it were too long to ſet down all; ſome I will relate. As I take it, it was at her firſt coming to Hampton Court, I ſent ſome of my council to her, with thoſe orders that were kept in the queen my mother's houſe, deſiring ſhe would command the count of Tilliers, that the ſame might be kept in her's: her anſwer was, ſhe hoped that I would give her leave to order her houſe as ſhe liſt herſelf. (Now if ſhe had ſaid that ſhe would ſpeak with me, not doubting to give me ſatisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatſoever ſhe would have ſaid of this to myſelf, for I could only impute it to ignorance; but I could not imagine that ſhe ſhould affront me ſo, as to refuſe me in ſuch a thing publickly.) After I heard this anſwer, I took a time (when I thought we had both beſt leiſure to diſpute it) to tell her calmly both her fault in the publick denial, and her miſtaking of the buſineſs itſelf. She, inſtead of acknowledging her fault and miſtaking, gave me ſo ill an anſwer, that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of that diſcourſe having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the pains to ſet down, as her eſchewing to be in my company. When I have any thing to ſpeak to her, I muſt manage her ſervants firſt, elſe I am ſure to be denied; her neglect of the Engliſh tongue, and of the nation in general. I will alſo omit the affront ſhe did me, before my going to this laſt unhappy aſſembly of parliament, becauſe there has been talk enough of that already, &c. The author of it is before you in France. To be ſhort, omitting all other paſſages, coming only to that which is moſt recent

cent in memory; I having made a commiſſion to make my wife's jointure, &c. to aſſign her thoſe lands ſhe is to live on, and it being brought to ſuch a ripeneſs that it wanted but my conſent to the particulars they had choſen; ſhe taking notice that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, one night when I was a-bed, put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a liſt of thoſe that ſhe deſired to be of her revenue. I took it, and ſaid I would read it next morning; but withal told her, that by agreement in France I had the naming of them. She ſaid, there were both Engliſh and French in the note. I replied, That thoſe Engliſh I thought fit to ſerve her I would confirm; but for the French, it was impoſſible for them to ſerve her in that nature. Then ſhe ſaid, all thoſe in the paper had breviats from her mother, and herſelf, and that ſhe could admit no other. Then I ſaid it was neither in her mother's power, nor her's, to admit any without my leave, and that if ſhe ſtood upon that, whomſoever ſhe recommended, ſhould not come in. Then ſhe bad me plainly take my lands to myſelf, for if ſhe had no power to put in whom ſhe would in thoſe places, ſhe would have neither lands nor houſe of me, but bad me give her what I thought fit in penſion. I bad her then remember to whom ſhe ſpake, and told her, That ſhe ought not to uſe me ſo. Then ſhe fell into a paſſionate diſcourſe, how ſhe is miſerable, in having no power to place ſervants, and that buſineſſes ſucceeded the worſe for her recommendation; which when I offered to anſwer, ſhe would not ſo much as hear me. Then ſhe went on, ſaying, ſhe was not of that baſe quality to be uſed ſo ill. Then I made her both hear me and end that diſcourſe. Thus having had ſo long patience, with the diſturbance of that that ſhould be one of my greateſt contentments, I can no longer ſuffer thoſe that I know to be the cauſe and fomenters of theſe humours, to be about my wife any longer, which I muſt do if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to Tyburn in devotion to pray, which action can have no greater invective made againſt it, than the relation. Therefore you ſhall tell my brother the French king, as likewiſe his mother, that this being an action of ſo much neceſſity, I doubt not but he will be ſatisfied with it, eſpecially ſince he hath done the like himſelf, not ſtaying while he had ſo much reaſon: and being an action that ſome may interpret of harſhneſs to his nation, I thought good to give him an account of it, becauſe that in all things I would preſerve the good correſpondency and brotherly affection that is between us.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

## XXXV.

Dear Heart, Oxford, Jan. 164⅗.

I RECEIVE it as a good augure thus to begin this new year, having newly receiv'd thine of the 30 Decemb. which I cannot ſtay to decypher, for not loſing this opportunity, it likewiſe being a juſt excuſe for this ſhort accompt. This day I have diſpatched Digby's ſecretary, fully relating the ſtate of our affairs, therefore I ſhall only now tell thee, That the rebels are engaged into an equal treaty without any of thoſe diſadvantages which might have been apprehended when Tom. Elliot went hence, and that the diſtractions of London were never ſo great, or ſo likely

likely to bring good effect as now. Lastly, That assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife 1 Jan. 1644. by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

## XXXVI.

Harry, Oxford, Thursday 24 April.

LEST my wife should not yet be fit for any business, I write this to you; not to excuse my pains but ease her's; and that she may know but not be troubled with my kindness. I refer to your discretion, how far to impart my letter to her or any other business, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs. And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to Digby's sanguine complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if he should strictly tie himself to certain truths in this kind, you must have nothing from him but by proclamations or ordinances from the pretended houses. But tell me, can you not distinguish between what we send you upon certainty and what upon uncertain reports, without making an oath the mark of distinction? and are you obliged to publish all the news we send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French court. And certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight, may seem of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain, so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any rebels to keep the ballance of dissention among us equal.

For matter of news and present state of my affairs, I refer you to Digby; only this in general, that if it shall please God to assist us this year but half so miraculously as he did the last (my present state compared with what it was this time twelvemonth) I am very hopeful to see a joyful harvest before next winter: nor do I think this in any human probability possible, except my wife can procure me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despair, your last giving me good hope concerning Lorrain: and tho' I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in her's the 10th of March, says, "J'ay une affaire assure qui vous donnera 40000 pistoles, que je vous "eusse envoye si j'eusse eu mon navire revenu avec l'estain."

In the last place I will impose that upon you that is not reasonable to expect from my wife, which is to give me a continual account what letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or come slowly; to which end take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this is with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you: So farewel.

In your next let me know particularly how my wife is, which tho' it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is, if well, then every word will please me.

I have commanded Digby to write to you freely concerning William Murry, which I hold to be neceſſary as concerning Montroſſes buſineſs.

To the lord Jermyn, 24 April 1645. concerning France.

This is a true copy.

Zouch Tate.

## XXXVII.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my laſt by Choquen I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter: that which is now, is the progreſs of the treaty, of which theſe encloſed papers will give thee a full account; but if thou have them ſooner from London than me, thou haſt no reaſon to wonder, conſidering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to ſend by, in reſpect of the other: for the buſineſs itſelf, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of treaters; and for my propoſitions, they differ nothing in ſubſtance (very little in words) from thoſe which were laſt: wherefore I need to ſay nothing of them, and for my inſtructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to ſend them. Now upon the whole matter I deſire thee to ſhow the queen and miniſters there, the improbability that this preſent treaty ſhould produce a peace, conſidering the great ſtrange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the rebels propoſitions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little aſſiſtance, by thy means, will ſoon make them; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defenſive (which a reaſonable ſum of money would do) they would be eaſily brought to reaſon. Concerning our interferings here at Oxford, I deſire thee to ſuſpend thy judgment (for I believe few but partial relations will come to thee) until I ſhall ſend ſome whom I may truſt by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to us both to ſet them down in paper.

Copy to my wife 22 Jan. 1644.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

## XXXVIII.

Dear Heart,

I NEVER till now knew the good of ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the ſtorm, before I had certain aſſurance of thy happy eſcape; we having had a pleaſing falſe report, of thy ſafe landing at Newcaſtle, which thine of the 19 Jan. ſo confirmed us in, that we at leaſt were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger thou haſt paſt, of which I ſhall not be out of apprehenſion, until I may have the happineſs of thy company, for indeed I think it not the leaſt of my misfortunes, that for my ſake thou haſt run ſo much hazard; in which thou haſt expreſſed ſo much love to me that I confeſs it is impoſſible to repay, by any thing I can do, much leſs by words; but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient paſſion of gratitude to thee, I could not but ſay ſomething, leaving the reſt to be read by thee out of thine own noble heart. The

intercepting

intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 Feb. has bred great diſcourſe in ſeveral perſons, and of ſeveral kinds, as my ſaying I was perſecuted for places, is applied to all, and not only thoſe that I there name to be ſutors; whereas the truth is I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time enough to name as well as ſome there mentioned; for I confeſs 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault. Some find fault as too much kindneſs to thee (thou may eaſily vote from what conſtellation that comes) but I aſſure ſuch that I want expreſſion, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occaſions. Others preſs me as being brought upon the ſtage; but I anſwer that having profeſſed to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our treaty (leaving the particulars to this incloſed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it as concerning my part in it, for all the ſoldiers are well pleaſed with what I have done; but expect no ceſſation of arms, for the lower houſe will have none without a diſbanding, and I will not diſband till all be agreed. Laſtly for our military affairs, I thank God that here and in the Weſt they proſper well. As for the North I refer thee to 226. 140. Information. So daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my wife, 13 Feb. 1643.

Oxford, 13 Feb. 1643.

A true copy,

Zouch Tate.

## XXXIX.

### Inſtructions to colonel Cockran to be purſued in his negotiation to the king of Denmark.

YOU are to inform the king of Denmark, that by his Majeſty's command, as to the neareſt ally of his crown, his uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in intereſt as affection, you are ſent to give a particular account of the ſtate of his Majeſty's affairs; to renew the ancient league and amity that hath been between the two kingdoms and families royal, and to reduce it to more exact particulars, ſuch as might be uſeful to the preſent affairs of England, and all occurrences in the future of thoſe of Denmark.

THAT the preſent affair of your negotiation, is to demand an aſſiſtance, from his Majeſty, ſuch a one as the preſent ſtate of the affairs in England requires, againſt a dangerous combination of his Majeſty's ſubjects, who have not only invaded his Majeſty in his particular rights, but have laid a deſign to diſſolve the monarchy and frame of government, under pretences of liberty and religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the monarchies of Chriſtendom, if attended with ſucceſs in their deſign.

THAT the nature of their proceedings hath been ſuch as hath not admitted any foreign treaty to be intereſſed in ſuppreſſing their deſign, without giving them advantage of ſcandaling his Majeſty's intentions, and and drawing away univerſally the hearts of his people, whom they had inſinuated under pretence of reformation of particular abuſes of government, and miniſters of eſtate, to concur generally with approbation of their

proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous conſequence and deſign were viſible to his Majeſty) a preſent compliance was neceſſary, leſt any publick oppoſition on his Majeſty's part, that might ſeem to defeat the great expectations which they had raiſed in the commons in thoſe plauſible particulars, might have occaſioned a general revolt throughout the kingdoms, great jealouſies being diſperſed and fomented among them of his Majeſty's foreign treaties, and force to be uſed to oppoſe and ſuppreſs thoſe their deſires and the movers therein.

UPON the credit they had herewith built on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of reformation of religion to diſſolve the government of the church, according to its conſtitution in England, a chief column and ſupport to that monarchy and crown.

THEY laſtly invaded his Majeſty in all the prerogatives of his crown, and under pretence of ill miniſters and counſellors of eſtate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to inveſt in themſelves in all times for the future the denomination of all miniſtries of eſtate, and of his Majeſty's family; withdrew all his revenues into their own hands, and to confirm themſelves in an abſolute power of diſpoſing his eſtate, entred upon poſſeſſing themſelves of the militia of the kingdom, his navy and magazins; in which his Majeſty being forced to appear in oppoſition, dangerous tumults were raiſed againſt him, ſo that he was forced to forſake London, for preſervation of his perſon, his queen and children.

THAT ſince for the ſafety of the queen he hath been forced to ſend her into Holland, and to retire himſelf to the beſt affected party of his ſubjects, from whence by declarations ſetting forth the ſiniſter proceedings of that faction, diſcovering their deſigns of innovating the government, and falſifying the ſcandals they had imputed to him, he hath the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to him univerſally the nobility and gentry of the kingdom. But the other faction ſtill keeping up ſome intereſt and credit with the commons, in the deſperate eſtate they find themſelves begin to make head againſt him, have appointed a general, and are levying forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hoſtility, violence and rebellion.

THAT his Majeſty having great encouragements given him by the exceeding numbers of gentry and noblemen that reſort to him, is already advanced near them with 6000 horſe, and 10000 foot.

THAT the ſtates of Holland have condeſcended to give her Majeſty the queen a convoy of the greateſt part of their fleet now at ſea, for her return into England.

THAT divers forts and counties upon his Majeſty's perſonal appearance, have declared for him, ſo that his affairs at home grow daily into a better eſtate, as he likewiſe expects and hopes, that all his neighbour princes and allies, will not look upon ſo dangerous a precedent to their own crowns and monarchies, without contributing to ſuppreſs this ſo pernicious a deſign begun within his kingdom.

THAT to give his (Daniſh) Majeſty the juſter ground to reflect upon the dangerous conſequences, in relation to his own intereſt, of their ſucceſs, it hath been by them publickly moved in the commons houſe long ſince, to interpoſe in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to ſet out a fleet to take away his cuſtoms of the Sound.

THAT they have ſince imputed to his Majeſty as a ground to ſcandal him with his people, that he did negotiate the introducing by his uncle the king of Denmark a foreign power to ſettle his affairs, and under that pretext have given a large commiſſion and particular inſtructions to the fleet, to viſit, ſearch, and intercept all ſuch Daniſh ſhips, as they ſhould meet, and to fight with, ſink or deſtroy, all ſuch as ſhould reſiſt them, not permitting the ſame, or to take and detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which they have ſearched, viſited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade driven commonly in this kingdom in their own bottoms; and that they did prepare force againſt others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the Weſt-Indies, and put in by ſtreſs of weather in the Weſt of England.

THAT in purſuance of their great deſign of extirpating the royal blood and monarchy of England, they have endeavoured likewiſe to lay a great blemiſh upon his royal family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his ſiſter, at once to cut off the intereſt and pretentions of the whole race; which their moſt deteſtable and ſcandalous deſign they have purſued, examining witneſſes, and conferring circumſtances and times to colour their pretenſions in ſo great a fault; and which, as his ſacred majeſty of England in the true ſenſe of honour of his mother doth abhor, and will puniſh; ſo he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a ſiſter of ſo happy memory, and by whom ſo near an union, and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the families and kingdoms.

THAT the particulars in which his majeſty doth deſire his aſſiſtance, are, in the loan and raiſing of men, money, arms and ſhips, all or ſuch of them as may conſiſt beſt with the convenience of his own affairs: and of ſuch in the firſt place as may be moſt requiſite and wanting to his majeſty.

THAT to ſet his levies on foot, and put him in a poſture to protect his ſubjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, 1000000l. will be neceſſary for him, which his Majeſty deſires by way of Loan. And for the reſtitution of it, beſides his kingly word and ſolemn engagement upon this treaty, he is contented, of ſuch his crown-jewels as are in his diſpoſure, to leave his royal pledge, if it ſhall be deſired.

THE particulars of arms that he deſires, are 6000 muſquets, 1500 horſe-arms, and 20 pieces of field-artillery mounted.

ASSISTANCE of men, he deſires only in horſemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

THAT the Holy Iſland, or New-Caſtle, are deſigned for the landing of the ſaid horſe, and magazine of the ſaid proviſions; for reception likewiſe, and protection of ſuch his ſhips as he ſhall think fit to employ for the countenance and ſecurity of thoſe his ſubjects that ſhall trade upon theſe coaſts, and for aſcertaining the correſpondence and intelligence between the two kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may beſt ſort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Iſland is conceived one of the apteſt harbours in his majeſty's dominions, being capable of any ſhips whatſoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road at the entrance, a ready out-let, and a ſtrong fort under his majeſty's command.

THAT in lieu of this aſſiſtance contributed by the king of Denmark, his Majeſty will oblige himſelf, and ratify in expreſs articles, to reſtore

into the magazines of Denmark, a like proportion of arms and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of horſe, and ſo ſoon as his affairs ſhall be ſettled, and himſelf in a condition to do it, upon all occaſions, to contribute the aſſiſtance of his fleet, in maintaining his right and title to the cuſtoms of the Sound againſt all perſons whatſoever; to ratify the treaty that was made laſt by Sir Thomas Roe, and to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive againſt inteſtine rebellions. In purſuance of which treaty, while the negotiations and articles may be ſeverally perfected, his Majeſty doth expect this firſt ſupply of monies and arms, preſent affairs not admitting a delay in the ſame.

THAT in caſe the king of Denmark will lend money upon jewels, there is in Holland a great collar of rubies, and another of rubies and pearl, that may be ſent to him or deliver'd to his agent there: who may have order to pay the money here: or any other jewels.

THAT there have been in diſcourſes ſeveral propoſitions of accommodation made by them to the king, to which the king hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reaſon could have been expected from him, and the difficulties have ſtill riſen on theirs.

AND that whereas his Majeſty doth underſtand, that a perſon is addreſſed to the king of Denmark from his parliament, to inſinuate miſunderſtandings abroad with his Majeſty's allies, as they have done at home among his people, his Majeſty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his dominions, to become an intelligencer and ſpy upon the treaty and negotiations between their Majeſties, but that he be diſmiſt and ſent away ſo ſoon as ever he ſhall arrive.

KING Charles I. in a printed declaration dated from Newark, March 9, 1641. ſays to the parliament, "Whatſoever you are "advertiſed from Rome, Venice, Paris, of the Pope's nuncio ſolliciting "France, Spain, &c. for foreign aids, we are confident no ſober honeſt "man in our kingdom can believe that we are ſo deſperate or ſo ſenſeleſs "to entertain ſuch deſigns, as would not only bury this our kingdom in "certain deſtruction and ruin, but our name and poſterity in perpetual "ſcorn and infamy."

IF this paſſage be compared with the preceding letters and inſtructions, all equitable men may judge whether the King did not paſs ſentence againſt himſelf, and abſolve the high court of Juſtice.

## An order ſent to the king's printer, with the proclamation againſt the Iriſh rebels.

IT is his Majeſty's pleaſure, That you forthwith print in very good paper, and ſend unto me for his Majeſty's ſervice, forty copies of the proclamation incloſed, leaving convenient ſpace for his Majeſty to ſign above, and to affix the privy ſignet underneath: and his Majeſty's command is, That you print not above the ſaid number of forty copies, and forbear to make any further publication of them, 'till his pleaſure be further ſignified; for which this ſhall be your warrant.

Whitehall, 2 Jan. 1641.

Edward Nicholas.

For his Majeſty's printer.

Propoſitions

## Propoſitions delivered to his Majeſty by the earl of Strafford, for ſecuring of his Majeſty's eſtate and bridling of parliaments, and for increaſe of his revenue much more than it is.

TOuching the firſt, having conſidered divers means, I find none ſo important to ſtrengthen your Majeſty's regal authorities againſt all oppoſitions or practices of troubleſome ſpirits, as to fortify your kingdom, by having a fortreſs in every chief town and important place thereof, furniſhed with ordnance, munition and faithful men, as they ought to be, with all other circumſtances fit to be digeſted in a buſineſs of this nature.

ORDERING withal, the trained ſoldiers of the country to be united in one dependency with the ſaid forts, as well to ſecure their beginnings, as to ſecure them in any occaſion of ſuſpect, and keep their arms for more ſecurity, whereby the countries are no leſs to be brought into ſubjection than the cities themſelves, and conſequently the whole kingdom; your Majeſty having, by this courſe, the power thereof in your own hands.

### The reaſons of theſe ſuggeſtions.

FIRST, That in policy, it is a greater tie of the people by force and neceſſity, than meerly by love and affection; for by the one government reſteth always ſecure; but by the other, no longer than the people are well contented.

SECONDLY, It forceth obſtinate ſubjects to be no more preſumptuous than it pleaſeth your Majeſty to permit them.

THIRDLY, That to have a ſtate unfurniſhed is to give bridle thereof to the ſubject, when by the contrary it reſteth only in the prince's hand.

FOURTHLY, That modern fortreſſes take long time in winning, with ſuch charge and difficulty as no ſubjects in theſe times have means probable to attempt them.

FIFTHLY, That it is a ſure remedy againſt rebellious and popular mutinies, or againſt foreign powers, becauſe they cannot well ſucceed, when by this courſe the apparent means is taken away to force the king and ſtate upon a doubtful fortune of a ſet battle, as was the cauſe that moved the pretended invaſion againſt the land attempted by the king of Spain, 1588.

SIXTHLY, That your Majeſty's government is now ſecured by the people's more ſubjection, and by their ſubjection your parliament must be forced conſequently to alter their ſtile, and to be conformable to your will and pleaſure, for their words and oppoſition importeth nothing, where the power is in your Majeſty's own hands to do with them what you pleaſe; being indeed the chief purpoſe of this diſcourſe, and the true intent thereof fit to be conceal'd from any Engliſh at all, either [illegible] of ſtate or others.

FOR theſe and other weighty reaſons, it may be [illegible] to make your majeſty more powerful and ſtrong [illegible] ſerved, that are uſed in fortify'd countries, the [illegible] porteth as much as the ſtates themſelves, I [illegible] ſuſpect, which are theſe.

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IMPRIMIS, That none wear arms or weapons at all, either in city or country, but ſuch as your majeſty may think fit to privilege, and they to be enrolled.

SECONDLY, That as many highways, as conveniently may be done, may be made paſſable through thoſe cities and towns fortify'd, to conſtrain the paſſengers to travel through them.

THIRDLY, That ſoldiers of fortreſſes be ſometimes choſen of another nation, if ſubjects to the ſame prince, but howſoever not to be born in the ſame province, or within forty miles of the fortreſs, and not to have friends or correſpondency near it.

FOURTHLY, That at the gates of ſuch walled towns be appointed officers, not to ſuffer any unknown paſſenger to paſs without a ticket ſhewing from whence he came, and whither he goeth: And that the gates of each city be ſhut at night, and the keys be kept by the mayor or governor: alſo that the inn-keepers do deliver the names of all unknown paſſengers that lodge in their houſes, and if they ſtay ſuſpiciouſly at any time, to preſent them to the governor: whereby dangerous perſons ſeeing theſe ſtrict courſes, will be more wary of their actions, and thereby miſchievous attempts will be prevented. All which being referred to your Majeſty's wiſe conſideration, it is meet for me withal to give you ſome ſatisfaction of the charge and time to perform what is propoſed, that you may not be diſcouraged in the difficulty of the one, or prolongation of the other; both which doubts are reſolved in one and the ſame reaſon, in reſpect that in England each chief town commonly hath a ruinated caſtle well ſeated for ſtrength, whoſe foundation and ſtones remaining may be both quickly repair'd for this uſe, and with little charge, and made ſtrong enough, I hope, for this purpoſe in the ſpace of one year, by adding withal bulwarks and rampiers, according to the rules of fortification.

THE ordnance of theſe forts may be of iron, and not to diſfurniſh your Majeſty's navy, or be at a greater charge than is needful to maintain yearly the forts.

I MAKE account in ordinary pay three thouſand men will be ſufficient, and will require forty thouſand pounds charge per annum, or thereabouts, being an expence that inferior princes undergo for their neceſſary ſafety: all which prevention, added to the invincible ſea-forces your Majeſty hath already, and may have, will make you the moſt powerful and obeyed prince of the world, which I could likewiſe confirm by many examples, but I omit them for brevity, and not to confuſe your Majeſty with too much matter. Your gracious Majeſty may find by the ſcope of this diſcourſe, the means ſhewed in general to bridle your ſubjects, that may either be diſcontented, or obſtinate. So likewiſe am I to conclude the ſame intent particularly againſt the perverſeneſs of your parliament, as well to ſuppreſs that pernicious humour, as to avoid their oppoſitions againſt your profit, being the ſecond part to be diſcourſed on.

AND therefore have firſt thought fit, for better prevention thereof, to make known to your Majeſty the purpoſe of a general oath your ſubjects may take, for ſure avoiding of all rubs that may hinder the concluſion of thoſe buſineſſes.

IT is further meant, That no ſubject upon pain of high-treaſon may refuſe the ſame oath, containing only matter of allegiance and not ſcruples or points of conſcience, that may gain pretence to be denied.

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The effect of the oath is this.

THAT all your Majeſty's ſubjects do acknowledge you to be abſolute king and monarch within your dominions, as is among the chriſtian princes, and your prerogative as great, whereby you may and ſhall of yourſelf by your Majeſty's proclamation, as well as any other ſovereign princes doing the like, make laws or reverſe any made, with any other act ſo great a monarch as yourſelf may do; and that without further conſent of parliaments, or need to call them at all, in ſuch caſes confirming that the parliament in all matters (excepting cauſes to be ſentenced as the high court) ought to be ſubject unto your Majeſty's will to give the negative or affirmative concluſion, and not to be conſtrained by their impertinencies to any inconvenience, appertaining to your Majeſty's royal authority; and this notwithſtanding any bad pretence or cuſtom to the contrary in practice, which (indeed) were fitter to be offered a prince elected without any other right, than to your Majeſty born ſucceſſively king of England, Scotland and Ireland, and your heirs for ever; and ſo reſumed, not only of your ſubjects, but alſo of the whole world. How neceſſary the dangerous ſupremacy of parliament-uſurpation is to be prevented, the example of Lewis XI. king of France doth manifeſt; who found the like oppoſition as your Majeſty doth, and by his wiſdom ſuppreſs'd it, and that to the purpoſe here intended, which is not to put down altogether parliaments, and their authority, being in many caſes very neceſſary and fit, but to abridge them ſo far as they ſeek to derogate from your Majeſty's royal authority or advancement of your greatneſs.

THE caution in offering the aforeſaid oath may require ſome policy, for the eaſier paſſage of it at firſt, either by ſingular or particular tractation, and that ſo near at one time over the land, as one government may not know what the other intendeth, ſo it may paſs the eaſier by having no time of combination or oppoſition.

THERE is another means alſo more certain than this to bring to paſs this oath more eaſily: as alſo your profit, and what is pretended, which here I omit for brevity, requiring a long diſcourſe by itſelf, and have ſet it down in particular inſtructions to inform your Majeſty.

THE ſecond part of this diſcourſe is touching your Majeſty's profit, after your ſtate is ſecured; wherein I ſhall obſerve both ſome reaſonable content to the people, as alſo conſider the great expences that princes have now a-days more than in times paſt to maintain their greatneſs and ſafety of their ſubjects, who if they have not wit or will to conſider their own intereſt, ſo much your Majeſty's wiſdom muſt repair their defects, and force them by compulſion. But I hope there ſhall be no ſuch cauſe in points ſo reaſonable.

To increaſe your Majeſty's revenue I ſet down divers means for your gracious ſelf to make choice of either all or part at your pleaſure, and to put it in execution by ſuch degrees and conditions as your great wiſdom ſhall think fit in a buſineſs of this nature.

IMPRIMIS, The firſt courſe or means intended to increaſe your Majeſty's revenues or profit withal, is of greateſt conſequence: and I ſhall call it a Decima, being ſo termed in Italy where in ſome parts it is in uſe, impoſing the tenth part of all ſubjects eſtates to be paid as a yearly rent to the prince, and as well monied-men in towns, as landed-men in the countries, their value and eſtates eſteemed juſtly as it is to the true value,

(tho' with reaſon) and this paid yearly in money; which courſe apply'd in England for your Majeſty's ſervice may ſerve inſtead of ſubſidies, fifteens and ſuch like, which in this caſe are fit to be releaſed for the ſubjects benefit and content, in recompence of the ſaid Decima, which will yield your Majeſty more in certainty, than they do caſually by five hundred thouſand pounds per annum, at the leaſt.

ITEM, That when your Majeſty hath gotten money into your hands by ſome courſes to be ſet down, it would be a profitable courſe to increaſe your Intrato, to buy out all eſtates and leaſes upon your own lands in ſuch ſort that they be made no loſers; whereby, having your lands free, and renting them out to the true value as it is moſt in uſe, and not employed as heretofore at an old rent and ſmall fines, you may rent it out for at leaſt four or five times more money than the old rent comes to; ſo that if your Majeſty's lands be already but threeſcore thouſand pounds per annum, by this courſe it will be augmented at leaſt two hundred thouſand pounds per annum; and to buy out the tenants eſtates will come to a ſmall matter by the courſe, to make them no loſers, conſidering the gains they have already made upon the lands; and this is the rather to be done, and the preſent courſe changed, becauſe it hath been a cuſtom meerly to couzen the king.

ITEM, Whereas moſt princes do receive the benefit of ſalt in their own hands as a matter of great profit, becauſe they receive it at the loweſt price poſſible, and vent it with double gains yearly; the ſame courſe uſed by your Majeſty were worth an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds at leaſt. It is likewiſe in other parts, that all weights and meaſures of the land, either in private houſes, ſhops or publick markets, ſhould be viewed to be juſt, and ſealed once a year, paying to the prince for it; which in England apply'd to your Majeſty, with order to pay ſix-pence for the ſealing of each ſaid weight or meaſure, would yield near threeſcore thouſand pounds per annum.

ITEM, That all countries pay a Gabella for tranſportation of cloth, and ſo likewiſe in England; yet in Spain there is an impoſt upon the woolls, which is ſo great a benefit and wealth to the ſheep-maſters, as they may well pay you 5l. per cent. of the true value of their ſhearing, which I conceive may be worth 15,000l. per annum.

ITEM, Whereas the lawyers fees and gains in England be exceſſive to your Majeſty's ſubjects prejudice, it were to your Majeſty to make uſe thereof, and to impoſe on all cauſes ſentenced with the party to pay 5l. per cent. of the true value that the cauſe had gained him; and for a recompence thereof to limit all lawyers fees and gettings, whereby the ſubject ſhall ſave more in fees and charges than he giveth in the Gabella, which I believe may be worth one year with another fifty thouſand pounds.

ITEM, Whereas the inns and victualling-houſes in England are more chargeable to travellers than in other countries, it were good for your Majeſty to limit them to certain ordinaries, and raiſe beſides a large impoſition, as it is uſed in Tuſcany and other parts; that is, prohibiting all inns and victualling-houſes, but ſuch as ſhall pay it; and to impoſe upon the chief inns and taverns to pay ten pounds a year to your Majeſty, and the worſt five pounds per annum; and all the ale-houſes twenty ſhillings per annum, more or leſs as they are in cuſtom of all ſorts: there are ſo many in England that this impoſt will yield 100,000l. per annum to your Majeſty.

ITEM,

ITEM, In Tuſcany and other parts there is a Gabella of all cattle or fleſh, or horſes ſold in the market paying three or four pound per cent. for what they are ſold for, which by conjecture may be worth in England 20,000 l. per annum; uſing the like cuſtom upon fiſh and other victuals (bread excepted.) And for this cauſe all fleſh and fiſh, and victuals to be praiſed and ſold by weight, whereby the ſubject ſaveth more in not being couzened, than the impoſition importeth them.

ITEM, In Tuſcany is uſed a taxation of 7 l. per cent. upon all alienations of lands to the true value; as alſo ſeven pounds per cent. upon all dowries or marriage-monies the like; if it be juſtly uſed in England were worth at leaſt 100,000 l. per annum; with many other taxations upon meal, and upon all merchandize in all towns, as well port-towns, which here I omit, as not fit for England. And in ſatisfaction to the ſubjects for theſe taxes, your Majeſty may be pleaſed to releaſe them of wardſhips, and to enjoy their eſtates at 18 years old, and in the mean time their profit to be preſerved for their own benefit. And alſo in forfeitures of eſtates by condemnation, your Majeſty may releaſe the ſubject, as not to take the forfeiture of their lands, but their goods (high-treaſon only excepted;) and to allow the counſel of lawyers in caſes of life and death, as alſo not to be condemned without two witneſſes; with ſuch like benefits, which import much more their good than all the taxations named can prejudice them.

ITEM, That ſome of the former taxations be uſed in Scotland and Ireland, as may eaſily be brought about by the firſt example thereof uſed in England, may very well be made to increaſe your revenue there more than it is by 200,000 l. per annum.

ITEM, All offices in the land, great and ſmall, in your Majeſty's grant may be granted with condition to pay you a part yearly according to the true value. This in time may be worth, as I conceive, an hundred thouſand pounds per annum. Adding alſo notaries, attornies, and ſuch like, to pay ſome proportion yearly towards it, for being allowed by your Majeſty to practiſe, and prohibiting elſe any to practiſe in ſuch places.

ITEM, I know an aſſured courſe in your Majeſty's navy, which may ſave at leaſt forty thouſand pounds per annum; which requiring a whole diſcourſe by itſelf, I omit; only do promiſe you to do it whenſoever you command.

ITEM, To reduce your Majeſty's houſhold to board-wages, as moſt other princes do, reſerving ſome few tables. This will ſave your Majeſty 60,000 l. per annum, and eaſe greatly the ſubjects beſides, both in carriages and proviſion, which is a good reaſon that your Majeſty in honour might do it.

ITEM, Whereas your Majeſty's laws do command the ſtrict keeping of faſting-days, you may alſo prohibit on thoſe days to eat eggs, cheeſe, or white meats, but ſuch only as are contented to pay 18 d. per annum for their liberty to eat them; and the better ſort 10 s. The employment of this may be for the defence of the land in maintaining the navy, garriſons and ſuch like, much after the faſhion of Cruzado in Spain, as your Majeſty knoweth.

LASTLY, I have a courſe upon catholicks, and very ſafe for your Majeſty, being with their good liking, as it may be wrought to yield you preſently at leaſt 200,000 l. per annum, by raiſing a certain value upon their lands, and ſome other impoſitions, which requiring a long diſcourſe by itſelf, I will omit it here, ſetting it down in my inſtructions: it will ſave

your Majeſty at the leaſt 10,000 l. per annum, to make it pain of death and confiſcation of goods and lands for any of the officers to couzen you, which now is much to be feared they do, or elſe they could not be ſo rich; and herein to allow a fourth part benefit to them that ſhall find out the couzenage.

HERE is not meant officers of ſtate, as the lord treaſurer, &c. being officers of the crown. The ſum of all this amounteth to two millions two hundred thouſand pounds per annum. Suppoſe it to be but one million and a half, as ſurely your Majeſty may make by the courſes ſet down; yet is more than I promiſed in my letter for your Majeſty's ſervice, beſides ſome ſums of money in preſent by the courſes following.

IMPRIMIS, By the prince's marriage.

SECONDLY, To make all the earls in England grandees, as in Spain and Principi, with ſuch like privileges, and to pay 20000l. apiece for it.

THIRDLY, Alſo if you make them feodaries of the towns belonging to their earldoms, if they will for it----------beſides, as they do to the king of Spain in the kingdom of Naples. And ſo likewiſe barons to be made earls and peers, to pay nineteen thouſand pounds apiece. I think it might yield five hundred thouſand pounds, and oblige them more ſure to your Majeſty.

FOURTHLY, To make choice of two hundred of the richeſt men in England in eſtate that be not noblemen, and make them titular, as it is uſed in Naples, and paying for it: that is, a duke thirty thouſand pounds, a marquis fifteen thouſand pounds, and earl ten thouſand pounds, a baron or viſcount five thouſand pounds.

IT is to be underſtood that ancient nobility of barons and earls are to preceed theſe as peers, tho' theſe be made marqueſſes or dukes. This may raiſe a million of pounds, and more to your Majeſty. To make gentlemen of low quality, and franklins or rich farmers eſquires to preceed them, would yield your majeſty alſo a great ſum of money in preſent.

I KNOW another courſe to yield your Majeſty three hundred thouſand pounds in money, which as yet the time ſerveth not to deliver until your Majeſty be reſolved to proceed in ſome of the former courſes, which till then I omit.

OTHER courſes alſo that may make preſent money, I ſhall ſtudy for your Majeſty's ſervice; and as I ſhall find them out acquaint you withal.

LASTLY, To conclude all theſe diſcourſes by the application of this courſe uſed for your profit, that is, not only the means to make you the richeſt king that ever England had, but alſo your ſafety augmented thereby to be moſt ſecure. Beſides what is ſhewed in the firſt part of this diſcourſe, I mean by the occaſion of the taxation, and raiſing of monies, your majeſty ſhall have cauſe and means to imploy in all places of the land ſo many officers and miniſters to be obliged to you for their own profit and intereſt, as nothing can be attempted againſt your perſon and royal ſtate over the land, but ſome of theſe ſhall in all probability have means to find it out and hinder it. Beſides this courſe will repreſs many diſorders and abuſes in the publick government, which were hard to be diſcovered by men indifferent.

To prohibit gorgious and coſtly apparel to be worn but by perſons of good quality, ſhall ſave the gentry of the kingdom much more money than they ſhall be taxed to pay your majeſty,

Thus withal I humbly take my leave, and kiſs your gracious hands, deſiring pardon for my errors I may commit herein.

## A copy of the commiſſion produced by the Iriſh for juſtification of their rebellion.

CHARLES by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Catholick ſubjects within our kingdom of Ireland, greeting: know ye, that we for the ſafeguard and preſervation of our perſon have been forced to make our abode and reſidence in our kingdom of Scotland for a long ſeaſon, occaſioned by the obſtinate and diſobedient carriage of our parliament in England againſt us, who have not only preſumed to take upon them the government and diſpoſing of thoſe princely rights and prerogatives that have juſtly deſcended upon us from our predeceſſors both kings and queens of the ſaid kingdom for many hundred years paſt, but alſo have poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole ſtrength of the ſaid kingdom, in appointing governors, commanders and officers, in all parts and places therein at their own will and pleaſure, without our conſent, whereby we are deprived of our ſovereignty, and left naked without defence. And foraſmuch as we are in Ourſelf very ſenſible that theſe ſtorms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the vehemency of the puritan party into our kingdom of Ireland, and endanger our regal power and authority there alſo: know ye therefore that we repoſing much care and truſt in your duty and obedience, which we have for many years paſt found, do hereby give unto you full power and authority to aſſemble and meet together with all the ſpeed and diligence that a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence doth require, and to adviſe and conſult together by ſufficient and diſcreet numbers at all times, days and places, which you ſhall in your judgments hold moſt convenient and material, for the ordering, ſettling and effecting of this great work (mentioned and directed unto you in our letters) and to uſe all politick ways and means poſſible to poſſeſs yourſelves (for our uſe and ſervice) of all the forts, caſtles and places of ſtrength and defence within the ſaid kingdom, (except the places, perſons and eſtates of our loyal and loving ſubjects the Scots) and alſo to arreſt and ſeize the goods, eſtates and perſons of all the Engliſh proteſtants within the ſaid kingdom to our uſe. And in your care and ſpeedy performance of this our will and pleaſure, we ſhall perceive your wonted duty and allegiance to us, which we ſhall accept and reward in due time. Witneſs Ourſelf at Edinburgh the firſt day of October, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

## Carolus Princeps Gregorio PP. 15.

Sanctiſſime Pater,

BEATITUDINIS veſtræ literas non minore gratitudine & obſervantia accepimus, quam exigat, ex qua novimus exaratas, inſignis benevolentia & pietatis affectus: atque illud imprimis gratum fuit nunquam ſatis laudata majorum exempla inſpicienda nobis a veſtra ſanctitate atque imitanda fuiſſe propoſita; qui licet multoties omnium fortunarum & *vitæ*

ipſius diſcrimen adiverint, quo fidem chriſtianam laturi propagarent, haud tamen alacriori animo in infeſtiſſimos Chriſti hoſtes crucis Chriſti vexilla intulerunt, quam nos omnem opem & operam adhibebimus, ut quæ tam diu exulavit pax & unitas, in chriſtianam rempublicam poſtliminio reducatur. Cum enim diſcordiarum patris malitia inter illos ipſos qui chriſtianam profitentur religionem tam infelicia ſeminarit diſſidia, hoc vel maxime neceſſarium ducimus ad ſacro-ſanctam Dei & ſalvatoris Chriſti gloriam felicius promovendam. Et non minori nobis honori futurum exiſtimabimus tritam majorum noſtrorum veſtigiis inſiſtentes viam, in piis ac religioſis ſuſceptis illorum æmulos atque imitatores extitiſſe quam genus noſtrum ab illis atque originem duxiſſe. Atque ad idem nos iſtud plurimum inflammat perſpecta nobis domini regis ac patris noſtri voluntas, & quo flagrat deſideri um ad tam ſanctum opus porrigendi manum auxiliatricem, tum qui regium pectus exedit dolor, cum perpendit quam ſævæ exoriantur ſtrages quam deplorandæ calamitates ex principum Chriſtianorum diſſentionibus. Judicium vero quod ſanctitas veſtra tulit de noſtro cum domo ac principe catholico affinitatem & nuptias contrahendi deſiderio, & caritati veſtræ eſt conſentaneum, nec a ſapientia invenietur alienum. Nunquam tanto quo ferimur ſtudio, nunquam tam arcto & tam indiſſolubili vinculo ulli mortalium conjungi cuperemus, cujus odio religionem proſequeremur. Quare ſanctitas veſtra illud in animum inducat, ea modo nos eſſe ſemperque futuros moderatione, ut quam longiſſime abfuturi ſimus ab omni opere quod odium teſtari poſſit ullam adverſus religionem Catholicam Romanam: omnes potius captabimus occaſiones quo leni benignoque rerum curſu ſiniſtræ omnes ſuſpiciones e medio penitus tollantur: ut ſicut omnes unam individuam Trinitatem & unum Chriſtum crucifixum confitemur, in unam fidem unanimiter coaleſcamus: quod ut aſſequamur labores omnes atque vigilias, regnorum etiam atque vitæ pericula parvi pendimus. Reliquum eſt ut quas poſſumus maximas pro literis quas inſignis muneris loco ducimus, gratias agentes ſanctitati veſtræ omnia proſpera & felicitatem æternam comprecamur. Datum Madridi 20 Junii, 1623.

## Prince Charles to Pope Gregory 15.

Moſt Holy Father,

WE have received your holineſs's letter with no leſs gratitude and reſpect than is due to the ſingular good will and pious affection with which we know it was written. Nothing could be more acceptable to us than to find the renowned examples of our anceſtors propoſed to us by your holineſs for our ſtudy and imitation; who tho' they frequently hazarded both lives and fortunes to propagate the chriſtian faith, yet never more chearfully carried the enſigns of the croſs againſt the moſt mortal enemies of Jeſus Chriſt, than we will endeavour to the utmoſt of our power to reſtore that peace and union which has been ſo long baniſhed from the chriſtian commonwealth. For ſince the malice of the father of diſcord has ſow'd ſuch unhappy diviſions among thoſe who profeſs the chriſtian religion, we think ſuch endeavours to be abſolutely neceſſary to promote the glory of God and of Chriſt our ſaviour. Nor ſhall we eſteem it leſs honour to tread in the ſame path, and to be their rivals and imitators in pious and religious undertakings, than to derive our deſcent from them. And to this we are very much incouraged by the known inclination of the king our father, who deſires nothing more ardently than to lend a helping

hand

hand to ſo pious a work, and feels the greateſt anguiſh of heart, when he conſiders the cruel ſlaughters and deplorable calamities that ariſe from the diſſentions of chriſtian princes. The judgment your holineſs makes of our deſire to contract an alliance and marriage with a catholick family and princeſs, is not only agreeable to your charity, but will alſo be found ſuitable to your great wiſdom. For we would not ſo vehemently deſire to enter into ſo cloſe and undiſſolvable an engagement with any mortal creature, whoſe religion we hated. Therefore your holineſs may reſt aſſured that our moderation is and ever ſhall be ſuch as will preſerve us from any action that may teſtify the leaſt hatred to the Roman catholick religion; and that by eaſy and gentle means we will rather embrace all occaſions of removing thoſe invidious impreſſions and ſuſpicions which are among us: that as we confeſs one individual Trinity, and one Chriſt crucified, ſo we may unanimouſly re-unite in one faith; for the attainment of which we ſhall not only employ our vigilant care and utmoſt diligence, but moſt readily hazard our life and kingdoms. It remains only to give your holineſs our beſt thanks for your letter, which we eſteem a moſt ſingular preſent, and to wiſh your holineſs all manner of proſperity and eternal happineſs. At Madrid, June 20, 1623.

## A letter written by Robert Sidney earl of Leiceſter, to Algernon Piercy earl of Northumberland, touching the ſervice of Ireland.

My Lord,

THO' I have written thrice to the commiſſioners for the affairs of Ireland ſince my coming from London, to give them account of my ſtay at court, and that I have alſo written ſeveral letters to ſome particular friends, in hope that thereby the truth might be known and myſelf rightly underſtood; yet becauſe thoſe letters peradventure may have miſcarried, and leſt I ſhould incur the cenſure of the parliament for negligence or ſlackneſs in that ſervice to which I have been deſign'd, I will truly and as briefly as I can relate to your lordſhip how I have behaved myſelf; and if your lordſhip pleaſe you may communicate it to the houſe of peers; as in your judgment and favour to me you ſhall think fit; and I hope it will appear that as I have been very impatient of this delay, ſo I have not wanted diligence in the ſollicitation of my diſpatch.

WHEN I came to York, I told the king that I was come thither to receive his Majeſty's commandments and inſtructions for that employment which he had done me the honour to confer upon me, and I did humbly beſeech him that I might not be ſtaid at court, becauſe the parliament did deſire my ſpeedy repair into Ireland, and that his ſervice, as I conceived, did require it; at leaſt that ſome governour, if I were not worthy of that charge, ſhould be preſently ſent into that kingdom. The king told me that he would think of it. But I muſt confeſs I did not find his Majeſty ſo ready to diſpatch me as I hoped and expected. From that time I did not fail to beſeech his Majeſty to ſend me away, upon every opportunity that I had of ſpeaking to him; and I think there paſſed not a day that I did not deſire the ſecretaries of ſtate and ſome other perſons about the king, to put his Majeſty in mind of me and to haſten my diſmiſſion. Divers times I made it my petition to the king that he would diſpatch me,

or

or declare his intention that he would not let me go at all. The king ſaid, My inſtructions ſhould be drawn, and that he would give order to Mr. ſecretary Nicholas to do it as ſpeedily as he could: in expectation whereof I ſtaid about three weeks till the king came from York, at which time his Majeſty appointed me to follow him to Nottingham, promiſing that there I ſhould have my expeditions. I obey'd his Majeſty and came after him to this town, where I have attended ever ſince, perpetually ſolliciting to be diſpatch'd, and beſeeching his Majeſty that I might either go to my employment, or have his leave to retire myſelf to my own houſe and private condition: that if he were unwilling to truſt me in an employment of ſo great importance, I did beſeech him that I might be no burden to his thoughts; and that he would be pleaſed to let me know his reſolution; becauſe I conceived myſelf to be under a heavy cenſure both of the parliament and of the whole kingdom, whilſt poſſibly they might think it my fault that I was ſo long abſent from that charge which I had undertaken. 'Tis to no purpoſe to tell you every paſſage; but this I proteſt to your lordſhip, That if it had been to ſave the lives of all my friends and of myſelf, I could not have done more to procure my diſpatch. Nevertheleſs I have not been able to advance it one ſtep; nor have I ſeen any thing to make me hope to have it quickly, till this morning Mr. ſecretary Nicholas gave me a draught of my inſtructions to peruſe. So I hope that between this and Monday I ſhall have done that part, and I will do the beſt I can to procure ſome other thing, without which I know not how I ſhall be able to do any acceptable ſervice in that kingdom. Your lordſhip knows I am a ſervant, and I could not run away if I would, or at leaſt it had been to little purpoſe, tho' I ſhould have adventur'd to do ſo indecent and ſo undutiful an action. Therefore I hope it will be believed that I have not been to blame. Now with your lordſhip's leave I ſhall trouble you with another particular, wherein perhaps I ſuffer in the opinion of thoſe who know not what has paſs'd, tho' I be as innocent as a new-born child; nay, I have oppoſed it as much as I had power to do: The king being informed at York by ſome officious perſons, that certain draught-horſes were provided to be ſent into Ireland, his Majeſty told me that he muſt needs have them for his own uſe. I did humbly beſeech him not to take them away from his own ſervice in Ireland, for which they were bought, and in which they were to be employ'd; and beſides what I ſaid myſelf, I uſed means by others to ſave the horſes, ſo that I heard no more of it till I came hither; but then his Majeſty told me again, That he muſt needs have thoſe horſes, and preſſed me to ſend for them. I repreſented to his Majeſty the inconſiderableneſs of thoſe few horſes, and that the parliament might take it very ill, in regard that the horſes were bought with their money for the ſervice of the poor kingdom of Ireland: therefore I did beſeech him not to take them; or howſoever, that he would ſecure me from being an inſtrument in that which I conceived would much hurt his affairs; and that I being truſted by the parliament, could neither do it myſelf, nor conſent that any other ſhould do that which was a breach of truſt, and a great diſſervice even to his Majeſty himſelf. Notwithſtanding this the king ſent to me by Mr. Endymion Porter and Sir George Hay at ſeveral times to the ſame purpoſe, but I returned the ſame anſwer; adding this alſo, That I could not do it and be an honeſt man to his ſervice, tho' it be true that the king ſaid he would reſtore the horſes or pay for them. But for all this it pleaſed his Majeſty to employ one Er-

rington who ſerved me, and gave him a warrant to fetch the horſes. Errington told me of it; and I forbad him as far as I could, to do it, telling him that if he did, he muſt not look to have any thing to do with me for ever; and that I made no doubt the parliament would hang him for ſtealing their horſes. This and more I ſaid to Errington in the preſence of James Battiere my ſecretary, who will witneſs it: and conceiving it to be an unjuſt thing in itſelf, diſpleaſing to the parliament, and hurtful to the king's ſervice, I proteſted againſt it; tho' Errington ſaid, that his Majeſty had commanded him upon his allegiance to execute the warrant. But indeed I told him that I did not believe him; nor could think that his Majeſty would command a ſubject upon his allegiance to take away other mens horſes. This I thought ſufficient; but it ſeems I was deceived; for Errington without my conſent or knowlege went from Nottingham towards Cheſter as I heard afterwards, and I have never ſeen him ſince nor heard from him. What he hath done I know not, but I ſent to Cheſter that the horſes ſhould be preſently ſhipp'd away, and I cauſed my ſecretary to write to Maſter Hawkin to take care that neither Errington nor any body from him ſhould receive any more money of Mr. Loſtus or his deputy, to provide the reſt of the horſes; for as yet I think there has been only ſixteen hundred pounds iſſued to buy two hundred of the ſix hundred horſes allow'd by the parliament; and of that ſixteen hundred pounds I will do the beſt I can to get a good account, whereof the parliament, God willing, ſhall be informed with my utmoſt care and diligence. Truly, my lord, I do the beſt I can to ſerve my country: they that are wiſer may do more; but of any thing contrary to the duty of an honeſt man, the parliament upon ſtrict examination ſhall never find me guilty. For the reputation of honeſty and fidelity is, and I can ſay no more, as dear to me as your eſteeming me

Your lordſhip's humble and
affectionate ſervant,

Nottingham, Sept. 1642. R. Leiceſter.

## A letter to the queen, by the lord George Digby.

Madam,

I Shall not adventure to write to your Majeſty with freedom but by expreſſes, or till ſuch time as I have a cypher, which I beſeech your Majeſty to vouchſafe me. At this time therefore I ſhall only let your Majeſty know, that the humbleſt and moſt faithful ſervant you have in the world is here at Middleburg, where I ſhall remain in the privateſt way I can, 'till I receive inſtructions how to ſerve the king and your Majeſty in theſe parts. If the king betake himſelf to a ſafe place, where he may avow and protect his ſervants, from rage I mean and violence, for from juſtice I will never implore it, I ſhall then live in impatience and miſery till I wait upon you. But if after all he hath done of late he ſhall betake himſelf to the eaſieſt and compliantest ways of accommodation, I am confident that then I ſhall ſerve him more by my abſence than by all my induſtry: and it will be a comfort to me in all calamities, if I cannot ſerve you by my actions, that I may do it in ſome kind by my ſufferings for your ſake, having I proteſt to God, no meaſure of happineſs or misfortune in this world, but what I derive from your Majeſty's value of my affection and fidelity.

Middelburg, 21 Jan. 1641.

## Another letter to the queen, from the lord George Digby.

Madam,

'THIS the firſt contentment that I have been capable of this long time, that your Majeſty is ſafely arrived in Holland, withdrawn from a country ſo unworthy of you. I ſhould have waited the firſt upon you, both to have rendered my duty according to the precedence of my obligation above others, and to have informed your Majeſty the earlieſt of the ſtate of this place whither you are coming, both in point of affections and intereſts; but that there fly about ſuch reports, that the parliament hath deſired your Majeſty not to admit me to your preſence, as I dare not preſume into it without particular permiſſion. The ground of their malevolence towards me in this particular is ſaid to be, upon ſome letters which they have preſumed to open, directed to your Majeſty from me; which I profeſs I cannot apprehend. For I am certain that I have not written to your Majeſty the leaſt word that can be wreſted to an ill ſenſe by my greateſt enemies, having not ſo much as mentioned any buſineſs to your Majeſty ſince I left England. To the king I confeſs I wrote once with that hardineſs which I thought his affairs and complexion required; but that was ſent by ſo ſafe hands, as I cannot apprehend the miſcarriage of it. However, Madam, if my misfortune be ſo great, that I muſt be deprived of the ſole comfort of my life, of waiting on your Majeſty, and following your fortunes, I beſeech you let my doom be ſo ſignified to me as that I may retire with the leaſt ſhame that well may be, to bewail my unhappineſs; which yet will be ſupportable, if I may but be aſſured that inwardly that generous and princely heart preſerves me the place of

Madam,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful,

and moſt affectionate

humble ſervant.

Hague, March 10. 1642.

## The form of a bill for a new coronation oath, purſuant to the treaty in the Iſle of Wight.

WHEREAS the ſolemn oaths and ſtipulations of the kings to their people at their inaugurations to their crowns, and the renewing and inlarging of them after civil breaches and wars, have been reputed and found a principal and moſt effectual means to preſerve peace and amity between them and their people, and prevent unjuſt incroachments upon their ſubjects rights, laws, and liberties: and whereas by reaſon of ſome alterations made without authority of parliament in the oath which his Majeſty took at his coronation, and of the late unhappy differences between him and his houſes of parliament, there is juſt and neceſſary occaſion adminiſtered to alter and enlarge the ancient oath and ſtipulation of the kings of England to their people, for the better compoſing of the preſent differences, and preventing all future breaches and encroachments upon the laws and liberties of the ſubject, and the introducing and exerciſing of all arbitrary and tyrannical power; be it therefore ordained and enacted by the king's moſt excellent Majeſty, the lords

and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That the king's Majeſty, upon his return to this preſent parliament, and at all other times when both houſes of parliament ſhall require the ſame, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, kings and queens of this realm at their coronations, and at all times elſe when their parliaments ſhall think fit, ſhall take this enſuing oath before both houſes of parliament, to be adminiſtered by the ſpeaker of the lord's houſe for the time being, in form following.

WE CHARLES king of England, in the name and preſence of the moſt high God, do ſolemnly ſwear and proteſt to all our ſubjects and liege-people of this our realm of England, That we ſhall and will, to the uttermoſt of our ſkill and power all the days of our reign over them, inviolably keep, preſerve, and maintain the true reformed religion and confeſſion of faith therein eſtabliſhed, and all juſt laws, cuſtoms, rights, franchiſes, and liberties, heretofore granted to all or any of our ſaid ſubjects and people by our royal predeceſſors or Ourſelf, together with the rights and privileges of parliament, and likewiſe endeavour to preſerve intirely peace and amity between all our ſubjects and people, and cauſe equal juſtice to be adminiſtered to them in mercy and truth, without partiality, affection or delay.

THAT we will neither proclaim nor make any open war, foreign or domeſtick, nor raiſe any forces in, nor invite or introduce any foreign power into our ſaid realm, nor conclude any publick truce or peace, nor impoſe nor levy any tax, talliage, contribution, aid, or benevolence, on our ſaid ſubjects and people, nor embace nor inhaunce the current coin of this kingdom, nor alienate any honours, manors, lands, rents, demeaſnes, caſtles, forts, jewels, ſhips, or ammunition; belonging to the crown of this our realm; nor diſpoſe of Ourſelf, nor of our heir apparent to the crown in marriage; nor confer any of the great offices of ſtate or judicature within this our realm; nor create any new peer or baron thereof; nor erect or maintain any monopoly againſt law; nor grant any diſpenſation for the breach of any penal ſtatute of this realm whiles in force, without common conſent in parliament.

THAT we will duly cauſe a parliament to be ſummoned within this our realm once every year or three years at leaſt, according to the ſtatutes in that behalf provided; and will likewiſe give our royal aſſent from time to time for altering or repealing all ſuch old laws as ſhall be held prejudicial, and paſſing all ſuch new bills and ſtatutes as ſhall be judged neceſſary and beneficial for our ſaid ſubjects and people by both our houſes of parliament, upon mature debate.

AND if we ſhall at any time (which God defend) wilfully violate this our ſolemn oath and proteſtation in all or any part of the premiſſes, to the grievance and prejudice of our ſaid ſubjects and people, and ſhall not, upon due information thereof by one or both houſes of parliament, or by thoſe intruſted by them with the militia of this kingdom, or by our great officers and council of ſtate in the intervals of parliament redreſs the ſame, We do hereby freely and voluntarily proteſt before God and the world, that then and from thenceforth it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid houſes of parliament during their ſeſſion, and for the greateſt part of thoſe intruſted by them with the militia, or for our great officers and council of ſtate in the intervals of parliament, and for all or any of our ſubjects and people by their direction and command, to aſſemble together

in arms, and by open force or otherwiſe to redreſs the ſame, and to withſtand and reſiſt us, and to apprehend and ſurpriſe all ſuch perſons and forces as ſhall be aiding or aſſiſting to us therein, without incurring the guilt of treaſon, ſedition, inſurrection, rebellion, breach of allegiance, or any other crime, forfeiture or penalty: it being done in defence of their juſt rights, laws and liberties, to which they are obliged by the law of God and nature.

AND that all and every perſon or perſons who ſhall be willingly aiding, counſelling or aſſiſting to us in ſuch caſes and breaches of all or any clauſe of this our ſolemn oath, ſhall and may be preſently proceeded againſt in due form of law, and adjudged and executed as traitors and publick enemies to us and this our realm, or otherwiſe puniſhed according to the quality and degree of their offence.

AND all this we do cordially and ſincerely ſwear and proteſt, without any equivocation or mental reſervation; and that we will neither directly or indirectly ſeek to be abſolved from this our oath.

So God us help.

## Die Lunæ, 1 Decemb. 1645.

THE houſe of commons doth declare, that it ſhall be an acceptable ſervice for any perſon or perſons to inform this houſe of any member or members of this houſe, that by himſelf or others, directly or indirectly, hath taken or received any money or other thing of any perſon or perſons, for any matter or thing depending in this houſe, or any committee of this houſe, ſince the beginning of this parliament. And the houſe hath appointed a committee to receive any ſuch informations, who are to ſit in the exchequer-chamber upon Thurſday next in the afternoon, and ſo from time to time: and the members of this houſe are hereby enjoined, if any of them know of any ſuch thing ſo taken, in manner as aforeſaid, by any other of the members, that they do repair to the ſaid committee and inform them of the ſame.

## A letter written by command of king Charles the ſecond, concerning the marquis of Antrim.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT truſty and well-beloved couſins and counſellors, &c. we greet you well. How far we have been from interpoſing on the behalf of any of our Iriſh ſubjects, who by their miſcarriages in the late rebellion in that kingdom of Ireland, had made themſelves unworthy of our grace and protection, is notorious to all men; and we were ſo jealous in that particular, that ſhortly after our return into this our kingdom, when the marquis of Antrim came hither to preſent his duty to us, upon the information we received from thoſe perſons who then attended us by a deputation from our kingdom of Ireland, or from thoſe who at that time owned our authority there, that the marquis of Antrim had ſo miſbehaved himſelf towards us and our late royal father of bleſſed memory, that he was in no degree worthy of the leaſt countenance from us, and that they had manifeſt and unqueſtionable evidence of ſuch his guilt. Whereupon we refuſed to admit the ſaid marquis ſo much as into our preſence, but on

the contrary committed him priſoner to our Tower of London, where after he had continued ſeveral months under a ſtrict reſtraint, upon the continued information of the ſaid perſons we ſent him into Ireland, without interpoſing the leaſt on his behalf, but left him to undergo ſuch a trial and puniſhment as by the juſtice of that our kingdom ſhould be found due to his crime, expecting ſtill that ſome heinous matter would be objected and proved againſt him, to make him uncapable, and to deprive him of that favour and protection from us, which we knew his former actions and ſervices had merited. After many months attendance there, and, we preſume, after ſuch examinations as were requiſite, he was at laſt diſmiſs'd without any cenſure, and without any tranſmiſſion of charge againſt him to us, and with a licenſe to tranſport himſelf into this kingdom. We concluded that it was then time to give him ſome inſtance of our favour, and to remember the many ſervices he had done, and the ſufferings he had undergone for his affection and fidelity to our royal father and Ourſelf, and that it was time to redeem him from thoſe calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him ſince, as before our happy return; and thereupon we recommended him to you our lieutenant, that you ſhould move our council there, for preparing a bill to be tranſmitted to us, for the re-inveſting him the ſaid marquis into the poſſeſſion of his eſtate in that our kingdom, as had been done in ſome other places: to which letter you our ſaid lieutenant returned us anſwer, that you had informed our council of that our letter, and that you were upon conſideration thereof, unanimouſly of opinion, that ſuch a bill ought not to be tranſmitted to us, the reaſons whereof would forthwith be preſented to us from our council. After which time we received the incloſed petition from the ſaid marquis, which we referr'd to the conſideration and examination of the lords of our privy council, whoſe names are mentioned in that our reference, which is annexed to the ſaid petition; who thereupon met together, and after having heard the marquis of Antrim, did not think fit to make any report known to us, till they might ſee and underſtand the reaſons which induced you not to tranſmit the bill we had propoſed, which letter was not then come to our hands. After which time we have received your letter of the 18th of March, together with ſeveral petitions which had been preſented to you as well from the old ſoldiers and adventurers as from the lady marchioneſs of Antrim, all which we likewiſe tranſmitted to the lords referees: upon a ſecond petition preſented to us by the lord marquis, which is here likewiſe incloſed, commanding our ſaid referees to take the ſame into their ſerious conſideration, and to hear what the petitioner had to offer in his own vindication, and to report the whole matter to us, which upon a third petition herein likewiſe incloſed, we required them to expedite with what ſpeed they could. By which deliberate proceedings of ours you cannot but obſerve, that no importunity, how juſt ſoever, could prevail with us to bring Ourſelf to a judgment in this affair without very ample information. Our ſaid referees after ſeveral meetings and peruſal of what had been offered to them by the ſaid marquis, have reported unto us, that they have ſeen ſeveral letters, all of them of the hand-writing of our royal father to the ſaid marquis, and ſeveral inſtructions concerning his treating and joining with the Iriſh in order to the king's ſervice, by reducing them to their obedience, and by drawing ſome forces from them for the ſervice of Scotland: that beſides the letters and orders under his majeſty's hand, they have received ſufficient evidence and teſtimony of ſeveral private meſſages and directions ſent from our royal

royal father, and from our royal mother with the privity and with the directions of the king our father, by which they are perſuaded, that whatever intelligence, correſpondence or actings, the ſaid marquis had with the confederate Iriſh catholicks, was directed or allowed by the ſaid letters, inſtructions and directions; and that it manifeſtly appears to them, that the king our father was well pleaſed with what the marquis did after he had done it, and approved the ſame. This being the true ſtate of the marquis his caſe, and there being nothing proved upon the firſt information againſt him, nor any thing contained againſt him in your letter of March 18th, but that you were informed he had put in his claim before the commiſſioners appointed for executing the act of ſettlement, and that if his innocence be ſuch as is alledg'd, there is no need of tranſmitting ſuch a bill to us as is deſir'd; and that if he be nocent, it conſiſts not with the duty which you owe to us to tranſmit ſuch a bill, as if it ſhould paſs into a law, muſt needs draw a great prejudice upon ſo many adventurers and ſoldiers, who are, as is alledged, to be therein concerned. We have conſidered the petition of the adventurers and ſoldiers, which was tranſmitted to us by you; the equity of which conſiſts in nothing, but that they have been peaceably in poſſeſſion for the ſpace of ſeven or eight years of thoſe lands which were formerly the eſtate of the marquis of Antrim and others, who were all engaged in the late Iriſh rebellion, and that they ſhall ſuffer very much and be ruined, if thoſe lands ſhould be taken from them. And we have likewiſe conſidered another petition from ſeveral citizens of London near ſixty in number, directed to Ourſelf, wherein they deſire, that the marquis his eſtate may be made liable to the payment of his juſt debts, that ſo they may not be ruined in the favour of the preſent poſſeſſors, who they ſay are but a few citizens and ſoldiers, who have diſburs'd very ſmall ſums thereon. Upon the whole matter; no man can think we are leſs engag'd by our declaration and by the act of ſettlement, to protect thoſe who are innocent, and who have faithfully endeavoured to ſerve the crown, how unfortunate ſoever, than to expoſe to juſtice thoſe who have been really and maliciouſly guilty. And therefore we cannot in juſtice, but upon the petition of the marquis of Antrim, and after a ſerious and ſtrict inquiſition into his actions, declare unto you, That we do find him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpoſe againſt the crown; "And that what he did by way of correſpondence or compli- "ance with the Iriſh rebels, was in order to the ſervice of our royal father, "and warranted by his inſtructions and the truſt repoſed in him; and that "the benefit thereof accrued to the ſervice of the crown," and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the marquis. And as we cannot in juſtice deny him this teſtimony, ſo we require you to tranſmit our letter to our commiſſioners, that they may know our judgment in this caſe of the lord of Antrim, and proceed accordingly: and ſo we bid you heartily farewel.

Given at our court of Whitehall. July 10, 1663.
in the fifteenth year of our reign.

To our right truſty and right intirely well beloved couzin and counſellor James duke of Ormond, our lieutenant-general and general-governor of our kingdom of Ireland, and to the lords of our council of that our kingdom.

By his Majeſty's command,
Henry Bennet.

Signet-office, July 13, 1663.

Her

## Her Majeſty's letter to George lord Digby.

Monſieur Digby, Paris, April, 7. 1645.

THOUGH I received no letters from you by Pooley, I will not forbear to write to you, though it were but to reproach you, and to tell you, that I fear that you are as inconſtant to your friends as men are to their miſtreſſes; I do not ſpeak of you; you know that I am too well acquainted with you. For my part, I have only this fault, to be a good friend, and I believe you know it, therefore it will not be neceſſary to aſſure you thereof. I have ſeen the diſpatch that you ſent to Jermin concerning Hertogen; I believe that you will reſt ſatisfied, for I have the ſame opinion of him that you have, and many of thoſe things that he hath written are lies, and within few days you ſhall hear that I have talk'd with him according to his deſert; which I am reſolved to do, for ſome reaſons that Jermin will write to you in cypher. You think it ſtrange that Wilmot is ſo well entertained here, which is done according to the orders which I have under the king's hand and yours: it is true, his good carriage here hath merited this good entertainment. Henry Piercy and he are not ſo good friends as we thought; we have diſcovered it in ſome occaſions, where there can be no diſſembling. Concerning Tho. Elliot, he hath behaved himſelf well here, and hath ſo earneſtly importuned me for his return, that having no order from the king to tell him that he ſhould ſtay, I could not keep him longer here. For my part, I believe that he is very truſty, I have charged him to impart unto you what I told him; therefore I ſhall not write any more, my hand being more lame than ever, and I more

Your very good friend,

Henriette Marie R.

## Dr. Goſſ to the lord Jermin. April 17.

THE prince of Orange was very inquiſitive this week after my letters from Paris, hoping to be reſolved preciſely concerning the ſum of the portion, as I perceived by his diſcourſe: for that point, I gave him this anſwer, that the portion alone could not be of that conſideration as to conclude the marriage, unleſs it were able to give the king ſuch ſuccours as might probably reſtore his affairs, which the ſum demanded could not do; and that therefore I was ordered to aſſure him, that if the other articles were accorded, the treaty ſhould not break off upon the ſum of the portion: from thence we came off of the other particulars, and the reſolution was this, that the affair of the duke of Lorrain was to be purſued with all vigor, and for that end ſhips ſhould be ſent from hence to meet at the time prefixt, that when the ambaſſadors are returned, all endeavours ſhall be uſed to induce the ſtates to a league defenſive and offenſive; and that monſieur D'Eſtrade ſhall return home fully inſtructed in theſe particulars, that is, to remonſtrate the impoſſibility (as they call it) of the paſſage for Holland, and to facilitate the other to and from Diep; and for the ſecond, to perſuade the ſending of an ambaſſador from France hither to that purpoſe; which yet notwithſtanding the prince of Orange thinks will be very difficult, by reaſon of the king of Denmark's war, to which the Hollanders are violently carried: however, all endeavours are and ſhall be

ſhould fail. When I wrote from Rotterdam, I was not clearly ſatisfied in the advantages on the king's part, and ſince that the ſickneſs of Dorp (who is now perfectly recovered again, and fixedly diſpoſed as he was) kept me from the particular purſuit of that argument, wherein your lordſhip had juſt cauſe to be little encouraged with what I wrote before; if it be poſſible to provide money, it will prove an excellent deſign, for the whole execution is to be diſpoſed of by the king as abſolutely as if they were Engliſh ſhips, and the commanders Engliſh, the intention being not for P. and Q. but for the honour and ſervice of the king, for which purpoſe Dorp deſires to have large and particular inſtructions; alſo ſome perſon of truſt and courage to be a ſhipboard with him by whom he might correſpond with the queen; and that his Majeſty would appoint ſome ports to which all prizes might be brought, and there judged, which he deſires ſhould be principally 1.----------and there officers of truſt to be eſtabliſhed, all which ſhall be particularly ſet down under his own hand, and before concluſion of the matter be made, be conſidered by the prince of Orange, who talks of this particular with pleaſure: the condition for himſelf is very ſhort but very great, to preſcribe nothing, but truſt the king and queen in that point; but for his officers he expects liberal pay and reward, as it ſhall be deſerved: ſo that in all reſpects, this is to be eſteemed his Majeſty's royal execution; but that the commanders and maſters are ſtrangers, and ſhips hired. And it is here pronounced by all that have knowledge of their Majeſty's affairs, and any thoughts and endeavours for their reſtitution, that this is ſo neceſſary to be done, that without it all other good ſucceſſes will but ſerve to protract the war, and not at all to procure peace; for till London be humbled, the rebels can never be reduced to reaſon; but I know arguments in this kind are not ſo needful as prayers, that God would ſend ſome means to provide the money.

For the garter which is deſigned for the young prince, it is very earneſtly deſired by them all, and ſhall be conſtantly worn by the prince in that manner as in England: the prince of Orange deſires that the king would write himſelf to him concerning it, as alſo to the ſtates, and that it may be conferred after the ſame manner as it was to the P. elector in the field, if it might, before the beleaguering of any town begun: but of theſe things both Sir William Boſwel, who hopes to be imployed in it, and Mr. Hemfleet will write at large.

## Lord Jermin to the lord Digby. Paris, May 19.

I wrote to you yeſterday by colonel Fitz Williams: I conceive you will find cauſe to take the buſineſs that concerned him into conſideration: I have ſent you now a copy of Dr. Goff's diſpatch out of Holland, by which you will ſee the ſtate of that buſineſs reduced to this only hope, that the return of the ambaſſadors out of England may not only give the prince of Orange a diſpoſition to ſet on foot that which before he was not confident enough of his own ſtrength to attempt, but alſo afford him ſome hopes of effecting it; of this we ſhall ſee a ſudden iſſue; the other advantages we expect from thence, as the ſhips for the duke of Lorrain, and ſupplies of money by the marriage, are in an eſtate not

not much to be relied on; for the buſineſs of the duke, I much fear will away; the money of the marriage will not be conſiderable enough to conclude it; for that reaſon it may be we may ſingle that advantage from the reſt, even without the conſideration of the marriage: ſo that we have no more to do, but to attend the iſſue of the hopes of the declaration, and according to that, proceed or let fall the whole buſineſs, and look after----------as a thing to be managed according to the means we ſhall find here to go through with it. We ſhall know next week what to depend upon for the duke of Lorrain, which failing, we ſhall reſume our pretenſions here for monies in place of that which that expedition would have coſt them here. The clergy aſſembles next week, with whom we ſhall ſet on foot the liberty the French queen regent hath given us to try their inclinations for the ſupport of the affairs of England. Traſdunk is gone from Dunkirk three weeks ſince with four frigats, 6040 muſkets, 2000 pair of piſtols, 1200 carabines, ſwords, 400 ſhovels, 27000 pounds of match, and 50000 pounds of brimſtone. I hope he is arrived before now: his arms were all embarked before Allen arrived there; ſo that I cannot aſſure you that Allen will be provided with that proportion which I ſent you word would be ſent to marquis Montroſs. The queen hath ſent 400 barrels of powder to Dartmouth; ſhe hath advice of the arrival of 200, and hopes the other will ſpeedily arrive: ſhe could not get the merchants to undertake the carriage of them, without ingaging herſelf for them, in caſe they were not paid in England. The queen hath now received, as I wrote before, the king's order for ſhipping for the tin from time to time; whereupon laſt week ſhe gave order for 4000 pounds ſterling to be ſent to Falmouth, for that proportion which ſhe was advertiſed by Sir Nicholas Criſp would be ready there at the end of May, and hath demanded a ſhip of the prince of Orange for that purpoſe: ſhe had adviſed laſt week, that the ſhip is accorded ſo, that it is undoubtedly upon the way. The king's order concerning the tin was but during pleaſure; therefore, pray have a care there be no change, without giving the queen timely advice of it. Her Majeſty having been ſerved by Sir Nicholas Criſp at her coming out of England with affection and diligence, is deſirous to make him ſome return; and therefore intreats you to aſſiſt him in his affairs, as he ſhall preſent them to you, particularly for the tranſportation of ſome wools; the proceed of which he undertakes to return in ammunition. He is alſo a ſuitor to the queen for her recommendation to the king, to be a collector of the cuſtoms in the Weſt, in which he had formerly a promiſe: pray adviſe me in your next, how far the queen may reaſonably interpoſe in that particular. For the propoſition concerning the duke of York's going into Ireland, the queen bids me tell you, That ſhe cannot yet, for any reaſon ſhe can diſcern, approve of it. The buſineſs of her Majeſty's jewels is ſo preſſing upon her, that unleſs in the future ſhe be as fortunate as ſhe hath been hitherto, ſhe will undergo great trouble and inconvenience: that you may perceive this, I ſend you a ſhort note of the parcels engaged in Holland, for which there muſt be uſe duly paid every ſix months, or the jewels muſt be loſt: for theſe ſums for which they are pawned for, are very inferior to their value. For this reaſon it is moſt neceſſary to continue the tin in the queen's hands, leſt ſhe ſhould fail of thoſe other means, that hitherto ſhe

hath had for the diſcharge of theſe inſtructions; if otherwiſe ſhe finds means to do it, then all the profits of the tin will be duly accounted for to the king. Juſt now your letter of April the 11th, and the king's of the 10th are come, to which you can have no anſwer this week; they always come to us not under a month's time, whereas I perceive you receive ours in a fortnight. Pray rectify this if you can.

## Lord Jermin to the lord Digby. Paris, May 26, 1645.

YESTERDAY I received yours of the ſeventeenth of April by the Portugal ambaſſador, by which you may pleaſe to obſerve, that all your letters by that way are ſtill a month at leaſt a coming; it will be good to enquire where the ſtop is made; at the ſame time I received the king's of the thirtieth of April by Sabran, and I mark that by him they come ſtill quicker: by both, and by all other concurring, I ſee that our affairs in England, if they had received any competent aſſiſtance from abroad, would have been in an excellent condition; that which I moſt lament, is the queen's inability in the relief of marquis Montroſs, for which I conceive ſhe had provided by ordering Haſdouck to furniſh him out of the proportions he had provided for England. The proportions deſigned for him, I have mentioned in my former letters, but Haſdouck would not obey the queen's directions, but carried all he had provided into England, ſo that the queen remaining without credit, or other means to do that work, it remains now imperfect until ſhe be furniſhed with one or the other: ſomething ſhe hath ſince attempted, but it is not to be relied on this May, that no poſſible things within her power ſhall be omitted for this purpoſe, for ſhe conceives the importance of it even beyond that which you have repreſented. Our Holland news from Scotland, which we have often, do no leſs than yours confirm the neceſſity and moment of this conſideration. I ſend you herewithal what I had laſt week from doctor Goff, by which you will perceive there is ſince the return of the ambaſſador, ſome new hopes of prevailing with the ſtates for the declaration againſt the rebels, which is a thing of ſo great concernment, that we muſt make it our endeavour not to fruſtrate the hopes of it by a ſudden breaking off the treaty, and to defend ourſelves againſt the prejudices we ſuſtain by the expectation of the ſucceſs; for that cannot be aſſured enough, to rely on it for great preſent utilities; and methinks it were a hard thing, being thus awakned in the conſideration, to provide againſt both the inconveniencies. The duke of Lorrain hath again this laſt week made ſo many new proteſtations of his intentions, that the moſt poſitive commands that could be to Sir Hen. de Vic. have not prevailed with him to break off the treaty, but his troops now march, though himſelf do not remain at Bruxels; ſo that it will be impoſſible for any art to prolong the buſineſs beyond four or five days, but there is no hopes to be allowed to it. The buſineſſes here to be done, which ſhall be carefully attended, are, That of Holland, the form I have propoſed in this letter; the ſupply of marquis Montroſs with arms and ammunition; the Weſt with the ſame for the prince's new levies, and for the ſupply of the king's and prince Rupert's army, and the relief of Garnſey; for the prince of Wales his army Will. Godolphin is very ſollicitous, what he will be able to effect,

effect, is as doubtful as the queen's expectation in all the other particulars; money for the king is alſo in her thoughts and pretenſions; and now the clergy is aſſembled, upon which many of our hopes have depended, ſhe will, with all the inſtance and care that may be, have that way attempted. We are at this time ſtrangely ſolicitous for you, for there ſeems to be a gathering together on both ſides near Oxford, like to produce ſome notable encounter, which cannot well be followed but with great events; God make them proſperous, and enable us here to contribute ſomething more hereunto than our prayers.

I am yours.

YOUR laſt concerning Tho. Elliot, where you ſeem to take notice we had not here provided according to order, is anſwered in my former ones, ſo as I am confident you are fully ſatisfied in that point.

## Lord Jermin to the lord Digby. Paris, June 9, 1645.

YESTERDAY I received yours of April the twenty ninth from Oxford, whereby I muſt needs obſerve to you ours are received in half the time that yours are coming hither; now you are removed from Oxford I fear it will yet be harder for you to ſend to London about all things. The queen recommends it to you; I ſend you here incloſed Dr. Goff's laſt diſpatch word for word, by that you will ſee the eſtate of that buſineſs. Sir H. de Vic is now here, yeſterday arrived with the duke's laſt demands; to morrow he attends cardinal Mazarine, and as ſoon as the anſwer is gotten, and queen regent's reſolution in a ſupply of arms and ammunition we have now demanded, to which already we have ſome promiſes advanced, Petit ſhall be diſpatched, who is ſtaid for that end, and to return to us with ſome information of the ſtate you are in, which the laſt letters ſpeak ſo variouſly of, that we are in much pain. Arms and ammunition I will be again confident we ſhall ſpeedily get; but for money, I can give no good hopes of it, although the clergy be now all together, from whom we have ſo many expectations. Sir Kenelm Digby is arrived at Rome, hath had audience of the pope, who hath given him the beſt reception that the firſt viſit was capable of, that is, the faireſt promiſes in general that can be wiſhed; if he may be relied on, there are good hopes of money there, but you know he is of a ſanguine family, and himſelf yet the melancholieſt of it; he hath viſited ſome other of the petty princes of Italy, but they are a frugal generation. Talbot is coming from Venice without any effect of his voyage: a man the queen ſent four months ago into Scotland to the marquis of Montroſs, this day arrived: it grieves me Haſdouck did not obey the queen's order for his ſupply, but now again that ſhall be ſuddenly attempted, I hope with better ſucceſs, yet his arrival in the Weſt hath been very opportune for the deſigns of the prince of Wales there, which I obſerve to you as a ſervice ſolely of the queen's; for nothing but her commands could prevail with him to undertake this ſupply, therefore pray give him what help you can to get his money. Pray commend my ſervice to prince Rupert, and make my excuſe I write not to him; by ſomething I hear I hope you two are good friends, which I much rejoyce at, and conjure you to do all you can to the continuance of it if it be ſo, and to the making of it ſo if it be otherwiſe. I reſt yours.

THE queen hath written herſelf to the king.

YOU will find in Dr. Goff's letter ſeveral things deſired to be ſent from England, all in my judgment moſt material, and therefore to be haſtned to him or Sir William Boſwel, with the greateſt expedition that can be. He propoſeth the ſending of my man (Carteret being already gone to Holland with inſtructions for the buſineſs of the tin) to attend that in England, who may perhaps not follow the doctor's order in coming to you for theſe things; therefore I pray you, as ſoon as you receive this, let them be diſpatched and ſent by an expreſs to yours.

## Lord Jermin to the lord Digby. St. Germain, Auguſt 5. 1646.

I WROTE to you yeſterday by the ordinary; ſomething I have to add by this expreſs the queen ſends to viſit the king, and to bring her back an account of his health, and of the ſtate of his affairs. Her reſolution of ſending Cockeram into Denmark, is without doubt very opportune; for upon the concluſion of the peace with the Swedes he cannot but be in a condition to help us, and if as it ſhall be in the firſt place demanded, he could be prevailed with to give us ſuch an army as might land in any place where the king hath no forces, without fearing who they meet, their deſcent at Scarborough or Burlington would give a new turn to all; but this is a felicity I dare not hope. That which with more aſſurance I look upon, which in the ſecond place ſhall be ſollicited, would be of infinite uſe, that is, a ſmall number of men, ſome money, arms and ammunition, and all to go to Scotland to marquis Montroſs: but the men in that caſe muſt ſome of them be horſemen, five hundred at leaſt, and their horſe to paſs with them: this I conceive would enable marquis Montroſs to make his victories profitable as well as miraculous: but in the mean eſtate he is, for want of horſe (for all that he complains in his letter to me) and of arms and ammunition, his advantages have brought almoſt none to the king his affairs, for he advances not into the good parts of Scotland, nor is ſo conſiderable to the army in England, as that they have forborn for fear of him to leave their country expoſed to him: I cannot ſend you by this bearer ſo great a volume as Cockeram's inſtructions would be, but you ſhall have them by the next: he ſhall have order to offer the iſlands that Pooley had order to offer the king of Denmark. The winter growing on makes me not apprehend that all our loſſes can bring us ſo ſoon to an end as this ſummer, and the ill weather will reprieve us until either this or ſome other help be found out. The queen is therefore now more induſtrious than ever, and hath found means to get twenty thouſand piſtols for----------I once wrote to you of, ſo that if the perſons that ſhould have undertaken it be ſtill of the ſame mind, and the prince of Orange, which we have written to know, that buſineſs will go forward and may prove of great uſe in many conſiderations; but the importanteſt aim in it is the inſenſible ingaging the Hollanders in the war. Sir Kenelm Digby writes hopefully of ſupplies of money from Rome, but concludes nothing, the Iriſh troubling all our ſolas, until the peace be made with them. I fear all Catholick help will be drawn that way. Upon this purpoſe I muſt tell you with what amazement the delays of the peace in Ireland is conſidered here, and you leave us ſo ignorant of the condition of the treaty, that we know not what to ſay of it. Pray by the return of this bearer, or the firſt likely paſſage, ſend me the ſtate of it,

it, their demand, the king of England his offers, and what you know of the difficulties; if yet it be not concluded, it is not like that ever it will be, by thoſe that manage it now: and therefore it ſeems to me for ſatisfaction of thoſe that ſo much preſs it, of the Iriſh, and to ſatisfy this ſtate, who are much of that opinion, and to ſecure our hopes at Rome, and laſtly, to put that buſineſs into a poſſibility of being concluded, that the propoſition long ſince made to the king, of having the treaty made here by the queen and queen regent, were not unfitly reſumed. For I am confident the king by this means might have the peace upon better terms, and might limit the queen by the ſame inſtructions that thoſe that now treat are bound by; and upon this, one of theſe fruits would follow, that either------ ſhould have the peace, or the exorbitancy of their demands would be ſo apparent to the queen regent, that we ſhould have great advantage by that. The only thing I fear is, that the king his party in Ireland might poſſibly not acquieſce in ſuch a peace as would be fit for the king to make, and then he would have the ſcandal of it (for it will be a ſcandalous one that is unavoidable) without the benefit of an aſſiſtance from Ireland. To conclude, if nothing be done in Ireland, I think it moſt neceſſary that the offers of treating be withdrawn from thence, and that the queen may be truſted to treat and conclude with the queen regent here, with ſuch as the Catholicks from Ireland ſhall appoint. This I write to you to conſider of it; by the return of Sir D. Wyat you ſhall know more of this particular. This bearer ſend back immediately, and write without flattering yourſelf or us, the pure and natural ſtate of affairs. God of heaven keep you, and give us, if he pleaſe, ſome other puniſhment for our faults, than that of our country's falling into the hands of the rebels. I am moſt entirely yours.

I HAVE given Petit thirty pounds for his journey.

## The accompt.

| | |
|---|---|
| BORROW'D at Rotterdam of the burgomaſters, | 460000 |
| More of the bank in Rotterdam, | 25000 |
| In all from Rotterdam, | 425000 |
| Borrowed of the bank at Amſterdam by Mr. Sandys, | 84500 |
| At the Hague of Fletcher clftcher, | 126000 |
| More of him, | 40000 |
| At the Hague of Van. Cyren, by Sir W. Boſwel, | 9000 |
| Of monſieur Deſpernon, | 230000 |
| Of Webſter by three obligationstoget her on the pendant pearls, | 100000 |
| Of him more, | 43200 |
| Of him more, and borrowed by him ſince, | 70000 |
| Of monſieur Vicford, | 70000 |
| Of Sir Charles Herbert, | 20000 |
| Of Collimore at Antwerp, | 64000 |
| In all--1281700 guilders. | |
| With Webſter the ſix rubies of the chain left for about | 20000 |
| To Webſter, | 20000 |
| To the prince of Orange, | 300000 |

## Inſtructions to our truſty and well-beloved ſervant, Daniel O Neal, groom of our bedchamber, 27 June, 1645.

YOU are forthwith to repair unto our ports of Dartmouth and Falmouth, where you are to confer with Sir Nicholas Criſp knight, and with captain Haſdouck, or any other owners of ſhips or frigots in our ſervice. You are to let them know, that whereas by a clauſe in their ſeveral commiſſions, they are oblig'd upon extraordinary occaſions of our ſervice to employ their frigots for ſix weeks time, according to our ſpecial command, we giving them juſt payment and ſatisfaction for the time of their ſhips, during the time that they are ſo employ'd by us; we having now at this time ſuch an occaſion for them as doth highly import the good of our affairs, we do require them to have in readineſs to expect our orders, all ſuch ſhips or frigots as can within a fortnight or three weeks time be ſet to ſea for a month or ſix weeks ſervice; and that for the preſent they do ſend immediately with you over into Ireland, unto ſuch ports as you ſhall direct, all ſuch frigots as are now fitted and ready there into Ireland, to expect and obey ſuch orders as they ſhall receive from the marquis of Ormond, we aſſuring the owners of the ſaid veſſels, that they ſhall not only receive full ſatisfaction for the time that they ſhall be withdrawn from their own employments by this our command, but that we ſhall carry the ſame in mind as the moſt acceptable and important ſervice that they can poſſibly do us. And we do further command you, that in caſe you ſhall find that more of the ſaid frigots than one cannot within very few days be ready, that you make uſe of the nimbleſt veſſel you can there find; and that whilſt the others are preparing, you forthwith tranſport yourſelf with all diligence unto the marquis of Ormond, there to purſue ſuch further directions as we here give you, having firſt advertiſed us by expreſſes what we may rely on, and when, concerning the ſhipping aforeſaid expected for our ſervice.

You are likewiſe to repreſent unto the marquiſs of Ormond the great importance to the good of our affairs, that we be ſpeedily ſupplied from our kingdom of Ireland, with ſome good number of foot; that we ſhould be very glad you could frame ſuch a body there, to be ſent over, as might be worthy his own coming to command it: in which caſe when we hear from him, we ſhall give him our further directions: but for the preſent, that no time muſt be loſt in ſending over what numbers can be ſpared of our old Engliſh army there, as well as what may be procured of the Iriſh, together with the beſt artillery, as well for battery as the field, that the ſaid marquiſs of Ormond can aſſiſt us withal.

You are to acquaint the ſaid marquis of Ormond with the diligence uſed here to procure ſhipping for their tranſportation, and what may be relied on of that kind from hence.

You are to employ yourſelf in ſolliciting what aids of all kinds may poſſibly be had from the Iriſh, according as you ſhall be inſtructed from the marquis of Ormond: and what by his appointment you ſhall promiſe or ingage in our name by way of invitation or encouragement to our ſervice unto any in that kingdom, we ſhall be careful to make good: but in this and all things elſe of your negotiation there, you are ſtrictly and punctually to govern yourſelf by ſuch directions as you ſhall receive from the ſaid marquis of Ormond, and no otherwiſe. Of all this, and what we may expect from thence, and when, you are to give the ſpeedieſt and punctualleſt accompts you can unto our principal ſecretary of ſtate attending.

## From the lord Digby to the lord Jermin.

SINCE the writing of my other of this ſame date in my brother ſecretaries cypher, I have received yours of the 28th of July in my new cypher, which over-joys me: and it is as a prediction of good fortune to us, that the queen bears our diſaſters with that moderation. You do now find that clearly true which was my opinion before, that our ill ſucceſſes would ſooner warm that ſtate to our aſſiſtance than our good, it being their intereſt to ballance things here. For God's ſake haſten powder and match in plenty to the Northern coaſt, and what muſkets and piſtols you can, but ammunition in the firſt place; let them be directed to Burlington or Whitby, for Scarborough is loſt; but yet with ſome caution, as to enquire before they put in, leſt by any accident the enemy ſhould have gariſoned thoſe places before we come thither.

WE are advertiſed from London that there are ſome letters intercepted from the queen to the king, with blanks to be ſigned by the king, authorizing the queen to engage Ireland to the queen regent for ſome aids: if any ſuch there be, it is very unlucky, not only for the ill uſe may be made of it here, but as it may be reſented by my lord of Ormond, who having committed to him the management of the affairs of Ireland, and having diſcharged the truſt ſo faithfully and prudently, may think himſelf injured in ſuch negotiations by the by. God keep you, and fail not to love him who is intirely.

Yours.

Bridgenorth,
Aug. 9.

## The lord Jermin to the lord George Digby. St. Germain, Auguſt 25.

WE have received nothing this week from you, but find by other advertiſements the king is ſtill in Wales recruiting his army: I ſee no danger of periſhing before the winter comes in to our relief, at leaſt if our own party be not totally forſaken of their hearts and hands; for if there remain among them either underſtanding or courage, they will perceive how ill a bargain they muſt make with their enemies at this time, if they fall into their hands by any way whatſoever. I am now moſt confident if we hold out till next ſpring, betwixt this and that we ſhall find powerful ſuccours. The deſign of---------of which I have often written to you, may now in my judgment be reckoned upon, for we have the money ready, the perſons of the ſame mind, and all the difficulties raiſed that be in the way, and the buſineſs in as good advance as was poſſible; ſince we got the money, there is a good reaſon to expect that within two months (they are promiſed ſooner) we ſhall have-------. This in itſelf may prove a great thing, but it is conſidered how it looks upon the condition of our affairs, that are very unlike to receive new life but by a foreign aſſiſtance, which reaſonably is not to be hoped without ſecuring their paſſage; nothing ſure can appear ſo neceſſary for us, therefore pray take great care that there be no delay in the diſpatch of all things belonging to it, when there ſhall be recourſe to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more particulars of this buſineſs, both in what eſtate it is, and how it hath been retarded; but weekly now you ſhall be advertiſed. I hear there is ſome ſtop in the treaty between Denmark and the Swedes, ſo that I fear

will fruſtrate Cockeram's negotiation, of which elſe I ſhould hope very well. The arms that went from hence to the marquis of Montroſs, are arrived at Hamborough, and I hope are re-imbarked from thence; Cockeram would have them go that way: we have no news yet of thoſe ſent to him from Holland; what we are to expect from *hence as towards a conſiderable ſuccour (I mean of a body of men) is to be attended until the end of their campaign; for I confeſs I am ſo far abuſed in the buſineſs, as to believe it is equally hard to ſay we ſhall obtain no ſuch thing, as to aſſure it now; for without doubt there is no deſire here to ſee the monarchy of England devolve into another government, and there is as little doubt that there are ſtrong inclinations for the perſons of the king and queen, and deſire to contribute to their re-eſtabliſhment; yet the humbling of the houſe of Auſtria, the beating them during the war, or making a glorious peace, I confeſs are paſſions that prevail more; and it is no wonder: in the mean time we receive great curteſies. The queen is moſt civilly and kindly uſed in all; her penſion duly paid; 12000 piſtoles they gave lately for the arms for the marquis of Montroſs, and the powder ſhould be ſent into the Weſt; 10000 more they have now given for the ſhips, which deſign is infinitely approved by them; and I doubt not but they will give the other 10000, that the ſetting them forth will come to; if they ſhould fail, it will be otherwiſe provided. The queen of England hath given us a ſharp alarm of another diſtemper like her laſt, but the fear is vaniſhed almoſt after three fits, but being young in apprehenſion of the third, ſhe dares not write herſelf. I am entirely yours.

PRAY ſend me word whether the barony paſſed to Mr. Hemflet be an Engliſh barony, and to deſcend upon his ſon by my lady Stanhop; if not, you are to move the king for the barony of Wotton for that ſon: this is a buſineſs in which the queen was engaged in Holland, upon the important ſervices ſhe received from Hemflet, and ſhe will be very earneſt with the king to have done. Pray ſend an anſwer to this.

LET the buſineſs of the fleet be kept with all ſecrecy.

## To the honourable William Lenthal, Eſquire, ſpeaker of the honourable Houſe of Commons.

SIR,

THESE incloſed letters being brought to my hands by divine providence, I held it my duty to ſpeed to you, becauſe of the great importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

HAVING ſome dragoons at Padſtow, a packet-boat from Ireland came into the harbour; the dragoons preſently endeavoured to board her, and after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, wherein the captain and the maſter of the veſſel were ſlain, they entred, ſeizing upon captain Allen; the ſaid Allen threw a packet and divers looſe letters over-board, of which, only theſe incloſed were recovered: I ſhall ſend Allen with all convenient ſpeed up to you, whoſe examination you have alſo herewith incloſed: I find him to be a dangerous and ſubtle man; I believe he hath much in his breaſt which may be got out of him, by reaſon he is obnoxious as a ſpy, and a man I perceive loves his life ſo well, that good uſe may be made thereof, to

* France,

diſcover

diſcover by further examination what we have not an opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your knowledge: for it appears by ſome of the letters, that he hath much intruſted by the earl of Glamorgan to him, to give a verbal accompt of: I have given captain Moulton, who is upon the Iriſh ſeas, advertiſement of the enemy's intentions. To ſay no more, you will perceive by the date of the earl of Glamorgan's letters, that he hath the honour, truſt and liberty of a very good and loyal ſubject. I ſuppoſe you will ſee by theſe letters, what reaſon there is to haſten recruits with effect, which I muſt withal repreſent to be the more needful, in regard of the diminution which cannot but attend theſe marches; and that hardſhip the army hath been put to in ſuch a country and at ſuch a ſeaſon. I muſt acknowledge your proviſions for this army to be very great, and the committee of the armies care, in obſerving your appointments therein to be anſwerable. I deſire I may faithfully improve your favours, as becomes an honeſt man, to the glory of God, and your ſervice: and reſt

Your moſt humble ſervant,

T. Fairfax.

Bodmyn, March 7, 1645.

## To the honourable William Lenthal, Eſquire, ſpeaker of the honourable Houſe of Commons.

SIR,

IN my laſt, which was but yeſterday by the poſt, I gave you an account of the agreement made for the delivery up of Mount-Edgecomb, and the diſbanding of the regiments raiſed in thoſe parts, and of the coming of Mr. Coriton and divers other gentlemen of quality, which is every day more apparent than other, by their hourly ſending to the general to be received into the protection of the parliament, which is now in ſome meaſure made known to the country, who had this day a meeting upon Bodman-downs: it was but yeſterday they had notice, and one hundred of the four had not the notice come to them, yet about eight hundred or nine hundred appeared; and now for the occaſion the meeting was deſired, which was for this purpoſe, to let them know the army was come to protect them, not to ruin them; that the ſoldiers horſe and foot had charge to defray their quarters; that if any ſoldier offered violence unto them, upon complaint it ſhould be redreſſed; that the gentlemen of the country, naming ſuch and ſuch perſons, were come in to the parliament, which did very much incourage the commonalty to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the ſervice of the publick, and defence of their own county: and that which wrought the impreſſion deepeſt upon their hearts, was Mr. P. his publiſhing to them the packets taken in the Iriſh veſſel, which I mentioned unto you in the laſt letter, which he not only ſhewed unto them, but read the ſame, and permitted ſuch of them as deſired it to read them, and told them they ſhould have copies of Glamorgan's articles, and his other letters, if they deſired them, which abundantly gave them ſatisfaction; and that which put it out of doubt was, that the ſhip and packets were ſeized on, and taken by the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants at Padſtow within their own county but the day before: and indeed it was a very ſeaſonable and remarkable accident as could have happened for the uniting of this county to the parliament, for the very

thoughts of Iriſh and French are hateful unto them: thoſe letters that were moſt conſiderable miſcarried in the water; which was the earl of Glamorgan's to the prince, Sir Edward Hyde, and to another; which captain Allen, an Iriſh Papiſt and merchant of Waterford confeſſeth he had from the hands of the earl of Glamorgan to deliver as aforeſaid: upon his examination he ſaid further, That the three hundred Iriſh deſired for the prince's life-guard were to be thus diſpoſed, an hundred to be put into the mount, an hundred to Pendennis, and the other hundred to be a guard to the prince. The general hath ſent poſt to captain Moulton admiral of the Iriſh coaſts, to give him notice in what forwardneſs the Iriſh were to be tranſported, that they may keep out ſhips at ſea for prevention: the trumpet that went with the ſummons to the lord Hopton is not yet returned. To morrow early the whole army horſe and foot advances towards Truro: all paſſes, by-lanes and fords being for the moſt part barricadoed or blockt up; ſo that if the enemy ſhould ſlip by (which we no ways fear) their marches will be ſo ſlow, that their rear will be ingaged before they get half through the paſſage. Before this come to your hands, without peradventure the buſineſs will be very near decided by a treaty or retreat into the ſea. There came ſeven or eight of the prince's ſervants this day for paſſes to go home, much lamenting the ſudden carrying the prince on ſhipboard when they dreamed not of it: at Foy we took thirteen pieces of ordnance mounted, beſides arms and powder; the firſt night the town ſtood upon their guard, but the next morning repented of their folly, and without diſpute admitted our forces to come in. Be pleaſed to haſten down monies to the army, and match and powder with all ſpeed to Lime: neither of theſe will admit of delay: and haſten recruits that they may meet us when we face about.

Your moſt humble and faithful ſervant,

John Ruſhworth.

Bodman, March 6.
11 at night.

The examination of Allen is ſent up by this bearer who can inform you more of the carriage of the man: I hope the bearer will come ſafe with the letters; he is enjoined to have great care; he comes far with ſuch a truſt.

## The treaty concluded with the Iriſh rebels by the earl of Glamorgan.

WHEREAS much time hath been ſpent in meetings and debates betwixt his excellency James lord marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant and general-governour of his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, commmiſſioner to his moſt excellent Majeſty, Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. for the treating and concluding of a peace in the ſaid kingdom with his Majeſty's humble and loyal ſubjects, the Confederate and Roman Catholicks of the ſaid kingdom of Ireland of the one part; and the right honourable Donogh lord viſcount Muſkerry, and other commiſſioners deputed and authorized by the ſaid confederate Roman Catholick ſubjects of the other part; and thereupon many difficulties did ariſe, by occaſion whereof ſundry matters of great weight and conſequence neceſſarily requiſite to be condeſcended unto

unto by his Majeſty's ſaid commiſſioners, for the ſafety of the ſaid confederate Roman Catholicks, were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the concluſion of a firm peace and ſettlement in the ſaid kingdom. And whereas the right honourable Edward earl of Glamorgan is intruſted and authorized by his moſt excellent Majeſty, to grant and aſſure to the ſaid confederate Catholick ſubjects further grace and favours, which the ſaid lord-lieutenant did not as yet in that latitude as they expected grant unto them; and the ſaid earl having ſeriouſly conſidered of all matters and due circumſtances of the great affairs now in agitation, which is the peace and quiet of the ſaid kingdom, and the importance thereof, in order to his Majeſty's ſervice, and in relation to a peace and ſettlement in his other kingdoms; and here upon the place having ſeen the ardent deſire of the ſaid Catholicks to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt all that do or ſhall oppreſs his royal right or monarchick government; and having diſcerned the alacrity and chearfulneſs of the ſaid Catholicks to embrace honourable conditions of peace, which may preſerve their religion and other juſt intereſts. In purſuance therefore of his Majeſty's authority under his highneſs's ſignature royal and ſignet, bearing date at Oxon. the 12th day of March in the twentieth year of his reign, granted unto the ſaid earl of Glamorgan, the tenor whereof is as followeth, viz. Charles Rex. Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our truſty and right well-beloved couſin Edward earl of Glamorgan, greeting: we repoſing great and eſpecial truſt and confidence in your approved wiſdom and fidelity, do by theſe (as firmly as under our great ſeal to all intents and purpoſes) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholicks in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon neceſſity any thing be to be condeſcended unto, wherein our lieutenant cannot ſo well be ſeen in, as not fit for us at the preſent publickly to own; therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all poſſible ſecrecy, and for whatſoever you ſhall engage yourſelf upon ſuch valuable conſiderations, as you in your judgment ſhall deem fit; we promiſe in the word of a king and a chriſtian, to ratify and perform the ſame that ſhall be granted by you and under your hand and ſeal; the ſaid confederate Catholicks having by their ſupplies teſtified their zeal to our ſervice; and this ſhall be in each particular to you a ſufficient warrant. Given at our court at Oxford under our ſignet and royal ſignature the 12th day of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1644. To our right truſty and right well-beloved couſin Edward earl of Glamorgan. It is therefore granted, accorded and agreed, by and between the ſaid earl of Glamorgan, for and on the behalf of his moſt excellent Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, on the one part; and the right honourable lord viſcount Mountgarret, lord preſident of the ſupreme council of the ſaid confederate Catholicks, the ſaid Donogh lord viſcount Muſkerry, Alexander Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, Eſq; Sir Robert Talbot Barronet, Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Geffery Brown, Eſq; commiſſioners in that behalf appointed by the ſaid confederate Roman Catholick ſubjects of Ireland, for and in the behalf of the ſaid confederate Roman Catholick ſubjects of the other part, in manner and form following; (that is to ſay)

1. IT is granted, accorded and agreed by the ſaid earl, for and in the behalf of his moſt excellent Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That all and every the profeſſors of the Roman Catholick religion in the kingdom of Ireland, of whatever eſtate, degree or quality ſoever he or they be or ſhall be, ſhall for evermore hereafter have and enjoy within the ſaid kingdom, the free and publick uſe and exerciſe of the ſaid Roman Catholick religion, and of the reſpective functions therein.

2. ITEM, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the ſaid earl, for and on the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That the ſaid profeſſors of the Roman Catholick religion, ſhall hold and enjoy all and every the churches by them enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed at any time ſince the 23d of October 1641. and all other churches in the ſaid kingdom, other than ſuch as are now actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects.

3. ITEM, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the ſaid earl, for and in the behalf of his moſt excellent Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That all and every the Roman Catholick ſubjects of Ireland, of what eſtate, condition, degree or quality ſoever, ſhall be free and exempted from the juriſdiction of the proteſtant clergy, and every of them; and that the Roman Catholick clergy of this kingdom ſhall not be puniſhed, troubled or moleſted for the exerciſe of their juriſdiction over their reſpective Catholick flocks, in matters ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical.

4. ITEM, It is further granted, accorded and agreed by the ſaid earl, for and on the behalf of his moſt excellent Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors; That an act ſhall be paſſed in the next parliament to be holden in this kingdom, the tenor and purport whereof ſhall be as followeth, viz. An act for the relief of his Majeſty's Catholick ſubjects of his highneſs's kingdom of Ireland: whereas by an act made in parliament held in Dublin the ſecond year of the reign of the late queen Eliz. intituled, "An act reſtoring to the crown the antient juriſdiction over the ſtate "eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual, and aboliſhing all foreign power repugnant "to the ſame;" and by one other ſtatute made in the ſaid laſt mentioned parliament, intituled, "An act for the uniformity of common prayer "and ſervice in the church, and the adminiſtration of the ſacrament," ſundry mulcts, penalties, reſtraints and incapacities, are and have been laid upon the profeſſors of the Roman Catholick religion in this kingdom, in, for and concerning the uſe, profeſſion and exerciſe of their religion and their functions therein, to the great prejudice, trouble and diſquiet of the Roman Catholicks in their liberties and eſtates, and the general diſturbance of the whole kingdom. For remedy whereof, and for the better ſettling, increaſe and continuance of the peace, unity and tranquility of this kingdom of Ireland; his Majeſty, at the humble ſuit and requeſt of the lords and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, is graciouſly pleaſed that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent Majeſty, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by authority of the ſame, That from and after the firſt day of this ſeſſion of parliament, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for all the profeſſors of the Roman Catholick religion, of what degree, condition or quality ſoever, to have, uſe and enjoy the free and publick exerciſe and profeſſion of the ſaid Roman Catholick religion, and of their ſeveral and reſpective functions therein, without incurring any mulct or penalty whatſoever, or being ſubject to any reſtraint or incapacity concerning the ſame; any

article

article or clauſe, ſentence or proviſion in the ſaid laſt mentioned acts of parliament, or in any other act or acts of parliament, ordinances, law or uſage to the contrary, or in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And be it alſo further enacted, that neither the ſaid ſtatutes, or any other ſtatute, acts or ordinance hereafter made in your Majeſty's reign, or in the reign of any of your highneſs's moſt noble progenitors or anceſtors, and now of force in this kingdom; nor all, nor any branch, article, clauſe and ſentence in them or any of them, contained or ſpecified, ſhall be of force or validity in this realm, to extend to be conſtrued, or adjudged to extend in any wiſe to inquiet, prejudice, vex or moleſt the profeſſors of the ſaid Roman Catholick religion, in their perſons, lands, hereditaments or goods, for any thing, matter or cauſe whatſoever, touching and concerning the free and publick uſe, exerciſe and enjoyings of their ſaid religion, function and profeſſion. And be it alſo further enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, that your Majeſty's Roman Catholick ſubjects in the ſaid realm of Ireland, from the firſt day of this ſeſſion of parliament, ſhall be, and be taken, deemed and adjudged capable of all offices of truſt and advancement, places, degrees and dignities, and preferment whatſoever within your ſaid realm of Ireland, any acts, ſtatutes, uſage or law to the contrary notwithſtanding. And that other acts ſhall be paſſed in the ſaid parliament, according to the tenor of ſuch agreement or conceſſions as herein are expreſſed; and that in the mean time the ſaid Roman Catholick ſubjects, and every of them, ſhall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the ſaid agreements and conceſſions, and of every of them.

5. ITEM, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the ſaid earl, for and in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, that his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the profeſſors of the Roman Catholick religion in their preſent poſſeſſion and continuance of the profeſſion of their ſaid church's juriſdiction, or any other the matters aforeſaid in theſe articles agreed and condeſcended unto by the ſaid earl, until his Majeſty's pleaſure be ſignified for confirming and publiſhing the grants and agreements hereby articled for and condeſcended unto by the ſaid earl.

6. ITEM, And the ſaid earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majeſty's royal word and publick faith unto all and ſingular the profeſſors of the ſaid Roman Catholick religion within the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, for the due obſervance and performance of all and every the articles, grants and clauſes therein contained, and the conceſſions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

7. ITEM, It is accorded and agreed, That the ſaid publick faith of the kingdom ſhall be engaged unto the ſaid earl, by the ſaid commiſſioners of the ſaid confederate Catholicks, for ſending ten thouſand men to ſerve his Majeſty, by order and publick declaration of the general aſſembly now ſitting; and that the ſupreme council of the ſaid confederate Catholicks ſhall engage themſelves to bring the ſaid number of men armed, the one half with muſkets, and the other half with pikes, unto any port within this realm, at the election of the ſaid earl, and at ſuch time as he ſhall appoint, to be by him ſhipped and tranſported to ſerve his Majeſty in England, Wales or Scotland, under the command of the ſaid earl of Glamorgan as lord-general of the ſaid army, which army is to be kept together

together in one entire body; and all other the officers and commanders of the ſaid army are to be named by the ſupreme council of the ſaid confederate Catholicks, or by ſuch others as the general aſſembly of the ſaid confederate Catholicks of this kingdom ſhall intruſt therewith: in witneſs whereof, the parties to theſe preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and ſeals the 25th day of Auguſt, 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, ſealed and delivered in the preſence of John Somerſet Jeffery Barron, Robert Barry.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum Originali: Thomas Caſhel, Franc. Patricius, Waterford & Liſmore.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbiſhop of Tuam's carriage; compared by us, Arthur Anneſley, Rob. King.

Articles of agreement made and concluded upon by and between the right honourable Edward earl of Glamorgan, in purſuance, and by virtue of his Majeſty's authority under his ſignet and royal ſignature, bearing date at Oxford the twelfth day of March in the twentieth year of his reign, for and on the behalf of his moſt excellent Majeſty of the one part; and the right honourable Richard lord viſcount Mountgarret, lord-preſident of the ſupreme council of the confederate Catholicks of Ireland, Donnogh lord viſcount Muſkerry, Alex. Mac Donnel and Nicholas Plunket, eſquires, Sir Robert Talbot Baronet, Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy and Jeffery Brown, eſquires, for and on the behalf of his Majeſty's Roman Catholick ſubjects, and the Catholick clergy of Ireland, of the other part.

IMPRIMIS, The ſaid earl doth grant, conclude and agree, on the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to and with the ſaid Richard lord viſcount Mountgarret, Donnogh lord viſcount Muſkerry, Alex. Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, eſquires; Sir Robert Talbot baronet, Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, eſquires: that the Roman Catholick clergy of the ſaid kingdom ſhall and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every ſuch lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments whatſoever by them reſpectively enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed at any time ſince the three and twentieth of October, one thouſand ſix hundred forty one: and all other ſuch lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments belonging to the clergy within this kingdom, other than ſuch as are actually now enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant clergy.

ITEM, It is granted, concluded and agreed on by the ſaid Richard lord viſcount Mountgarret, Donnogh lord viſcount Muſkerry, Alex. Mac Donnel,

Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, on the behalf of the confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland, that two parts in three parts to be divided of all the ſaid lands, tythes, and hereditaments whatſoever, mentioned in the precedent article, ſhall for three years next enſuing the feaſt of Eaſter, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord God 1646. be diſpoſed of and converted for and to the uſe of his Majeſty's forces, employed or to be employed in his ſervice, and the other third part to the uſe of the ſaid clergy reſpectively, and ſo the like diſpoſition to be renewed from three years to three years, by the ſaid clergy during the wars.

ITEM, It is accorded and agreed by the ſaid earl of Glamorgan, for and in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, that his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the profeſſors of the Roman Catholick religion in their preſent poſſeſſion and continuance of the poſſeſſion of their churches, lands, tenements, tythes, hereditaments, juriſdiction, or any other the matters aforeſaid in theſe articles agreed and condeſcended to by the ſaid earl, until his Majeſty's pleaſure be ſignified for confirming and publiſhing the grants herein articled for and condeſcended unto by the ſaid earl.

ITEM, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the ſaid earl for and in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, that an act ſhall be paſſed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom; according to the tenor of ſuch agreements or conceſſions as herein are expreſſed, and that in the mean time the ſaid clergy ſhall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the ſaid agreements and conceſſions and every of them.

AND the ſaid earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majeſty's royal word and publick faith unto the ſaid lord viſcount Mountgarret, and the reſt of the ſaid commiſſioners, for the due obſervation and performance of all and every the articles, agreements and conceſſions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the ſaid Roman Catholick clergy and every of them. In witneſs whereof the parties to theſe preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and ſeals the 25th day of Auguſt, Anno Dom. 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, ſealed and delivered in the preſence of John Sommerſet, Jeffery Barron, Rob. Barry.

WHEREAS in theſe articles touching the clergy livings, the right honourable the earl of Glamorgan is obliged in his Majeſty's behalf to ſecure the conceſſions in theſe articles by act of parliament: we holding that manner of ſecuring thoſe grants as to the clergy livings to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majeſty, than by doing thereof, and ſecuring thoſe conceſſions otherwiſe as to the ſaid livings, the ſaid earl undertaking and promiſing in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, as hereby he doth undertake to ſettle the ſaid conceſſions, and ſecure them to the clergy, and their reſpective ſucceſſors, in another ſecure way, other than by parliament at preſent, till a fit opportunity be offered for ſecuring the ſame, do agree and condeſcend thereunto. And this inſtrument by his lordſhip ſigned, was before the perfecting thereof intended to that

purpoſe, as to the ſaid livings, to which purpoſe we have mutually ſigned this indorſement. And it is further intended, that the Catholick clergy ſhall not be interrupted by parliament, or otherwiſe, as to the ſaid livings, contrary to the meaning of theſe articles.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum originali, Thomas Caſhel, Fra. Patricius, Waterford & Liſmore.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbiſhop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us, Arthur Anneſly, Rob. King.

I EDWARD earl of Glamorgan do proteſt and ſwear faithfully to acquaint the king's moſt excellent Majeſty with the proceedings of this kingdom, in order to his ſervice, and to the indearment of this nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authorized by his Majeſty) obliged myſelf to ſee performed, and in default, not to permit the army intruſted into my charge to adventure itſelf, or any conſiderable part thereof, until conditions from his Majeſty, and by his Majeſty be performed,

GLAMORGAN.

Sept. 3. 1645.

Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fideliter cum Origin. Tho. Caſhel.

This is a true copy of the original found in the archbiſhop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us, Arthur Anneſley, Rob. King.

# King CHARLES his Case:

OR, AN

# APPEAL to all rational Men

Concerning his

# TRYAL

IN THE

# HIGH COURT of JUSTICE

Being, for the most Part,

That which was intended to have been delivered at the Bar, if the KING had pleaded to the Charge, and put himself upon a fair Tryal.

WITH

An additional Opinion concerning the Death of King JAMES, the Loss of ROCHEL, and the Blood of IRELAND.

By JOHN COOK, of Gray's-Inn, Barrister.

Justice is an excellent Virtue:
Reason is the Life of the Law.
Womanish Pity to mourn for a Tyrant,
Is a deceitful Cruelty to a City.

TO THE

# READER.

THE righteous judge, whose judgment is not only inevitable, but infallible, must shortly judge me, and all that concurred to bring the capital delinquent to condign punishment; but in the interim, I desire to be judged by all understanding men in the world, that suffer their judgments to be swayed by reason, and not biassed by private interest, whether ever any man did so much deserve to die: Cain for the murther of one righteous Abel, and David for one Uriah, had been men of death, had not God pardoned them: those thirty one kings which Joshua hanged up*, and Saul's seven sons, which were but at the worst (as it seems to me) evil counsellors; were they not innocent, nay saints in comparison of this man? Those that crucified Christ did it ignorantly, for had they known him, they had not crucified the Lord of glory. The saints under the ten persecutions suffered by the hands of the Heathens; the Sicilian vespers†, the Parisian massacre of the Protestants, and the gunpowder-plot, were acted and intended by Papists, out of a conceit of merit; but for a Protestant prince, stiled, "The defender of the faith," in a time of light, that had sworn to keep the peace, received tribute to that end, and might have had the very hearts of the people, if they could have given him them without death (the strongest engagements;) I say, for such a one so long to persecute the faithful, destroy and enslave the people by oppressing cruelties: and when Machiavel could not do it, to levy a war to that wicked end, which never any of his ancestors durst attempt; that might at any time with a word of his mouth have stopt all the bleeding veins in the three kingdoms, but would not; and for the satisfying of a base lust, caused more Protestant blood to be shed than ever was spilt, either by Rome, Heathen or Antichristian: Blessed God, what ugly sins lodge in their bosoms, that would have had this man to live! But words are but women, proofs are men; it is reason that must be the chariot to carry men to give their concurrence to this judgment: therefore I shall deliver my thoughts to the courteous reader, as I was prepared for it, if it had been joined in the cause, but with some additions for illustration of it, desiring excuse for the preamble, because there is some repetition in matter.

* 2 Sam. 21. † Jo. 1571

# KING CHARLES's CASE.

May it pleaſe your lordſhip,

MY lord preſident, and this high court, erected for the moſt comprehenſive, impartial, and glorious piece of juſtice, that ever was acted and executed upon the theatre of England, for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, whom God in his wrath gave to be a king to this nation, and will, I truſt, in great love, for his notorious prevarications and blood-guiltineſs take him away from us; he that hath been the original of all injuſtice, and the principal author of more miſchiefs to the free-born people of this nation, than the beſt arithmetician can well enumerate, ſtands now to give an account of his ſtewardſhip, and to receive the good of juſtice, for all the evil of his injuſtice and cruelty. Had he ten thouſand lives, they could not all ſatisfy for the numerous, horrid and barbarous maſſacres of myriads, and legions of innocent perſons, which by his commands, commiſſions and procurements (or at leaſt all the world muſt needs ſay, which he might have prevented; and he that ſuffers any man to be kill'd, when he may ſave his life without danger of his own, is a murtherer) have been cruelly ſlain, and inhumanly murthered, in this renowned Albion. Anglia hath been made an Akeldama, and her younger ſiſter Ireland a land of Ire and miſery; and yet this hard-hearted man, as he went out of the court, down the ſtairs Jan. 22. ſaid (as ſome of the guard told me and others) That he was not troubled for any of the blood that had been ſhed, but for the blood of one man (peradventure he meant Strafford) He was no more affected with a liſt that was brought in to Oxford of five or ſix thouſand ſlain at Edgehill, than to read one of Ben. Johnſon's tragedies: you gentlemen royaliſts that fought for him, if ye had loſt your lives for his ſake, you ſee he would have no more pitied you by his own confeſſion, then you do a poor worm; and yet what heart but would cleave, if it were a rock, melt, if it were ice, break, if it were flint, or diſſolve, if it were a diamond, to conſider that ſo much precious Proteſtant blood ſhould be ſhed in theſe three kingdoms, ſo many gallant valiant men of all ſorts and conditions, to be ſacrificed and loſe their lives, and many of them to die ſo deſperately in regard of their eternal conditions, and all this meerly and only for the ſatisfying and fulfilling of one man's ſinful luſt and wicked will; a good ſhepherd is he that lays down his life, or ventures it to ſave the ſheep; but for one to be ſo proudly wedded to his own conceits, as ſo maliciouſly to oppoſe his private opinion, againſt the publick judgment and reaſon of ſtate, and to make head againſt the parliament, who acknowledged him to be head thereof, ſo far as to give him the honour of the royal aſſent, in ſettling the militia and ſafety of the people: I ſay, for a Proteſtant prince, ſo beloved at home, and feared abroad, that in love, and by gentle means might have had any thing from the parliament, for him to occaſion the ſhedding of ſo much blood, for a pretended prerogative, as hereafter will appear nothing in effect but to fix and perpetuate an abſolute tyranny; I can ſay no leſs, but, O Lucifer! from whence art thou fallen, and what hereticks are they in politicks, that would have had ſuch a man to live? much more that think his actions to have merited love and praiſe from heaven and earth. But now to diſſect the charge.

1. THAT the kings of England are truſted with a limited power to govern by law, the whole ſtream and current of legal authorities run ſo limpid and clear, that I ſhould but weary thoſe that know it already, and trouble thoſe that need not know the particular caſes; for it is one of the fundamentals of law, that the king is not above the law, but the law above the king: I could eaſily deraign it from 1 Edward III. to the juriſdiction of courts, that the king has no more power or authority than what by law is concredited and committed to him; but the moſt famous authority is Forteſcue, chancellor to Henry VI. (and therefore undoubtedly would not clip his maſter's prerogative) who moſt judicially takes a difference between a government wholly regal and ſeignoral; as in Turkey, Ruſſia, France, Spain, &c. and a government politick and mixed, where the law keeps the King

even between ſovereignty and ſubjection, as in England, Denmark, Swede, and Poland; the firſt, where the edict of a prince makes the law, reſembles an impetuous inundation of the waters, whereby the corn and hay, and other fruits of the earth are ſpoiled, as when it is midwinter at midſummer; the latter is like a ſweet ſmooth ſtream, running by the pleaſant fields and meadows: that by the law of England the king ought not to impoſe any thing upon the people, or take any thing away from them to the value of a farthing, but by common conſent in parliaments or national meetings; and that the people of common-right, and by ſeveral ſtatutes ought to have parliaments yearly, or oftner if need be, for the redreſs of publick grievances, and for the enacting of good and wholeſome laws, and repealing of old ſtatutes of Omeri which are prejudicial to the nation: and that the king hath not by law ſo much power as a juſtice of peace, to commit any man to priſon for any offence whatſoever, becauſe all ſuch matters were committed to proper courts and officers of juſtice: and if the king by his verbal command ſend for any perſon to come before him, if the party refuſed to attend, and the meſſenger endeavouring to force him, they fell to blows; if the meſſenger killed the party ſent for, this by the law is murder in him, but if he killed the meſſenger, this was juſtifiable in him, being in his own defence, ſo as to ſue forth a pardon of courſe; theſe and many other caſes of like nature are ſo clear and well known, that I will not preſume to multiply particulars.

THAT the king took an oath at his coronation to preſerve the peace of the nation, to do juſtice to all, and to keep and obſerve the laws which the people have, himſelf confeſſes: and it was charged upon the late archbiſhop, that he emaſculated the oath, and left out very material words, "Which the people ſhall chooſe*," which certainly he durſt not have done, without the king's ſpecial command; and it ſeems to me no light preſumption, that from that very day he had a deſign to alter and ſubvert the fundamental laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; but though there had been no oath, yet by ſpecial office and duty of his place, every king of England is obliged to act for the peoples good; for all power, as it is originally in the people (he muſt needs be extreem ignorant, malicious, or a ſelf-deſtroyer, that ſhall deny it) ſo it is given forth for their preſervation, nothing for their deſtruction; for a king to rule by luſt and not by law, is a creature that was never of God's making, not of God's approbation, but his permiſſion; and though ſuch men are ſaid to be Gods on earth, 'tis in no other ſenſe than the Devil is called the God of this world: it ſeems that one paſſage which the king would have offered to the court (which was not permitted him to diſpute the ſupreme authority in the nation, and ſtanding mute, the charge being for high treaſon, it is a conviction in law) was, that 1 Sam. 8. is a copy of the king's commiſſion, by virtue whereof, he as king might rule and govern as he liſt, that he might take the peoples ſons and appoint them for himſelf for his chariots, and to be his horſemen, and take their daughters to be his confectionaries, and take their fields and vineyards, and olive-yards, even the beſt of them, and their goodlieſt young men, and their aſſes, and give them to his officers, and to his ſervants; which indeed is a copy and pattern of an abſolute tyrant, and abſolute ſlaves, where the people have no more then the tyrant will afford them: the holy ſpirit in that chapter does not inſinuate what a good king ought to do, but what a wicked king would preſume to do. Beſides, Saul and David had extraordinary callings, but all juſt power is now derived from, and conferred by the people; yet in the caſe of Saul, it is obſervable, that the people out of pride to be like other nations, deſired a king, and ſuch a king as the Heathens had, which were all tyrants; for they that know any thing in hiſtory, know that the firſt four monarchs were all tyrants at firſt, till they gained the peoples conſent. Nimrod the great hunter was Ninus that built Nineveh, the firſt tyrant and conqueror that had no title; and ſo were all kingdoms, which are not elective till the peoples ſubſequent conſent; and though it be by deſcent, yet it is a continuation of a conqueſt till the people conſent and voluntarily ſubmit to a government, they are but ſlaves, and in reaſon they may free themſelves if they can: in France the king begins his reign, from the day of his coronation; the archbiſhop aſks the people if he ſhall be king; the twelve peers, or ſome that perſonate them, ſay, "yes," they gird the ſword about him, then he ſwears to defend the laws: and is any thing more natural than to keep an oath? And though virtuous kings have prevailed with the people to make their crowns hereditary, yet the coronation ſhews the ſhell, that the kernel hath been in. Samuel was a good judge, and there was nothing could be objected againſt him, therefore God was diſpleaſed at their inordinate deſire of a king; and it ſeems to me that the Lord declares his diſlike of all ſuch kings as the Heathens were, that is, kings with an unlimited power, that are not tied to laws; for he gave them a king in his wrath, therein dealing with them as the wiſe phyſician with the diſtempered and impatient patient, who deſiring to drink wine, tells him the danger of inflamamtion, yet wine he will have, and the phyſician conſidering a little wine will do but little hurt, rather then his patient by fretting ſhould take greater hurt, preſcribes a little white-wine, wherein the phyſician doth not approve his drinking of wine, but of two evils chooſeth the leaſt. The Jews would have a king for majeſty and ſplendor, like the Heathens; God permits this, he approves it not: it ſeems to me that the Lord renounces the very genus

* 1. Book of Ord. fol.

of

of such kings as are there mentioned; and the old word Conning (by contraction king,) not signify power or force to do what he will, but a knowing, wise, discreet man, opens the peoples eyes, and does not lead them by the noses, but govern them with wis and discretion for their own good. Therefore, gentlemen royalists, be not so mad as misconstrue, either the oaths of allegiance or supremacy, or any league or covenant, that man should swear to give any one leave to cut his throat; the true meaning is that the k of England was supreme in this land, in opposition to the pope, or any other prince potentate, as the words of the oath do import, "That no foreign state, prince or pot tate, &c." In case of any foreign invasion, the king was by law to be generalissimo, command the people for their own safety, and so it was expounded by the parliament in Eliz. which for some reason of state was not permitted to be printed with the statu Besides God told those kings whom he had formerly anointed, what their duty was; to exalt themselves overmuch above their brethren, to delight themselves in the law of G out of which I infer that the Turks, Tartars, Muscovites, French, Spaniards, and people that live at the beck and nod of tyrannical men, may and ought to free themsel from that tyranny, if, and when they can; for such tyrants that so domineer with a rod iron, do not govern by God's permissive hand of approbation or benediction, but by permissive hand of his providence, suffering them to scourge the people, for ends k known to himself, until he open a way for the people to work out their own enfranchi ments.

But before I speak of the war, it will be necessary for the satisfaction of rational me to open and prove the king's wicked design, wherewith he stands charged. Now that had from the beginning of his reign, such a design and endeavour so to tear up the found tions of government, that law should be no protection to any man's person or estate, w clearly appear by what follows.

1. By his not taking the oath so fully as his predecessors did, that so when the pa liament should tender good laws to him for the royal assent, he might readily answ that he was not by oath obliged to confirm or corroborate the same.

2. By his dishonourable and perfidious dealing with the people at his coronation, wh he set forth a proclamation, that in regard of the infection then spread through the kingdo he promised to dispense with those knights, that by an old statute were to attend at t coronation, who were thereby required not to attend, but did notwithstanding within s months after take advantage of their absence, and raised a vast sum of money out of th estates at the council-table, where they pleading the said proclamation, for their justificatio they were answered that the law of the land was above any proclamation, like that tyra that when he could not by law execute a virgin, commanded her to be deflower'd, and th put to death.

3. By his altering the patents and commissions to the judges, which having heretofore ha their places granted to them so long as they should behave themselves well therein, he mad them but during pleasure, that so if the judges should not declare the law to be as he wou have it, he might with a wet finger remove them, and put in such as should not only sa but swear, if need were, that the law was as the king would have it: for when a man sha give five or ten thousand pounds for a judge's place during the king's pleasure, and he sha the next day send to him to know his opinion, of a difference in law between the king an a subject, and it shall be intimated unto him that if he do not deliver his opinion for th king, he is likely to be removed out of his place the next day; which if so, he knows no how to live, but must rot in prison for the money which he borrowed to buy his place, a was well known to be some of their cases, who underhand and closely bought great places (to elude the danger of the statute,) whether this was not too heavy a temptation for th shoulders of most men to bear, is no hard matter to determine; so as upon the matter, tha very act of his made the king at the least a potential tyrant; for when that shal be law, which a king shall declare himself, or which shall be declared by those whom h chooses, this brings the people to the very next step to slavery.

But that which does irrefragably prove the design, was his restless desire to destroy parliaments, or to make them useless: and for that, who knows not but that there were three or four national meetings in parliament in the first four years of his reign, which were called for supply to bring money into his coffers in point of subsidies, rather than for any benefit to the people, as may appear by the few good laws that were then made. But that which is most memorable, is the untimely dissolving of the parliament in 4 Car. when Sir John Elliot and others (who managed a conference with the house of peers concerning the duke of Buckingham, who amongst other things was charged concerning the death of king James) were committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he lost his life by cruel in- durance. Which I may not pass over without a special animadversion: for sure there is no Turk or Heathen but will say, that if he were any way guilty of his father's death, let him die for it.

I would not willingly be so injurious to the honest reader, as to make him buy that again which he had formerly met with in the parliament's declaration or elsewhere; in such a case a marginal reference may be sufficient. Nor would I herein be so presumptuous as to prevent any

any thing that happily may be intended in any declaration for more general ſatisfaction; but humbly offer a ſtudent's mite which ſatisfies myſelf, with ſubmiſſion to better judgments.

How the king firſt came to the crown, God and his own conſcience beſt knew. It was well known and obſerved at court, that a little before, he was a profeſſed enemy to the duke of Buckingham; but inſtantly upon the death of king James, took him into ſuch ſpecial protection, grace and favour, that upon the matter he divided the kingdom with him. And when the earl of Briſtol had exhibited a charge againſt the ſaid duke, the thirteenth article whereof concerned the death of king James, he inſtantly diſſolved that parliament, that ſo he might protect the duke from the juſtice thereof, and would never ſuffer any legal enquiry to be made for his father's death. The rabbins obſerve, that that which ſtuck moſt with Abraham about God's command to ſacrifice Iſaac, was this: "Can I not be obedient, unleſs I be unnatural? What will the Heathens ſay, when they hear I have killed my only ſon?" What will an Indian ſay to this caſe? A king hath all power in his hands to do juſtice; there is one accuſed upon ſtrong preſumptions at the leaſt, for poiſoning that king's father; the king protects him from juſtice; whether do you believe that himſelf had any hand in his father's death? Had the duke been accuſed for the death of a beggar, he ought not to have protected him from a judicial trial. We know that by law it is no leſs than miſpriſion of treaſon to conceal a treaſon; and to conceal a murder, ſtrongly implies a guilt thereof, and makes him a kind of acceſſary to the fact. He that hath no nature to do juſtice to his own father, could it ever be expected that he ſhould do juſtice to others? Was he fit to continue a father to the people, who was without natural affection to his own father? Will he love a kingdom, that ſhewed no love to himſelf, unleſs it was that he durſt not ſuffer inquiſition to be made for it? But I leave it as a riddle, which at the day of judgment will be expounded and unriddled, for ſome ſins will not be made manifeſt till that day; with this only, that had he made the law of God his delight, and ſtudied therein night and day, as God commanded his kings to do; or had he but ſtudied ſcripture half ſo much as Ben Johnſon or Shakeſpear, he might have learnt, that when *Amaziah was ſettled in the kingdom, he ſuddenly did juſtice upon thoſe ſervants which had killed his father Joaſh: he did not by any pretended prerogative excuſe or protect them, but delivered them up into the hands of that juſtice which the horridneſs of the fact did undoubtedly demerit.

THAT parliament †4 Car. proving ſo abortive, the king ſets forth a ‡proclamation, that none ſhould preſume to move him to call parliaments, for he knew how to raiſe monies enough without the help of parliaments, therefore in twelve years he refuſeth to call any. In which interval and intermiſſion, how he had oppreſſed the people by incroachments and uſurpations upon their liberties and properties; and what vaſt ſums of money he had forceably exacted and exhauſted by illegal patents and monopolies of all ſorts, I refer the reader to that moſt judicious and full "Declaration of the ſtate of the kingdom," publiſhed in the beginning of this parliament. That judgment of ſhip-money did upon the matter formalize the people abſolute ſlaves, and him an abſolute tyrant: for if the king may take from the people in caſe of neceſſity, and himſelf ſhall be judge of that neceſſity, then cannot any man ſay that he is worth ſix-pence; for if the king ſay that he hath need of that ſixpence, then by law he muſt have it; I mean that great Nimrod, that would have made all England a foreſt, and the people which the biſhop calls his ſheep, to be his veniſon to be hunted at his pleaſure.

NOR does the common objection, "That the judges and evil counſellors, and not the king, ought to be reſponſible for ſuch male-adminiſtrations, injuſtice and oppreſſion;" bear the weight of a feather in the ballance of right reaſon. For, 1. Who made ſuch wicked and corrupt judges? were they not his own creatures? and ought not every man to be accountable for the works of his own hands? He that does not hinder the doing of evil, if it lies in his power to prevent it, is guilty of it as a commander thereof. He that ſuffered thoſe black ſtars to inflict ſuch barbarous cruelties and unheard-of puniſhments, as branding, ſlitting of noſes, &c. upon honeſt men, to the diſhonour of the proteſtant religion, and diſgrace of the image of God ſhining in the face of man, he well deſerved to have been ſo ſerved. But, 2. He had the benefit of thoſe illegal fines and judgments. I agree, that if a judge ſhall oppreſs I. S. for the benefit of I. D. the king ought not to anſwer for this, but the judge, unleſs he protect the judge againſt the complaint of I. S. and in that caſe he makes himſelf guilty of it. But when an unjuſt judgment is given againſt I. S. for the king's benefit, and the fine to come immediately into his coffers; he that receives the money, muſt needs be preſumed to conſent to the judgment. But, 3. mark a Machiavel policy; "Call no parliaments to queſtion the injuſtice and corruption of judges for the people's relief, and make your own judges, and let that be law that they declare; whether it be reaſonable or unreaſonable it is no matter."

BUT then how came it to paſs that we had any more parliaments? Had we not a gracious king to call a parliament when there was ſo much need of it? and to paſs ſo many gracious acts to put down the Star-chamber, &c. Nothing leſs, it was not any voluntary free act of grace, not the leaſt ingredient or tincture of love or good affection to the people, that cal-

* 2 Kings xii. 20, and xiv. 1, 5. † 27 Mar. ‡ 5 Car.

ed the ſhort parliament in 1640, but to ſerve his own turn againſt the Scots, whom he then had deſigned to enſlave; and thoſe ſeven acts of grace which the king paſt, were no more than his duty to do, nor half ſo much, but giving the people a take of their own griefs; and he diſſents with them about the militia, which commanded all the reſt; he never intended thereby any more good and ſecurity to the people; than he that ſtealing the gooſe, leaves the feathers behind him: But to anſwer the queſtion, thus it was:

THE king being wholly given up to be led by the counſels of a jeſuited party, who endeavoured to throw a bone of diſſention among us, that they might caſt in their net into our troubled waters, and catch more fiſh; for St. Peter's ſee perſwaded the king, to ſet up a new form of prayer in Scotland, and laid the bait ſo cunningly that whether they ſaw it or not, they were undone; if they ſaw the myſtery of iniquity couched in it, they would reſiſt, and ſo merit puniſhment for rebelling; if they ſwallowed it, it would make way for worſe; well, they ſaw the poiſon, and refuſed to taſte it; the king makes war; and many that loved honour and wealth more than God, aſſiſted him; down he went with an army, but his treaſure waſted in a ſhort time; fight they would not for fear of an after-reckoning; ſome commanders propound that they ſhould make their demands, and the king grants all, comes back to London, and burns the Pacification, ſaying it was counterfeit, they reaſſume their forts, he raiſes a ſecond war againſt them, and was neceſſitated to call a parliament, offering to lay down ſhip-money for twelve ſubſidies; they refuſe; the king in high diſpleaſure breaks off the parliament, and in a declaration commands them not to think of any more parliaments, for he would never call another.

THERE was a king of Egypt that cruelly oppreſt the people; they poor ſlaves complaining to one another, he feared a riſing, and commanded that none ſhould complain upon pain of cruel death; ſpies being abroad, they often met, but durſt not ſpeak, but parted with tears in their eyes, which declared that they had more to utter, but durſt not; this ſtruck him to greater fears, he commanded that none ſhould look upon one another's eyes at parting; therefore their griefs being too great to be ſmothered, they fetch'd a deep ſigh when they parted, which moved them ſo to compaſſionate one another's wrongs, that they ran in and killed the tyrant. The long hatching Iriſh treaſon was now ripe, and therefore it was neceſſary that England and Scotland ſhould be in combuſtion, leſt we might help the Iriſh proteſtants; well, the Scots get Newcaſtle, he knew they would truſt him no more, he had ſo often broke with them, therefore no hopes to get them out by a treaty; many lords and the city petition for a parliament, the king was at ſuch a neceſſity, that yield he muſt, to that which he moſt abhorred: God had brought him to ſuch a ſtrait, he that a few months before aſſumed the power of God, commanding men not to think of parliaments, to reſtrain the free thoughts of the heart of man, was conſtrained to call one which they knew he would break off when the Scots were ſent home, therefore got a confirmation of it, that he ſhould not diſſolve it without the conſent of both houſes, of which he had no hopes, or by force which he ſuddenly attempted, and the Engliſh army in the North was to have come up to confound the parliament and this rebellious and diſloyal city, as the king called it, and for their pains was promiſed thirty thouſand pounds and the plunder, as by the examinations of colonel Goring, Legge, &c. doth more fully appear.

AND here by the way I cannot but commend the city malignants, he calls them rebels, they call him a gracious king; he by his proclamation at Oxford prohibits all commerce and intercourſe of trade between this populous city (the life and intereſt whereof conſiſts in trade, without which many thouſands cannot ſubſiſt) and other parts of the kingdom, ſtill they do good againſt evil, and petitioning him ſo often to cut their throats, are troubled at nothing ſo much as that they are not reduced to that former and a worſe bondage than when there was a * lord warden made in the city, and the king ſent for as much of their eſtates as he pleaſed. But ſurely the Oxfordſhire-men are more to be commended; for when the king had commanded by his † proclamation, that what corn, hay, and other proviſion in the county of Oxford could not be fetch'd into the ſaid city for his garriſon, ſhould be *conſumed and deſtroyed by fire*, for fear it ſhould fall into the hands of the parliament's friends; a cruelty not to be parallell'd by an infidel, heathen, or pagan king; *nor to be preſidented* amongſt the moſt avowed and profeſſed enemies, much leſs from a king to his ſubjects; they reſolved never to truſt him any more.

BUT the great queſtion will be, What hath been the true ground and occaſion of the war? which unleſs I clear, and put it out of queſtion, as the charge imports, I ſhall fall ſhort of what I chiefly aim at, viz. "That the king ſet up his ſtandard of war, for the advancement and upholding of his perſonal intereſt, power, and pretended prerogative, againſt the publick intereſt of common right, peace and ſafety;" and thus I prove it:

1. He fought for the militia by ſea and land, to have it at his abſolute diſpoſe, and to juſtify and maintain his illegal commiſſions of array; and this he pretended was his birthright by the law of England: which if it were ſo, then might he by the ſame reaſon command all the money in the kingdom: for he that carries the ſword, will command the purſe.

* Darlingtub. † 15 Apr. 20. Car.

2. THE next thing that he pretended to fight for, was his power to call parliaments when he pleaſed, and diſſolve them when he liſt: If they will ſerve his turn, then they may ſit by a law to inſlave the people; ſo that the people had better chooſe all the courtiers and king's favourites at firſt, than to trouble themſelves with ludibrious elections to aſſemble the freeholders together, to their great labour and expence both of time and coin, and thoſe which are choſen knights and burgeſſes to make great preparations, to take long journies to London themſelves and their attendants, to ſee the king and lords in their parliament robes ride in ſtate to the houſe, and with Domitian, to catch flies; and no ſooner ſhall there be any breathings, or a ſpirit of juſtice ſtirring and diſcovered in the houſe of commons, but the king ſends the black rod, and diſſolves the parliament, and ſends them back again as wiſe as they were before, but not with ſo much money in their purſes, to tell ſtories to the freeholders of the bravery of the king and lords.

3. WELL, but if this be too groſs, and that the people begin to murmur and clamour for another parliament, then there goes out another ſummons, and they meet, and ſit for ſome time, but to as much purpoſe as before; for when the commons have preſented any bill for redreſs of a publick grievance, then the king hath ſeveral games to play to make all fruitleſs; as, firſt his own negative voice that if lords and commons are both agreed, then he will adviſe; which (I know not by what ſtrange doctrine) hath been of late conſtrued to be a plain denial, tho' under favour at the firſt it was no more but to allow him two or three days time to conſider of the equity of the law; in which time if he could not convince them of the injuſtice of it, then ought he by his oath and by law to conſent to it.

4. BUT if by this means the king had contracted hard thoughts from the people, and that not only the commons, but many of the lords, that have the ſame noble blood running in their veins, as thoſe Engliſh barons, whoſe ſwords were the chief inſtruments that purchaſed Magna Charta; then, that the king might be ſure to put ſome others between him and the people's hatred. The next prerogative that he pretended to have, was to be the ſole judge of chivalry, to have the ſole power of conferring honours, to make as many lords as he pleaſed, that ſo he may be ſure to have two againſt one, if the houſe of commons (by reaſon of the multitude of burgeſſes, which he likewiſe pretended a power to make as many borough-towns and corporations as he pleaſed) were not pack'd alſo: And this is that glorious privilege of the Engliſh parliaments, ſo much admired for juſt nothing; for if his pretended prerogative might ſtand for law, as was challenged by his adherents, never was there a purer cheat put upon any people, nor a more ready way to enſlave them, than by privilege of parliament, being juſt ſuch a mockery of the people, as that mock-parliament at Oxford was, where the king's conſent muſt be the figure, and the repreſentative ſtand but for a cypher.

5. BUT then out of parliament the people are made to believe, That the king hath committed all juſtice to the judges, and diſtributed the execution thereof into ſeveral courts; and that the king cannot ſo much as impriſon a man, nor impoſe any thing upon, nor take any thing away from the people, as by law he ought not to do: But now ſee what prerogative he challenges.

1. IF the king have a mind to have any publick-ſpirited man removed out of the way, this man is killed, the murderer known, a letter comes to the judge, and it may be it ſhall be found but manſlaughter; if it be found murder, the man is condemned, but the king grants him a pardon, which the judges will allow, if the word murder be in it; but becauſe it is too groſs to pardon murder, therefore the king ſhall grant him a leaſe of his life for ſeven years, and then renew it (like a biſhop's leaſe) as he did to major Prichard, who was lately juſticed, who being a ſervant to the earl of Lindſey, murdered a gentleman in Lincolnſhire, and was condemned, and had a leaſe of his life from the king, as his own friends have credibly told me.

2. FOR matter of liberty: The king or any courtier ſends a man to priſon, if the judge ſet him at liberty, then put him out of his place, a temptation too heavy for thoſe that love money and honour more than God, to bear; therefore any judgment that is given between the king and a ſubject, 'tis not worth a ruſh, for what will not money do?

NEXT he challenges a prerogative to enhance and debaſe money, which by law was allowed him, ſo far as to ballance trade, and no further; that if gold went high beyond ſea, it might not be cheap here, to have it all bought up and tranſported: but under colour of that he challenges a prerogative, that the king may by proclamation make leather current, or make a ſixpence go for twenty ſhillings, or a twenty ſhillings for ſixpence: which not to mention any thing of the project of farthings or braſs money, he that challenges ſuch a prerogative, is a potential tyrant; for if he may make my twelve-pence in my pocket worth but two-pence, what property hath any man in any thing that he enjoys?

ANOTHER prerogative pretended was, That the king may avoid any grant, and ſo may couſen and cheat any man by a law, the ground whereof is, that the king's grants ſhall be taken according to his intention, which in a ſober ſenſe I wiſh, that all men's grants might be ſo conſtrued according to their intentions, expreſs'd by word or writing; but by this means it being hard to know what the king intended, his grants have been like the devil's oracles, taken in any contrary ſenſe for his own advantage.

1. REP. In the famous case of Altonwood's there is vouched the lord Lovel's case, That the king granted lands to the lord Lovel and his heirs male, not for service done, but for a valuable consideration of money paid: the patentee well hoped to have enjoyed the land, not only during his life, but that his heirs male, at least of his body, should have likewise enjoyed it: but the judges finding, it seems, that the king was willing to keep the money, and have his land again (for what other reason no mortal man can fathom) resolved that it was a void grant, and that nothing passed to the patentee. I might instance in many cases of like nature, throughout all the reports, as one once made his boast, that he never made or past any patent or charter from the crown, but he reserved one starting hole or other, and knew how to avoid it, and so merely to cozen and defraud the poor patentee. So that now put all these prerogatives together; 1. The militia by sea and land. 2. A liberty to call parliaments when he pleased, and to adjourn, prorogue or dissolve them at pleasure. 3. A negative voice, that the people cannot save themselves without him, and must cut their own throats, if commanded so to do. 4. The nomination and making of all the judges, that upon peril of the loss of their places, must declare the law to be as he pleases. 5. A power to confer honours upon whom, and how he pleases: A covetous base wretch for five or ten thousand pounds to be courted, who deserves to be carted. 6. To pardon murderers, whom the Lord says shall not be pardoned. 7. To set the value and price of monies as he pleases, that if he be to pay ten thousand pounds, he may make leather by his proclamation to be current that day, or a five shillings to pass for twenty shillings; and if to receive so much, a twenty shillings to pass for five shillings. And lastly, a legal theft to avoid his own grants: I may boldly throw the gantlet, and challenge all the Machiavels in the world, to invent such an exquisite platform of tyrannical domination, and such a perfect tyranny without maim or blemish, as this is, and that by a law, which is worst of all. But the truth is, these are no legal prerogatives, but usurpations, incroachments and invasions upon the people's rights and liberties, and this easily effected without any great depth of policy; for 'tis but being sure to call no parliaments, or make them useless, and make the judges places profitable, and place avarice upon the bench, and no doubt but the law shall sound as the king would have it: but let me thus far satisfy the ingenuous reader, that all the judges in England cannot make one case to be law that is not reason, no more than they can prove a hair to be white that is black, which if they should so declare or adjudge, it is a meer nullity; for law must be reason adjudged, where reason is the genus, and the judgment in some court, makes the differentia; and I never found that the fair hand of the common law of England, ever reached out any prerogative to the king above the meanest man, but in three cases: 1. In matters of honour and pre-eminence to his person, and in matters of interest, that he should have mines royal of gold and silver, in whose land soever they were discovered; and fishes royal, as sturgeons and whales, in whose streams or water soever they were taken, which very rarely happened, or to have tythes out of a parish that no body else could challenge; for says the Law, "The most noble persons are to have the most noble things." 2. To have his patents freed from deceit, that he be not over-reached or cozened in his contracts, being employed about the great and arduous affairs of the kingdom. 3. His rights to be freed from incursion of time, not to be bound up by any statute of non-claim; for indeed possession is a vain plea, when the matter of right is in question, for right can never die; and some such honourable privileges of mending his plea, or suing in what court he will, and some such prerogatives of a middle indifferent nature, that could not be prejudicial to the people: but that the law of England should give the king any such vast, immense, precipitating power, or any such god-like state, that he ought not to be accountable for wicked actions, or male-administrations and mis-government; (as he hath challeng'd and averr'd in his answer to the petition of right,) or any such principles of tyranny, which are as inconsistent with the people's liberties and safety, as the ark and *Dagon*, light and darkness, in an intensive degree, is a most vain and irrational thing to imagine; and yet that was the ground of the war, as himself often declared, and that would not have half contented him, if he had come in by the sword. But some rational men object, How can it be murder, say they, for the king to raise forces against the parliament? since there is no other way of determining differences between the king and his subjects, but by the sword, for the law is no competent judge between two supreme powers; and then if it be only a contending for each other's right, where is the malice, that makes the killing of a man murder? Take the answer thus, first, How is it possible to imagine two supreme powers in one nation, no more than two suns in one firmament; if the king be supreme, the parliament must be subordinate; if they supreme, then he subordinate: but then it is alledged That the king challenged a power only co-ordinate, that the parliament could do nothing without him, nor he without them: under favour, two powers co-ordinate is as absurd as the other, for tho' in quiet times the commons have waited upon the king, and allowed him a negative voice in matters of less concernment, where delay could not prove dangerous to the people, yet when the commons shall vote that the kingdom is in danger, unless the militia be so and so settled, now if he will not agree to it, they are bound in duty to do it themselves: and 'tis impossible to imagine that ever any man should have the consent of the people to be their king upon other conditions; without which no man ever had right to

wear

ſel of the kingdom, with ſuch infinite care and tenderneſs of his honour (a courſe which God's people did not take with Rehoboam, they never petitioned him, but adviſed him, he refuſed their council, and hearkened to young counſellors, and they cry, "To thy tents, O Iſrael," and made quick and ſhort work of it) after all this, and much more longanimity and patience (which God exerciſes towards man to bring him to repentance) from the lord to the ſervant, for him not only to ſet up a ſtandard of war in defiance of his dread ſovereign, the people (for ſo they truly were in nature, though names have befool'd us) but to perſiſt ſo many years in ſuch cruel perſecutions, who with a word of his mouth might have made a peace. If ever there were ſo ſuperlative a treaſon, let the Indians judge; and whoſoever ſhall break and violate ſuch a truſt and confidence, Anathema Maranatha be unto them.

Q. BUT why was there not a written law to make it treaſon for the king to deſtroy the people, as well as for a man to compaſs the king's death?

Reſp. BECAUSE our anceſtors did never imagine, that any king of England would have been ſo deſperately mad, as to levy a war againſt the parliament and people: as in the common inſtance of Paricide, the Romans made no law againſt him that ſhould kill his father, thinking no child would be ſo unnatural to be the death of him who was the author of his life; but when a child came to be accuſed for a murder, there was a more cruel puniſhment inflicted, than for other Homicides: for he was thrown into the ſea in a great leather barrel, with a dog, a jackanapes, a cock, and a viper, ſignificant companions for him, to be deprived of all the elements, as in my "Poor man's caſe," fol. 10. Nor was there any law made againſt parents that ſhould kill their children; yet if any man was ſo unnatural, he had an exemplary puniſhment.

Obj. BUT is it not a maxim in law, "That the king can do no wrong?"

Reſp. FOR any man to ſay ſo, is blaſphemy againſt the great God of truth and love: for only God cannot err, becauſe what he wills is right, becauſe he wills it; and 'tis a ſad thing to conſider how learned men, for unworthy ends, ſhould uſe ſuch art to ſubdue the people, by tranſportation of their ſenſes, as to make them believe that the law is, that the king can do no wrong.

1. FOR law, I do aver it with confidence, but in all humility, that there is no ſuch caſe to be found in law, that if the king rob, or murder, or commit ſuch horrid extravagancies, that it is no wrong: indeed the caſe is put in Hen. VII. by a chief judge, that "If the king kill a man, it is no felony to make him ſuffer death;" that is to be meant in ordinary courts of juſtice: but there is no doubt but the parliament might try the king, or appoint others to judge him for it. We find caſes in law that the king had been ſued even in civil actions.

IN 43 Ed. III. 22. it is reſolved, That all manner of actions did lie againſt the king, as againſt any lord; and 24 Ed. III. 23. Wilby a learned judge ſaid, That there was a writ "Præcipe Henrico Regi Angliæ."

INDEED Ed. I. did make an act of ſtate, "That men ſhould ſue to him by petition;" but this was not agreed unto in parliament, "Thelwall title roye digeſt of writs," 71. But after, when judges places grew great, the judges and biteſheeps began to ſing lullaby, and ſpeak Platentia to the king, that "My lord the king is an angel of light:" now angels are not reſponſible to men, but God, therefore not kings: and the judges they begin to make the king a God, and ſay, that by law his ſtile is Sacred Majeſty, though he ſwears every hour; and Gracious Majeſty, tho' gracious men be the chief objects of his hatred; and that the king hath an omnipotency and omnipreſence.

BUT I am ſure there is no caſe in law, that if the king levy a war againſt the parliament and people, that it is not treaſon. Poſſibly that caſe in Hen. VII. may prove, that if the king ſhould in his paſſion kill a man, this ſhall not be felony to take away the king's life: for the inconveniency may be greater to the people, by putting a king to death for one offence and miſcarriage, than the execution of juſtice upon him can advantage them: but what is this to a levying of war againſt a parliament? never any judge was ſo devoid of underſtanding, that he denied that to be treaſon. But ſuppoſe a judge that held his place at the king's pleaſure did ſo, I am ſure never any parliament ſaid ſo. But what if there had in dark times of popery been an act made, that the king might murder, raviſh, burn and perpetrate all miſchiefs, and play reaks with impunity, will any man that hath but wit enough to meaſure an ell of cloth, or to tell twenty, ſay, That this is an obligation for men to ſtand ſtill and ſuffer a monſter to cut their throats, and grant commiſſion to rob at Suters-hill; as ſuch and no better are all legal theſts and oppreſſions? The doctor ſays, That a ſtatute againſt giving an alms to a poor man is void: he is no ſtudent, I mean, was never bound apprentice to reaſon, that ſays, A king cannot commit treaſon againſt the people.

Obj. BUT are there not negative words in the ſtatute of 25 Ed. III. That nothing elſe ſhall be conſtrued to be treaſon but what is there expreſſed?

Reſp. THAT ſtatute was intended for the people's ſafety, that the king's judges ſhould not make traitors by the dozens to gratify the king or courtiers; but it was never meant, to give liberty to the king to deſtroy the people: and though it be ſaid, That the king and par-

parliament only may declare treaſon, yet no doubt, if the king will neglect his duty, it may be ſo declared without him; for when many are obliged to do any ſervice, if ſome of them fail, the reſt muſt do it.

Obj. BUT is there any precedent, that ever any man was put to death that did not offend againſt ſome written law? For where there is no law, there is no tranſgreſſion.

R. 'TIS very true, where there is neither law of God, nor nature, nor poſitive law, there can be no tranſgreſſion, and therefore that ſcripture is much abuſed to apply it only to laws poſitive. For

1. "AD ea quæ frequentius, &c." 'Tis out of the ſphere of all earthly law-givers to comprehend and expreſs all particular caſes that may poſſibly happen, but ſuch as are of moſt frequent concurrence; particulars being different, like the ſeveral faces of men different from one another, elſe laws would be too tedious, and as particulars occur, rational men will reduce them to general reaſons of ſtate, ſo as every thing may be adjudged for the good of the community.

2. THE law of England, is "Lex non ſcripta," and we have a direction in the epiſtle to the 3. Rep. That when our law books are ſilent, we muſt repair to the law of nature and reaſon: Holinſhed, and other hiſtorians, tell us, That in 20 Hen. 8. the lord Hungerford was executed for buggery, for which there was then no poſitive law to make it felony; and before any ſtatute againſt witchcraft, many witches have been hanged in England, becauſe it is death by God's law: if any Italian mountebank ſhould come over hither, and give any man poiſon that ſhould lie in his body above a year and a day, and then kill him, as it is reported they can give a man poiſon that ſhall conſume the body in three years, will any make ſcruple or queſtion to hang up ſuch a raſcal? At Naples, the great treaſurer of corn being intruſted with many thouſand quarters at three ſhillings the buſhel, for the common good, finding an opportunity to ſell it for five ſhillings the buſhel to foreign merchants, inriched himſelf exceedingly thereby, and corn growing ſuddenly dear, the councel called him to account for it, who proffered to allow three ſhillings for it, as it was delivered into his cuſtody, and hoped thereby to eſcape, but for ſo great a breach of truſt, nothing would content the people but to have him hanged; and tho' there was no poſitive law for it, to make it treaſon, yet it was reſolved by the beſt politicians, that it was treaſon to break ſo great a truſt by the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom, and that for ſo great an offence he ought to die, that durſt preſume to inrich himſelf by that which might indanger the lives of ſo many citizens; for as ſociety is natural, ſo governors muſt of neceſſity, and in all reaſon provide for the preſervation and ſuſtenance of the meaneſt member, he that is but as the little toe of the body politick.

BUT I know the ingenuous reader deſires to hear ſomething concerning Ireland, where there were no leſs then 152000 men, women, and children, moſt barbarouſly and ſatannically murdered in the firſt four months of the rebellion, as appeared by ſubſtantial proofs, at the king's bench, at the trial of Macquire. If the king had a hand, or but a little finger in that maſſacre, every man will ſay, Let him die the death. But how ſhall we be aſſured of that? How can we know the tree better than by its fruits? For my own particular, I have ſpent many ſerious thoughts about it, and I deſire in doubtful caſes, to give charity the upper hand; but I cannot in my conſcience acquit him of it. Many ſtrong preſumptions, and ſeveral oaths of honeſt men, that have ſeen the king's commiſſion for it, cannot but amount to a clear proof. If I meet a man running down ſtairs with a bloody ſword in his hand, and find a man ſtabbed in the chamber, though I did not ſee this man run into the body, by that which I met, yet if I were of the jury, I durſt not but find him guilty of the murder; and I cannot but admire that any man ſhould deny that for him, which he durſt never deny for himſelf: how often was that monſtrous rebellion laid in his diſh? and yet he durſt never abſolutely deny it: never was bear ſo unwillingly brought to the ſtake, as he was to declare againſt the rebels; and when he did once call them rebels, he would ſuffer but forty copies to be printed, and thoſe to be ſent to him ſeal'd; and he hath ſince above forty times called them his ſubjects, and his good ſubjects; and ſent to Ormond to give ſpecial thanks to ſome of theſe rebels, as Muſkerry and Plunket. (which I am confident, by what I ſee of his height of ſpirit and undaunted reſolution at his trial and ſince, acting the laſt part anſwerable to the former part of his life; he would rather have loſt his life, than to have ſent thanks to two ſuch incarnate devils, if he had not been as guilty as themſelves) Queſtionleſs if the king had not been guilty of that blood, he would have made a thouſand declarations againſt thoſe blood-hounds and hell-hounds, that are not to be named but with fire and brimſtone, and have ſent to all princes in the world for aſſiſtance againſt ſuch accurſed devils in the ſhape of men: but he durſt not offend thoſe fiends and fire-brands; for if he had, I verily believe they would ſoon have produced his commiſſion under his hand and ſeal of Scotland at Edinburgh, 1641. A copy whereof is in the parliament's hands, atteſted by oath, diſperſed by copies in Ireland, which cauſed the general rebellion.

Obj. HE did not give commiſſion to kill the Engliſh, but to take their forts, caſtles, towns and arms, and come over and help him.

R. AND is it like all this could be effected without the ſlaughter of the poor Engliſh? Did the king ever call them rebels, but in forty proclamations wrung out of him by force, by the parliament's importunity? Murdering the proteſtants was ſo acceptable to him, and with this limitation, that none ſhould be publiſhed without his further directions, as appears under Nichols's hand, now in the parliament's cuſtody: but the Scots were proclaimed rebels before they had killed a man, or had an army, and a prayer againſt them, enjoined in all churches, but no ſuch matter againſt the Iriſh.

WELL, when the rebels were worſted in Ireland, the king makes war here to protect them, which but for his fair words had been prevented, often calling God to witneſs, he would as ſoon raiſe war on his own children; and men from popiſh principles aſſiſt him. Well, we fought in jeſt, and were kept between winning and loſing: the king muſt not be too ſtrong, leſt he revenge himſelf; nor the parliament too ſtrong, for the commons would rule all, till Naſeby fight, that then the king could keep no more days of thankſgiving ſo well as we: then he makes a ceſſation in Ireland, and many Iriſh came over to help him: Engliſh came over with papiſts, who had ſcarce wiped their ſwords ſince they had killed their wives and children, and had their eſtates.

BUT this I argue, The rebels knew that the king had proclaimed them traitors, and forty copies were printed; and the firſt clauſe of an oath enjoined by the general council of rebels, was, "To bear true faith and allegiance to king Charles; and by all means to maintain his royal prerogative, againſt the puritans in the parliament of England." Now is any man ſo weak in his intellectuals, as to imagine, That if the rebels had without the king's command or conſent, murdered ſo many proteſtants, and he thereupon had really proclaimed them rebels, that they would after this have taken a new oath, to have maintained his prerogative? no, thoſe bloody devils had more wit, than to fight in jeſt. If the king had once in good earneſt proclaimed them rebels, they would have burnt their ſcabbards, and would not have ſtiled themſelves, the king and queen's army, as they did. And truly, that which the king ſaid for himſelf, That he would have ventured himſelf, to have gone in perſon into Ireland, to ſuppreſs that rebellion, is but a poor argument to enforce any man's belief, that he was not guilty of the maſſacre: for it makes me rather think, that he had ſome hopes to have returned at the head of 20 or 30,000 rebels, to have deſtroyed this nation: for when the earl of Leiceſter was ſent by the parliament to ſubdue the rebels, did not the king hinder him from going? and were not the cloaths and proviſions which were ſent by the parliament, for the relief of the poor proteſtants there, ſeized upon by his command, and his men of war, and ſold or exchanged for arms and ammunition, to deſtroy this parliament? And does not every man know, that the rebels in Ireland gave letters of mart, for taking the parliament's ſhips, but freed the king's as their very good friends? And I have often heard it credibly reported, that the king ſhould ſay, That nothing more troubled him, but that there was not as much proteſtant blood running in England and Scotland, as in Ireland. And when that horrid rebellion begun to break forth, how did the papiſts here triumph and boaſt, that they hoped e'er long to ſee London ſtreets run down in blood? And yet I do not think, that the king was a papiſt, or that he deſigned to introduce the pope's ſupremacy in ſpiritual things, into this kingdom: but thus it was, a jeſuitical party at court was too prevalent in his councils, and ſome mungrel proteſtants that leſs hated the papiſts than the puritans, by the queen's mediation, joined all together to deſtroy the puritans, hoping that the papiſts, and the Laodicean proteſtants would agree well enough together. And laſtly, if it be ſaid, that if the king and the rebels were never fallen out, what need had Ormond to make a pacification or peace with them by the king's commiſſion, under the great ſeal of Ireland? Truly there hath been ſo much dawbing, and ſo little plain dealing, that I wonder how there comes to be ſo many beggars.

CONCERNING the betraying of Rochel, to the enſlaving of the proteſtant party in France, I confeſs, I heard ſo much of it, and was ſo ſhamefully reproached for it in Geneva, and by the proteſtant miniſters in France, that I could believe no leſs, than that the king was guilty of it. I have heard fearful exclamations from the French proteſtants againſt the king, and the late duke of Buckingham, for the betraying of Rochel. And ſome of the miniſters told me ten years ſince, That God would be revenged of the wicked king of England, for betraying Rochel: and I have often heard Deodati ſay, concerning Henry the fourth of France, That the papiſts had his body, but the proteſtants had his heart and ſoul; but for the king of England, The proteſtants had his body, but the papiſts had his heart: not that I think he did believe tranſubſtantiation (God forbid I ſhould wrong the dead) but I verily believe, that he loved a papiſt, better than a puritan.

THE duke of Roan, who was an honeſt gallant man, and the king's godfather, would often ſay, that all the blood which was ſhed in Dauphiny, would be caſt upon the king of England's ſcore: for thus it was, the king ſent a letter to the Rochellers by ſir William Breecher, to aſſure them, that he would aſſiſt them to the uttermoſt, againſt the French king, for the liberty of their religion; conditionally, that they would not make any peace without him; and Montague was ſent into Savoy, and to the duke of Roan, to aſſure them from the king, that 30,000 men ſhould be ſent out of England, to aſſiſt them againſt the French king

king in three fleets: one to land in the isle of Ree, a second in the river of Bourdeaux, and a third in Normandy: whereupon, the duke of Roan being general for the protestants, not suspecting that the French durst assault him in Dauphiny (because the king of England was ready to invade him, as he had promised) drew out his army upon disadvantage. whereupon, the French king employed all his army in Dauphiny against the protestants, who were forced to retreat, and the duke of Roan to fly to Geneva, and the protestants to accept of peace upon very hard conditions, to stand barely at the king's devotion for their liberties, without any cautionary towns of assurance, as formerly they had, being such a peace as the sheep make with the wolves when the dogs are dismist. And the protestants have ever since cried out to this very day, it is not the French king that did us wrong, for then we could have born it, but it was the king of England, a profess'd protestant, that betrayed us. And when I have many times intreated Deodati and others, to have a good opinion of the king, he would answer me, That we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but not to forgive our friends.

There is a French book printed about two years since, called "Memoirs du monsieur de Roan," where the king's horrid perfidiousness, and deep dissimulation, is very clearly unfolded and discovered: to instance but in some particulars; the king having solemnly engaged to the Rochellers, that he would hazard all the forces he had in his three kingdoms, rather than they should perish; did in order thereunto, to gain credulity with them, send out eight ships to sea, commanded by sir John Pennington, to assist the Rochellers as was pretended, but nothing less intended; for Pennington assisted the French king against the Rochellers, which made sir Ferdinando Gorge to go away with the Great Neptune, in detestation of so damnable a plot; and the English masters and owners of ships, refusing to lend their ships to destroy the Rochellers, whom with their souls they desir'd to relieve, Pennington in a mad spite shot at them.

Subise being agent here in England for the French protestants, acquainted the king how basely Pennington had dealt, and that the English ships had mowed down the Rochelle ships like grass, not only to the great danger and loss of the Rochellers, but to the eternal dishonour of this nation, scandal of our religion, and disadvantage of the general affairs of all the protestants in Christendom. The king seems to be displeased, and says, What a knave is this Pennington? but whether it was not feigned, let all the world judge: but the thing being so plain, said Subise to the king, Sir, why did the English ships assist the French king, and those that would not, were shot at by your admiral? The French protestants are no fools; how can I make them believe that you intend their welfare? The king was much put to it for a ready answer, but at last thus it was pack'd up, that the French king had a design to be revenged of Genoa for some former affront; and that the king lent him eight English ships to be employed for Genoa, and that sailing towards Genoa, they met with some of the Rochellers accidentally, and that the English did but look on, and could not help it, not having any commission to fight at that present; wherein the Rochellers might and would have declined a sea fight, if they had not expected our assistance. But still the poor protestants were willing, rather to blame Pennington than the king; who in great seeming zeal, being surety for the last peace between the French king, and his protestant subjects, sends Devick to the duke of Roan, to assure him, That if Rochel were not speedily set at liberty, (which the French king had besieged, contrary to his agreement) he would employ his whole strength, and in his own person see it performed; which being not done; then the king sends the duke of Buckingham to the isle of Ree, and gives new hopes of better success to Subise, commanding the admiral and officers in the fleet, in Subise's hearing, to do nothing without his advice: but when the duke came to land at the isle of Ree, many gallant English men lost their lives, and the duke brought back 300 tons of corn from the Rochellers, which he had borrowed of them, pretending a necessity for the Englishmen, which was but feigned, knowing it was a city impregnable, so long as they had provision within. I confess the Rochellers were not wise, to lend the duke their corn, considering how they had been dealt with: but what a base thing was it, so to betray them, and to swear unto them, that they should have corn enough sent from England, before they wanted it: and for a long time, God did miraculously send them in a new kind of fish, which they never had before. But when the duke came to court, he made the honest English believe, that Rochel would suddenly be relieved, and that there was not the least danger of the loss of it; but secretary Cook, an honest understanding gentleman, and the only friend at court to the Rochellers, labouring to improve his power to send some succour to Rochel, was suddenly sent away from court upon some sleeveless errand, or as some say, to Portsmouth, under colour of providing corn for Rochel; but the duke soon after went thither, and said, His life upon it, Rochel is safe enough: And the next day, Subise being at Portsmouth, he prest the duke of Buckingham most importunately to send relief to Rochel then or never; the duke told him that he had just then heard good news of the victualling of Rochel, which he was going to tell the king: which Subise making doubt of, the duke affirmed it by an oath, and having the words in his mouth, he was stabb'd by Felton, and instantly died: the poor Rochellers seeing themselves so betrayed, exclaimed of the English, and were constrained thro' famine to surrender the city; yet new assurances came

from the king to the duke of Roan, that he ſhould never be abandoned, and that he ſhould not be diſmaid nor aſtoniſht for the loſs of Rochel.

But Subiſe ſpoke his mind freely at court, that the Engliſh had betrayed Rochel, and that the loſs of that city was the apparent perdition and loſs of 32 places of ſtrength from the French proteſtants in Languedock, Piedmont, and Dauphin, therefore it was thought fit that he ſhould have a fig given him to ſtop his mouth: Well, not long after, two capuchins were ſent into England to kill honeſt Subiſe, and the one of them diſcovered the other; Subiſe rewarded the diſcoverer, and demanded juſtice here againſt the other who was a priſoner, but, by what means you may eaſily imagine, that aſſaſſinate raſcal, inſtead of being whipt, or receiving ſome more ſevere puniſhment, was releaſed and ſent back into France with money in his purſe, and one of the meſſengers that was ſent from Rochel to complain of thoſe abominable treacheries, was taken here, and as the duke of Roan writes, was hanged for ſome pretended felony or treaſon; and much more to this purpoſe may be found in the duke of Roan's Memorials; but yet I know many wiſe ſober men do acquit the king from the guilt of the loſs of Rochel, and lay it upon the duke, as if it were but a loſs of his reputation; they ſay that the duke of Buckingham agitated his affairs neither for religion, nor the honour of his maſter, but only to ſatisfie his paſſion in certain fooliſh vows which he made in France, entred upon a war; and that the buſineſs miſcarried through ignorance, and for want of underſtanding to manage ſo difficult a negotiation, he being unfit to be an admiral or a general.

I confeſs that for many years I was of that opinion, and thought that the king was ſeduced by evil counſel, and ſome thought that Buckingham and others ruled him as a child, and durſt do what they liſt: but certainly he was too politique and ſubtile a man to be ſwayed by any thing but his own judgment; ſince Naſeby letters I ever thought him principal in all tranſactions of ſtate, and the wiſeſt about him but acceſſories; he never acted by any implicit faith in ſtate matters, the proudeſt of them all durſt never croſs him in any deſign when he had once reſolved upon it: Is any man ſo ſoft-brained to think that the duke or Pennington durſt betray Rochel without his Command? would not he have hanged them up at their return, if they had wilfully tranſgreſſed his commands? A thouſand ſuch excuſes made for him, are but like Iriſh quagmires, that have no ſolid ground or foundation in reaſon: he was well known to be a great ſtudent in his younger days, that his father would ſay, He muſt make him a biſhop: he had more learning and dexterity in ſtate affairs undoubtedly, than all the kings in chriſtendom: if he had had grace anſwerable to his ſtrong parts, he had been another Solomon, but his wit and knowledge proved like a ſword in a mad-man's hand; he was a ſtranger to the work of grace and the ſpirit of God, as the poor creature confeſſed to Mr. Knowls after he was condemned; and all thoſe mæanders in ſtate, his ſerpentine turnings and windings, have but brought him to ſhame and confuſion: but I am fully ſatisfied, none of his councel durſt ever adviſe him to any thing, but what they knew before he reſolved to have done; and that they durſt as well take a bear by the tooth, as do, or conſent to the doing of any thing, but what they knew would pleaſe him: they did but hew and ſquare the timber, he was the maſter-builder, that gave the form to every architecture: And being ſo able and judicious to diſcern of every man's merits, never think that the duke or Pennington, or any judge or officer, did ever any thing for his advantage without his command againſt law or honor.

UPON all which premiſes, may it pleaſe your lordſhip, I do humbly demand and pray the juſtice of this high court, and yet not I, but the innocent blood that hath been ſhed in the three kingdoms, demands juſtice againſt him: this blood is vocal, and cries loud, and yet ſpeaks no better, but much louder than the blood of Abel; for what proportion hath the blood of that righteous man, to the blood of ſo many thouſands? If king Ahab, and queen Jezabel, for the blood of one righteous Naboth (who would not ſell his inheritance for the full value) were juſtly put to death, what puniſhment does he deſerve, that is guilty of the blood of thouſands, and fought for a pretended prerogative, that he might have any man's eſtate that he liked, without paying for it? This blood hath long cried, "How long parliament, how long army, will ye forbear to avenge our blood? Will ye not do juſtice upon the capital author of all injuſtice? When will ye take the proud lyon by the beard, that defies you with imperious exultations, what is the houſe of commons? what is the army?" as Pharoah ſaid, "Who is the Lord? and who is Moſes?" I am not accountable to any power on earth, thoſe that were murdered at Brainford, knocked on the head in the water, and thoſe honeſt ſouls that were killed in cold blood at Bolton and Leverpool in Lancaſhire, at Bartomley in Cheſhire, and many other places, their blood cries night and day for juſtice againſt him, their wives and children cry, "juſtice upon the murderer, or elſe give us our fathers and huſbands again;" nay, ſhould the people be ſilent, the very ſtones and timber of the houſes would cry for juſtice againſt him. But, my lord, before I pray judgment, I humbly crave leave to ſpeak to two particulars, 1. Concerning the priſoner: when I conſider what he was, and how many prayers have been made for him, though I know that all the world cannot reſtore him, nor ſave his life, becauſe God will not forgive his temporal puniſhment, yet if God in him will be pleaſed to add one example more to the church, of

his unchangeable love to his elect in Christ, not knowing but that he may belong to the election of grace; I am troubled in my spirit, in regard of his eternal condition, for fear that he should depart this life, without love and reconciliation to all those saints whom he hath scorned under the notion of presbyterians, anabaptists, independants and sectaries: It cannot be denied, but that he hath spent all his days in unmeasurable pride; that during his whole reign, he hath deported himself as a God; been depended upon, and adored as God; that hath challenged and assumed an omnipotent power, an earthly omnipotence, that with the breath of his mouth hath dissolved parliaments; his Non placet hath made all the councels of that supreme court to become arbortives: Non curo hath been his motto, who instead of being honored as good kings ought to be, and no more, hath been idolized and adored, as our good God only ought to be: a man that hath shot all his arrows against the upright in the land, hated Christ in his members, swallowed down unrighteousness, as the ox drinks water, esteemed the needy as his footstool, crushed honest publick spirited men, and grieved when he could not afflict the honest more than he did, counted it the best art and policy to suppress the righteous, and to give way to his courtiers so to gripe, grind, oppress and overreach the free people of the land, that he might do what he list (the remembrance whereof would pierce his soul, if he knew the preciousness of it) but all sins to an infinite mercy are equally pardonable, therefore my prayer for this poor wretch shall be, That God would so give him repentance to life, that he may believe in that Christ whom he hath imprisoned, persecuted and murdered in the saints; that he which hath lived a tyrant, and hated nothing so much as holiness, may die a convert, and in love to the saints in England, that so the tears of the oppressed and the afflicted, may not be as so many fiery stinging serpents, causing an eternal despairing, continual horror to this miserable man, when all tyrants shall be astonished, and innocent blood will affright more than twelve legions of devils. All the hurt that I wish to him is, that he may look the saints in the face with comfort, for the saints must judge the world; and however it may be he or his adherents may think it a brave Roman spirit, not to repent of any thing, nor express any sorrow for any sin, though never so horrid, taking more care and fear not to change their countenance upon the scaffold than what shall become of them after death; yet I beseech your lordship that I may tell him and all the malignants now living but this, "Charles Stuart, unless you depart this life in love and reconciliation to all those saints and godly men whom you have either ignorantly or maliciously opposed, mocked and persecuted, and still scorn and jeer at, as hereticks and sectaries, there is no more hopes for you ever to see God in comfort, than for me to touch the heavens with my finger, or with a word to annihilate this great building, or for the Devil to be saved, which he might be, if he could love a saint as such: no, Sir, it will be too late for you to say to those saints, whom you have defied, "Give me some of your holiness, that I may behold God's angry countenance:" you can expect no answer, but, Go, buy Sir of those soul-hucksters, your bishops, which fed you with chaff and poison, and now you must feed upon fire and brimstone to all eternity."

2. CONCERNING myself, I bear no more malice to the man's person, than I do to my dear father; but I hate that cursed principle of tyranny, that has so long lodged and harboured within him, which has turned our waters of law into blood; and therefore upon that malignant principle, I hope this high court (which is an habitation of justice, and a royal palace of principles of freedom) will do speedy justice, that this lyon which has devoured so many sheep, may not only be removed out of the way, but that this iron scepter, which hath been lifted up to break this poor nation in pieces like a potter's vessel, may be wrested out of the hands of tyrants; that my honorable clients (for whom I am an unworthy advocate) the people of England, may not only taste, but drink abundantly of those sweet waters of that well of liberty, which this renowned army hath digg'd with their swords, which was stopped by the Philistines, the fierce Jew, and uncircumcised Canaanite, the hopes whereof made me readily to hearken to the call to this service, as if it had been immediately from heaven, being fully satisfied, that the prisoner was long since condemned to die by God's law (which being more noble and antient than any law of man, if there had been a statute that he should not die, yet he ought to be put to death notwithstanding) and that this high court was but to pronounce the sentence and judgment written against him: and though I might have been sufficiently discouraged, in respect that my reason is far less than others of my profession; yet considering that there are but two things desireable, to make a dumb man eloquent, namely, A good cause, and good judges, the first whereof procures the justice of heaven, and the second justice upon earth; and thinking that happily God might make use of one mean man at the bar, amongst other learned counsel, that more of his mind might appear in it (for many times the less there is of man, the more God's glory doth appear, and hitherto very much of the mind of God hath appeared in this action) I went as cheerfully about it, as to a wedding; and that the glory of this administration may be wholly given to God, I desire to observe to the praise of his great name, the work of God upon my own spirit, in his gracious assistance and presence with me, as a return of prayer and fruit of faith, believing that God never

calls

calls to the acting of any thing, so pleasing to him, as this most excellent court of justice is, but he is present with the honourable judges, and those that wait upon them: I have been sometimes of councel against felons and prisoners, but I never moved the court to proceed to judgment against any felon, or to keep any man in prison, but I trembled at it in my thoughts, as thinking it would be easier to give an account of mercy and indulgence, than of any thing that might look like rigor; but now my spirits are quite of another temper, and I hope it is meat and drink to good men, to have justice done, and recreation to think what benefit this nation will receive by it.

And now, my lord, I must, as the truth is, conclude him guilty of more transcendant treasons, and enormous crimes, than all the kings in this part of the world have ever been. And as he that would picture Venus, must take the eyes of one, the cheeks of another beautiful woman, and so other parts to make a compleat beauty: so to delineate an absolute tyrant, the cruelty of Richard the third, and all the subtilty, treachery, dissimulation, abominable projects, and dishonorable shifts, that ever were separately in any that swayed the English scepter, conspired together to make their habitation in this whited-wall; therefore I humbly pray, That as he has made himself a president in committing such horrid acts, which former kings and ages knew not, and have been afraid to think of, that your lordship, and this high court, out of your sublime wisdoms, and for justice sake, would make him an example for other kingdoms for the time to come, that the kings of the earth may hear, and fear, and do no more so wickedly; that he which would not be a pattern of virtue, and an example of justice in his life, may be a president of justice to others by his death.

Courteous reader, for thy full satisfaction in matter of law, how the late king was by the law of the land accountable for his tyrannous, and traiterous exorbitancies, I refer thee to my lord president's most learned and judicious speech, before the sentence read: and I have one word to add, That high court was a resemblance and representation of the great day of judgment, when the saints shall judge all worldly powers, and where this judgment will be confirmed and admired, for it was not only bonum but bene; not only good for the matter but the manner of proceeding: this high court did not only consult with heaven for wisdom and direction (a president for other courts to begin every solemn action with prayer) but examined witnesses several days upon oath to inform their consciences, and received abundant satisfaction in a judicial way (which by the law of the land was not requisite in treason, the prisoner standing mute) as judges, which before was most notorious and known to them, as private persons, and having most perspicuously discerned, and weighed the merits of the cause in the ballances of the sanctuary, law and right reason, pronounced as righteous a sentence as ever was given by mortal men: And yet what action was ever so good, but was traduced? Not only by unholy men, but by the holy men of the world; that professors should pray for justice, and then repine at the execution of it: blessed Lord! how does the God of this world storm, now his kingdom is shaking? An enlightened eye must needs see that it is the design of heaven to break all human glory with an iron scepter, that will not kiss his golden scepter, and to exalt justice and mercy in the earth. I confess, if the greater part of the world should approve such high and noble acts of justice, it might be suspected, because the most people will judge erroneously; but that Christians that have fasted and prayed many years for justice, should now be angry to see it done, what is it? but like foolish passengers that having been long at sea in dangerous storms, as they are entring into the quiet haven, to be mad with the pilot because he will not return into the angry seas. But I shall observe one passage in the lord president's speech, as a scholar may presume to say a word after his master, concerning the many menaces and minatory dangerous speeches which are given forth concerning this high court: if men must be kill'd for the faithful discharge of their duties to God and their country, I am sure the murderer will have the worst of it in conclusion, if he should not be known here (though murder is a sin that seldom goes unpunished in this world; and never did any Jesuit hold it meritorious to kill men for bringing tyrants and murderers to justice, or to do such horrid acts in the sight of the sun) it was a noble saying of the lord president, That he was afraid of nothing so much as the not doing of justice; and when he was called to that high place which was put upon him, he sought it not, but desired to be excused more than once: not to decline a duty to God and the people for fear of any loss or danger (being above such thoughts by many stories, as actions testify) but alledging, that of himself, out of an humble spirit, which if others had said of him, I am sure they had done him a great deal of wrong: and though he might have been sufficiently discouraged, because it was a new unpresidented tribunal of condemning a king (because never did any king so tyranize and butcher the people, find me but that in any history, and on the other side the leaf you shall find him more than beheaded, even to be quartered, and given to be meat to the fowls of the air) yet the glory of God, and the love of justice, constrained him to accept it, and with what great wisdom and undauntedness of resolution, joined with a sweet meekness of spirit he hath performed it, is most evident to all, the malignants themselves being judges. Concerning this high court, to speak any thing of this glorious administration of justice, is but to shew the sun with a candle (the sun of justice now shines most

moſt glorioúſly, and it will be fair weather in the nation; but alas, the poor mole is blind ſtill, and cannot ſee it, but none ſo blind as they that will not ſee it) however, it is not proper or convenient for me at preſent, to ſpeak all the truth that I know (the generations that are to come will call them bleſſed) concerning the integrity and juſtice of their proceedings, leſt I that am a ſervant ſhould be counted a ſycophant, which I abhor in my ſoul, as my body does poiſon; and this I will be bold to ſay (which I hope God guides my hand to write) This high court hath cut off the head of a tyrant, and they have done well; undoubtedly it is the beſt action that they ever did in all their lives, a matter of pure envy, not hatred, for never ſhall or can any men in this nation promerit ſo much honour as theſe have done, by any execution of juſtice comparable to this; and in ſo doing, they have pronounced ſentence not only againſt one tyrant, but tyranny itſelf; therefore if any of them ſhall turn tyrants, or conſent to ſet up any kind of tyranny by a law, or ſuffer any unmerciful domineering over the conſciences, perſons and eſtates of the free people of this land, they have pronounced ſentence againſt themſelves: but good trees cannot bring forth bad fruits; therefore let all deſperate malignants repent ere it be too late, of any ſuch ungodly purpoſes, and fight no longer againſt God. Every man is ſown here as a ſeed or grain, and grows up to be a tree, it behoves us all to ſee in what ground we ſtand: holy and righteous men will be found to be timber for the great building of God in his love, when tyrants and enemies to holineſs and juſtice, will be for a threſhold or footſtool to be trodden upon, or fit for the fire.

Lastly, for myſelf, I bleſs God, I have not ſo much fear as comes to the thouſand part of a grain; it is for Cain to be afraid, that "every man that meets him will ſlay him!" I am not much ſolicitous, whether I die of a conſumption, or by the hand of Ravilliacks, I leave that to my heavenly father: if it be his will that I ſhall fall by the hand of violence, "It is the Lord, let him do what he pleaſeth:" if my indentures be given in before the term of my apprenticeſhip be expired, and that I be at my father's houſe before it be night, I am ſure there is no hurt in all this: if I have but ſo much time left, I ſhall pray my father to forgive the murderer; the blood of Chriſt can waſh away ſins of the deepeſt ſtain, but when he ſees his children's blood ſprinkled upon the bloody wretch, he loves every member as he loves himſelf. But know this, ye that have conceived any deſperate intentions againſt thoſe honourable juſtices, who made you freemen, unleſs you will return to Egypt: if God in wrath to you, and love to any of his people, ſhould ſuffer you to imbrew your hands in any of their innocent blood, either you will repent or not; if you repent, it will coſt you ten times more anguiſh and grief of heart, than the pleaſure of the ſin can cauſe delight; and what a baſe thing it is to do that which muſt be repented of at the beſt? but if you repent not, it had been better for you to have never been born. But let every man be faithful in doing his duty, and truſt God with the ſucceſs, and rejoice in Chriſt in the teſtimony of a good conſcience; for he that hath not a ſoul to loſe, hath nothing to loſe: but bleſſed be God, I have no ſoul to loſe, therefore I deſire only to fear him, whom to fear, "is the beginning of wiſdom:" and for all malignants to come in, and join with honeſt men in ſettling this nation upon noble principles of juſtice, freedom, and mercy to the poor, will be their beſt and greateſt underſtanding.

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A

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